FROM BIRCH BARK TO DIGITAL DATA: RECENT ADVANCES IN BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPT RESEARCH

Papers Presented at the Conference
Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field
Stanford, June 15–19 2009

Edited by Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE
DENKSCHRIFTEN, 460. BAND

Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens

Nr. 80

Herausgegeben von Helmut Krasser



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Vorgelegt von w. M. Ernst Steinkellner in der Sitzung am 18. Oktober 2013

Diese Publikation wurde einem anonymen, internationalen
Peer-Review-Verfahren unterzogen.

This publication has undergone the process of anonymous, international
peer review.

Die verwendeten Papiersorten sind aus chlorfrei gebleichtem Zellstoff hergestellt,
frei von säurebildenden Bestandteilen und alterungsbeständig.

ISBN 978-3-7001-7581-0

Druck und Bindung: Druckerei Ferdinand Berger & Söhne GesmbH, Horn

Printed and bound in the EU

http://hw.oeaw.ac.at/7581-0
http://verlag.oeaw.ac.at

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Participants in the conference
"Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field"
held at Stanford University, June 15–19, 2009



Front row (*from left to right*): DUAN Qing (Beijing), Richard Salomon (Seattle), Irene LIN (Stanford), Collett Cox (Seattle), Michael Hahn (Marburg), Helmut Krasser (Vienna), Harunaga Isaacson (Hamburg), Oskar von Hinüber (Freiburg), Kazunobu Matsuda (Kyoto), LUO Hong (Beijing), Saerji (Beijing).

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Third row: Mark Allon (Sydney), Paul Harrison (Stanford). *In absentia*: Harry Falk (Berlin).

Introduction

PAUL HARRISON (STANFORD) AND JENS-UWE HARTMANN (MUNICH)

1 Writing Buddhism and Buddhist writing

For most of its history, the academic study of Buddhism has been dominated by the study of the written word, i.e., of texts, books and manuscripts. This holds especially true for the encounter with the Indian forms of Buddhism, often understood as the originals of those derived phenomena that later in the course of the religion's spread manifested as "Chinese Buddhism," "Tibetan Buddhism" and the like. The Indian forms were seen as representing a more pristine stage, undistorted by cultural and linguistic differences and much closer to the founder himself. The Western academic propensity to search for origins naturally directed the interest of scholars towards older forms, and older inevitably meant Indian. When Eugène Burnouf (1801–1852), one of the founding fathers of Buddhology, began to study Buddhism, he based his studies on written sources, among them the Sanskrit manuscripts which had been sent by Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800–1894) from Nepal to the Société Asiatique in 1837.[1] The Kathmandu Valley formed the last pocket on the whole subcontinent in which a form of Sanskrit Buddhism had survived into the modern age. It was transmitted exclusively within the ethnic group of the Newars, and although its constant interaction with Hinduism had led to very specific adaptations, it offered a singular window on late Indian Tantric Buddhism. Yet the eyes of scholars were caught less by its colourful rituals than by the manuscripts the Newars had faithfully preserved for a thousand years after the decline of Buddhism in India had set in. Those manuscripts became the focus of the scholars' gaze, and it took more than a century before the living Buddhism of the Newars eventually came into their field of vision — although even today it is sometimes overlooked.[2]

In more recent times it has been argued that the dominance of this preoccupation with literary sources has led to various misrepresentations in the reconstruction of Indian Buddhism.[3] This is certainly true, and for several reasons, one of them being that the sources themselves are by no means easy to interpret. As a natural consequence, interpretations vary greatly and tend to reflect the predilections or preoccupations of the interpreters.[4] Most of the literature preserved is normative in character, and it is nearly impossible to contextualize in time and place. Much of it is also anonymous, and there is no way of knowing when and where it was conceived or written down. It is equally impossible to know who conceived or wrote it, and nothing is known about those to whom it was addressed, its audience and the groups among which it continued to circulate. This state of

[1] Cf. J[an] W[illem] de Jong, *A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America*, Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, [2]1987: 19; Akira Yuyama, *Eugène Burnouf. The Background to his Research into the Lotus Sutra*, Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 2000 (Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica, 3); Christian K. Wedemeyer, "Tropes, Typologies and Turnarounds: A Brief Genealogy of the Historiography of Tantric Buddhism," *History of Religions* 40 (2001): 223–259, esp. pp. 235–242.

[2] See, e.g., David Gellner, "Himalayan Conundrum? A Puzzling Absence in Ronald M. Davidson's *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 27 (2004): 411–417.

[3] A notable statement of this argument is Gregory Schopen, "Archaeology and Protestant Presuppositions in the Study of Indian Buddhism," *History of Religions* 31 (1991): 1–23; cf. also the discussion in Richard F. Nance, *Speaking for Buddhas: Scriptural Commentary in Indian Buddhism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012: 7–12, and, very recently, Michael Willis's review of Johannes Bronkhorst's book *Buddhism in the Shadow of Brahmanism* in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 76 (2013): 330–332.

[4] For a survey of ten distinct systemic assessments of early Indian Buddhism illustrating this point, cf. George Chatalian, "Early Indian Buddhism and the Nature of Philosophy: A Philosophical Investigation," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 11 (1983): 167–222.

affairs hardly improves when it comes to literature by named authors, such as commentaries or poetical works. Here it becomes easier to get at least a glimpse of the addressees and audiences, since these works often interact with others of the same genre, but the problem of time and place largely remains: the overwhelming majority of these works cannot be precisely dated and the place of their origin is unknown. Even famous authors like Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu or Aśvaghoṣa and Āryaśūra are hardly more than names: they remain shadowy figures of whom nothing is left but their works, and often enough even the actual authorship of these is disputed. All this said, and despite the many other difficulties they pose, the texts remain indispensable, even as Buddhist Studies moves to include archaeology, epigraphy, art history and anthropology in its disciplinary toolbox.

From whatever perspective they approach the religion, one of the greatest challenges confronting scholars of Buddhism is the sheer magnitude of its literature; for much of their history Buddhists were no strangers to the written word, and employed it prolifically, even though the means for encoding and transmitting the teachings of the Buddha went through several paradigmatic turns. For at least three centuries, we assume, the transmission was exclusively oral, and it was the brains and the memories of Gautama's followers which served as the repository and as the medium of reproduction. Writing appears to have been a rather late invention in India, and there is no solid proof that an indigenous script was in use before the rise of the Mauryan empire, or even before Aśoka, its most celebrated ruler, in the third century BCE. Very likely the new technique was introduced for worldy purposes like administration and business, and it is unknown when, and why, "religious" texts were written down for the first time. However, there are two indications from opposite ends of the Indian subcontinent that Buddhists were at least among the first — if they were not the very first — to initiate a fundamental turn to the new medium for transmitting and preserving their religious lore. A Ceylonese chronicle, the *Dīpavaṃsa* ("Chronicle of the Island"), compiled in the 4th century CE from older records, reports that in the 1st century BCE the monks in Sri Lanka assembled and, "in order that the religion might endure for a long time" (*ciraṭṭhitatthaṃ dhammassa*), wrote down the Tipiṭaka, the scriptures, and the Aṭṭhakathā, the commentaries.[5] This passage comprises only two verses; it does not mention any details of the form and contents of that Tipiṭaka, and it is difficult to establish the information as historical fact.[6] However, corroborative evidence has recently been supplied by the sensational manuscript finds of the last fifteen years in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Palaeographical considerations and some radiocarbon datings place the overwhelming majority of these finds in the first three centuries of the Common Era, but for two manuscripts a radiocarbon dating is reported which, if correct, would put them at least as far back as the first century BCE (cf. pp. 9 and 54). This would make them the oldest Buddhist — and at the same time oldest Indian — manuscripts known so far, and their antiquity lends credibility to the report of the Ceylonese chronicle.

Writing never superseded memorization and orality in the Buddhist world. Although it proved a more stable medium and allowed of many new possibilities, it also created new problems. The organic material of the manuscripts, be it birch bark or palm leaf, was not immune to deterioration, and especially under climatic conditions such as prevailed in most of India, manuscripts had to be copied again and again in order to preserve their contents. Copying had to be done manually by scribes, a process which was not only costly and time-consuming but also invited all sorts of mistakes, from simple misspellings to haplographies and dittographies, to name only the most common ones, which endanger

[5] Cf. Heinz Bechert, "The Writing Down of the Tripiṭaka in Pāli," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 36 (1992): 45–53.

[6] But cf. now Anālayo, "The Historical Value of the Pāli Discourses," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 55 (2012): 223–253.

accurate transmission and which now keep modern philologists busy in the attempt to reconstruct the originals.

After the acquisition of writing, Buddhists in India contented themselves with memory and manuscripts. It was only in East Asia that Buddhists proved once more to be the pioneers when it came to adopting a new technology for their specific needs of copying and multiplying texts: it appears that they were the first to use the new invention of printing with wooden blocks for preparing huge quantities of identical copies. The oldest preserved examples are *dhāraṇī* texts prepared in Japan in the 7th century CE, and the oldest dated printed book in the world is a Chinese scroll of the year 868 containing the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā*. It was found in the famous library cave at Dunhuang and is now exhibited in the British Museum, London. Although Buddhists in Central Asia learned the technique of printing from China and adapted it to their own purposes,[7] it did not reach India, probably because the Silk Road had already lost its function of keeping Central Asian Buddhism connected to its Indian origins. Whatever technology they used, however, there is no doubt that Buddhists themselves were from quite early on enthusiastic and prodigious generators of written texts, producing an ocean of literature so vast that no modern scholar could ever hope to explore its full expanse.

2 Recent Developments

Nevertheless, scholars have risen to the challenge, and continue to do so. Indeed, the last two decades have witnessed an upsurge of research, in particular on Buddhist manuscripts in Indian languages. This has been partly to do with renewed efforts to make accessible the huge amount of manuscript fragments recovered from Central Asia by various expeditions at the beginning of the last century. More important, however, have been the sensational manuscript finds, sometimes called the "Dead Sea Scrolls of Buddhism," in Afghanistan and Pakistan during the nineties of the last century. They have attracted — and continue to attract — an unusually high level of public attention, which at least indirectly helped the scholars concerned in conveying the impression that they were involved in something very important. At roughly the same time, longstanding efforts to gain access to Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Tibet yielded the first major results. All these developments provided scholars with fascinating new material and inspired a fresh interest in work on manuscripts, despite the tendency to be observed throughout the academic world to put a lower value on solid philological work.

The present volume attempts to provide a comprehensive overview of these recent developments and to bring together all the results achieved so far. It is the outcome of a conference held at Stanford in June 2009 — "Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field" — but as the work of identifying and publishing manuscripts goes on continuously, great care was taken to have the contributors include new information up until June 2013. The original inspiration of the Stanford meeting had been to bring together all projects dealing with Buddhist manuscripts in Indian languages (except Pali) and present the current state of research, but due to the sheer amount of material it proved impossible to achieve the same degree of thoroughness and completeness in all areas of the field. Beyond that, our contributors chose different approaches, and we thought it neither necessary nor profitable to insist on structural similarities. The papers address the field from a variety of perspectives: in some, a certain collection is described, while others combine collections

[7] Strangely enough, in view of the extremely small percentage of prints among the Indic material, the first publication of a Sanskrit text brought back to Berlin by the first Prussian Turfan expedition in March 1903 was devoted to fragments of a printed version of the *Saṃyuktāgama*; cf. Richard Pischel, "Bruchstücke des Sanskritkanons der Buddhisten aus Idykutšari, Chinesisch-Turkestān," *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin 1904: 807–827.

with script or language (e.g., Kharoṣṭhī and Gāndhārī). Again others take their starting point from the place where work on manuscripts from various find-spots is coordinated. The papers reflect different organizational structures, some the work of individuals, others the joint endeavours of a body of scholars (e.g., on the Schøyen Collection) or even the work of a study group meeting regularly to edit a specific manuscript (cf. especially the projects at Taisho University and the remarks on p. 329). In fact, it is this very diversity of material and of approaches which is characteristic of the field, and we did not wish to camouflage this or reduce it to a bland uniformity.

After the early European encounter with the manuscripts from Nepal, a succession of various finds advanced our knowledge of Indian Buddhist literature and helped in recovering an ever growing part of it, even though each new find also demonstrated — with equally growing clarity — how much of this incredibly rich and voluminous literature has been lost. The most recent finds from Pakistan and Afghanistan in particular indicate that the texts preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations most likely represent only a fraction of what was once available in India. In the following, the major finds of the last hundred years or so are briefly surveyed in chronological order and related to current research projects and the papers which deal with them.

3 Sanskrit Manuscripts from Central Asia (Xinjiang)

When Western scholars started to recover the original texts of Indian Buddhism they had to rely on what was preserved in the two surviving traditions, the literature of the followers of the Vajrayāna in Nepal on the one hand and the scriptures of the Theravāda Buddhists of Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia on the other. The literary heritages of these two traditions could not have been more diverse; they had originated in very different times and held hardly anything in common. However, they pointed to the tremendous range of developments within Buddhist thought and literature, and gave a sense of what had been lost when Buddhism declined in India.

The situation changed dramatically when the first reports surfaced of Buddhist cultures once flourishing along the ancient Silk Road in Central Asia, cultures which had vanished after the intrusions of Islamic invaders. This news initiated the famous race to Eastern Turkestan for artifacts and manuscripts which started in the final years of the 19th century, lasted until just before the First World War, and yielded sensational findings. Although manuscripts in Indian languages were found in a large number of places which are widely separated — from Tumšuq in the west to Dunhuang in the east, and from Turfan in the north to Khotan in the south — it makes sense to treat them together, since they all belonged to the same cultural milieu, i.e., Central Asian Buddhism in its various manifestations, and they were all, with one exception, written in Buddhist Sanskrit and in forms of Indian and Central Asian Brāhmī. The exception was the famous *Dharmapada* manuscript, written on a very long birch-bark scroll in the Gāndhārī language and the Kharoṣṭhī script. It was apparently found in Khotan and in 1892 sold in two parts, one to N. F. Petrovskij, then the Russian Consul-General in Kashgar, and the other to the French traveler Jules-Léon Dutreuil du Rhins. Both parts were introduced to the scholarly world at the 11th International Congress of Orientalists in Paris in 1897, an event which contributed to the sudden interest in the archaeological remains hidden in the Tarim Basin.

The palaeographically oldest manuscripts must have been imported from India, since they are written on palm leaf, which was not available in Central Asia. Apart from the Khotanese *Dharmapada* there are a few other manuscripts on birch bark, but all in folio format; some of them were probably imported, but others were definitely written in Central Asia itself, since a later Central Asian variety of Brāhmī was used. The overwhelming majority, considerably more than 95%, are written on paper, a material invented in China

and exceedingly popular in Eastern Turkestan too. The state of preservation is generally deplorable: fragments are the rule, undamaged folios the rare exception. Among the tens of thousands of fragments only one complete book, a composite manuscript of 54 folios, is preserved in the German collection.[8] There is a clear distinction between manuscripts found along the northern branch of the Silk Road and those from the southern branch: most of the Mahāyāna sūtras were found in the south, while nearly all of the texts coming from the north belong to the type of Buddhism we call "Mainstream" or "Śrāvakayāna."[9] It appears that the monks (and nuns?) of the monasteries along the northern branch followed the scriptures of the school of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins, once an important branch of Indian Buddhism, since most of the Vinaya and Āgama texts found there are of Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda provenance. Fragments of the scriptures of the Dharmaguptakas are very rare exceptions. Besides works of canonical origin, a wide variety of topics and literary genres is attested, from commentaries to works of poetry and treatises on such topics as grammar and medicine (cf. the thematically arranged index in Klaus Wille's contribution on the Turfan Collection in Berlin, pp. 193–209). Apart from such "scientific" works, non-Buddhist texts are extremely rare: there is a fragment of the *Laghucāṇakyarājanītiśāstra* in the Turfan Collection (cf. p. 209) and a fragment of the *Mahābhārata* in the Berezovsky Collection (cf. p. 247). This rarity seems to reflect a view preserved in a rule of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, namely that such books should be sold by the monks (cf. the contribution by Oskar von Hinüber, p. 82, where he quotes this rule in his discussion of a fragment of the *Tantrākhyāyika* in the Gilgit find).

The Central Asian manuscripts were recovered by individuals and expeditions from several European countries and from Japan, and today they are spread over a number of collections. More than a hundred years have passed since the manuscripts came to the attention of scholars, but the editorial work has not yet been completed. Recent years have seen a renewed endeavour to identify the fragments and make them available for further research, but it has become increasingly difficult to keep track of all the identifications, editions and re-editions. Therefore an attempt is made in this volume to bring together at least all the identifications in order to present for the first time a survey of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Central Asia and to allow scholars interested in a specific text to locate and scrutinize the manuscript evidence. The very rich German collection in Berlin is presented by Klaus Wille (pp. 187–211), the French collection in Paris by Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Klaus Wille (pp. 213–222), the British collection in London again by Wille (pp.

[8] It was found in Qizil on the northern branch of the Silk Road, and for reconstructing the cultural history and the local practice of Tocharian Buddhism it is of considerable importance. Inexcusably, the first scholars working on the find separated the single texts of this book and integrated them into their own system of classification according to contents. We owe its reconstruction to Lore Sander, who also gave an overview of the texts it contains: Lore Sander, "Tocharische Dokumente im Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin," in Bernfried Schlerath, ed., *Tocharisch: Akten der Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Berlin, September 1990*, Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, 1994: 93–104d. Folio 53, described as blank and missing in Sander, was found by Klaus Wille: it is included in the Tocharian collection as no. THT 295 and contains two more poems (published as no. 295 in Emil Sieg, Wolfgang Siegling, *Tocharische Sprachreste, Sprache B*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953).

[9] At the Stanford meeting there was sustained discussion of the various terms currently used for non-Mahāyāna varieties of Buddhism, and while — not surprisingly — no consensus was reached, it was generally agreed that all these terms have their problems, some more than others. Here we use "Mainstream Buddhism" with no particular confidence that it is significantly better than any of the other candidates. More importantly, however, it was also agreed that the application of such terms, and also of *nikāya* labels (Sarvāstivādin, Mahāsāṃghika, etc.), calls for extreme caution, as we may too readily assume that they actually correspond to things "on the ground," be they groups of people, institutions, clearly defined bodies of texts and so on, that is, we may be engaging in tendentious reification. Furthermore, *nikāya* affiliation and Mahāyāna orientation are not mutually exclusive: a member of the Saṅgha could, e.g., be ordained according to the Sarvāstivāda vinaya and also be a follower of the bodhisattva path, and thus the presence of Sarvāstivādin literature at a site is not in itself evidence for the absence of Mahāyāna.

223–246), parts of the Russian, the Japanese and the British collections by Shin'ichirō Hori (pp. 257–267), the fragments discovered in the area of ancient Khotan in recent years by DUAN Qing (pp. 269–278), and an overview of all collections and single fragments by Hartmann and Wille (pp. 247–255). When editing these papers, most of them furnished with separate and sometimes very long indexes, it became obvious that a digital tool which brings all these indexes together, facilitates searching and can easily be updated is an urgent desideratum.

The Central Asian manuscripts come from a region which was once under strong Buddhist influence, but they are archaeological finds. They represent historical documents, and they are no longer connected with any living tradition. The manuscripts from Eastern Turkestan were very poorly preserved, and what had survived was in an extremely fragmentary state, but they brought to light the Indian versions of works hitherto completely unknown or known only from translations into Chinese and Tibetan. These manuscripts came from a huge area and had been written during a long period of time, roughly between the 2nd and the 11th, if not even the 13th and 14th centuries.

4 *The Gilgit Find*

The situation was rather different with the next major manuscript find: it happened in one place, and it revealed a literature which was used in a much smaller area and in a shorter period of time. This was the famous Gilgit find in 1931 and 1938. All the manuscripts are written in Sanskrit and in two variants of the Brāhmī script, and, with one exception, all of them are written on birch bark, but on folios, not on scrolls; the one exception is written on palm leaf (the *Sarvadharmaguṇavyūharājasūtra*, cf. p. 114). On palaeographical grounds the manuscripts may be dated from the sixth to the eighth or even the ninth centuries. The state of preservation varies, but in general it is much better than that of the manuscripts from Central Asia: although most of the texts are not complete, there are many complete folios, and a number of texts can be reconstructed either fully or in large part. As far as they can be assigned to one of the *nikāyas*, they belong exclusively to the school of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. Besides "Mainstream Buddhist" works of this school, a fair number of Mahāyāna sūtras is represented. Works of the tantric tradition are rare, and so far only one small fragment of a work of the Buddhist epistemological school, namely of Dharmakīrti's *Hetubindu*, has been identified (cf. p. 113). The Gilgit find is treated in great detail in Oskar von Hinüber's contribution (pp. 79–135), which fully supersedes his previous ground-breaking study of 1979. Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Klaus Wille present related material which came to light only in the nineties of the last century, but may also go back to the Gilgit find (pp. 137–155).

5 *Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet*

During the same decade that the Gilgit cache came to light, another very important find happened. Again it was located outside the Indian subcontinent, but this time there was no need for archaeological support, since the manuscripts were properly stored in accessible libraries. Moreover, these libraries belonged to monasteries of a living Buddhist tradition, a tradition, however, which had lost its original ability to make use of Sanskrit and Middle Indic books and to read the various Indian scripts. Therefore the manuscripts had become little more than age-old objects of veneration going back to the glory days of Buddhism's introduction into Tibet. For outsiders, however, they were to prove a powerful magnet. The Indian scholar and Buddhist Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1893–1963) had learned about the existence of Indian palm-leaf manuscripts in Tibetan monasteries, and this had roused his interest. Between 1934 and 1938 he undertook altogether four trips to Southern Tibet and

visited several of the famous old monasteries in the province of gTsang, among them Sa-skya, Zhva-lu and Ngor, all of them former seats of Sanskrit learning and translation activity. During his trips Sāṅkṛtyāyana catalogued all the manuscripts he was able to see, copied some by hand, and photographed many others. He realized that this collection was priceless, and not simply because most of the manuscripts were complete and many of them were in rather good condition. Presumably they had been brought to Tibet by pious Tibetan pilgrims or by Indian refugee monks and scholars during a time when the second period of translating Indian literature into Tibetan had not yet come to an end and there was still continuous interaction between the Buddhists of India and those of Tibet. According to colophons and palaeography most of the manuscripts may be dated from the 11th to the 14th centuries, i.e., to the final phase of Buddhism in India. Sāṅkṛtyāyana saw more than 350 manuscripts altogether. Apparently most of them had not served as the exemplars for the corresponding Tibetan translations; at present, there is only one manuscript which can be proven to have been used by the translators.[10] Some of the texts listed by Sāṅkṛtyāyana had not been translated into Tibetan at all, and thus more works of Indian Buddhist literature surfaced whose existence had been forgotten for many centuries.

Most notable among them are texts of the vinaya of the Lokottaravādins, a sub-school of the Mahāsāṃghikas. An early Tibetan king had decreed that only works of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school be translated, and therefore the texts of the Lokottaravādins had been left untranslated, but at least the manuscripts were carefully preserved. No less sensational are the many texts of the epistemological school, practically unattested in all the other finds, but prominently represented among the Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet. Apart from them there are Mahāyāna sūtras, a large number of Tantric texts, commentaries, several Mainstream Buddhist works of one or more schools, and some poetical texts. These are all written in Sanskrit, with the exception of the texts of the Lokottaravādins and a *Dharmapada* the school affiliation of which is not yet finally settled. These latter works are characterized by a considerably more Prakritic language, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit in the narrower sense of the term.

Since in subsequent decades the originals remained inaccessible, scholars had to work with Sāṅkṛtyāyana's photographs, or those taken soon after by Giuseppe Tucci, both of which in many cases are far from perfect and in some simply resist every attempt at deciphering them. Any hope of an eventual improvement in the situation vanished when the Cultural Revolution went into full swing and Tibetan monasteries were razed to the ground in the thousands, and it was feared that all the manuscripts had been destroyed as well. However, it turned out that they had fared much better than most of their owners. This became known in the eighties of last century when a secret list started to circulate among Western scholars. It was a rather simple list, drafted by WANG Sen, of 259 Sanskrit manuscripts which had been brought around 1960–61 from Tibet to the Cultural Palace of Minorities in Beijing, and on closer inspection it was found to contain many titles already described by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana.[11] The list confirmed what had already been known from Sāṅkṛtyāyana's reports: the Tibetans had preserved non-Buddhist texts as well. There

[10] Cf. FAN Muyou, "Some Remarks on the Relationship between a Sanskrit Manuscript of the *Advaya-samatāvijaya* from Tibet and its Tibetan Translation," *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 11 (2008): 375–380. For another possible case, the *Vinayasūtra-vṛttyabhidhānasvavyākhyāna*, see below, p. 298, note 25.

[11] WANG Sen's list is now published by Haiyan HU-von Hinüber as Appendix 1 of her paper "Some Remarks on the Sanskrit Manuscript of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Prātimokṣasūtra Found in Tibet." In Ute Hüsken, Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Anne Peters, eds., *Jaina-itihāsa-ratna, Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag* (Indica et Tibetica, 47), Marburg: Indica et Tibetica, 2006: 283–337. For further details see the remarks in Paul Harrison's contribution to this volume, pp. 279–290, which presents in one alphabetized list all the Sanskrit titles in WANG Sen's catalogue, as well as those inventoried by Sāṇkṛtyāyana and Tucci.

were works on medicine and grammar, which were normally used in Buddhist circles, but there were also copies of the *Bhagavadgītā*, non-Buddhist poetry and examples of narrative literature like the *Hitopadeśa*.[12]

Upon the news of the preservation of all this material, scholars breathed a sigh of relief and then set out on another manuscript hunt.[13] For various reasons it was not always entirely successful, but within the last two decades a steadily growing number of manuscripts has been studied and published, often as a result of collaboration between Chinese scholars and their Western or Japanese counterparts. To date there still exists no generally accessible catalogue of all the Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet — hence Paul Harrison's synoptic inventory on pp. 279–290 — but it has become very clear that neither Sāṅkṛtyāyana's nor WANG Sen's lists are exhaustive. A number of texts have been published which were not previously known from the available lists, as, e.g., the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, to mention only the best-known example. The present state of affairs is dealt with in several papers: Saerji describes in detail, first, the history of the cataloguing of the Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet and, second, the study of those manuscripts which are available as microfilms at Peking University (pp. 291–300); Helmut Krasser delineates the Sino-Austrian cooperation and its results (pp. 301–313); LUO Hong informs us about the history of the study of Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet and, from a more general perspective, about the various cooperative projects presently going on (pp. 315–321); Yoshiyasu Yonezawa and Jundō Nagashima sketch the trajectory of the Sanskrit Manuscript Research Project at Taisho University in Tokyo and review its results (pp. 323–332). By a slow process akin to drip-feeding, Buddhist manuscripts from Tibet have continued to be released, and these papers show the degree of progress made by international scholarship on research into them at the time of the Stanford conference and in the years immediately following.

Recently, however, a very surprising development was made public. Towards the end of 2012 several news programmes on Chinese television featured reports of a major project to locate and preserve Sanskrit manuscripts in the Tibetan Autonomous Region.[14] Backed by the local authorities, involving a large team of researchers, and running for six years (beginning in 2006), the project had culminated that year in the lavish printing of a 61-volume compendium of Sanskrit manuscripts in full-colour facsimile,[15] accompanied by four large catalogue volumes.[16] The technical quality of the reproductions appears to be extremely high. The reports spoke of the gathering of approximately 60,000 "pieces" (pre-

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[12] The extremely interesting colophon of the Tibetan translation of the *Amarakośaṭīkā-kāmadhenu* mentions even the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* among the works collected in sNe-gdong monastery, cf. below, p. 299, note 28.

[13] Some aspects of this quest, and what preceded it, are described in a very readable fashion in Ernst Steinkellner, *A Tale of Leaves: On Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet, their Past and their Future*, Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2004.

[14] At the time of writing, the reports were still accessible on the internet at the following urls: http://english.cntv.cn/program/china24/20120925/104046.shtml & http://english.cntv.cn/program/china24/20120925/107278.shtml (for segments of the CCTV English-language news programme "China 24," 25 September 2012); http://english.cntv.cn/program/cultureexpress/20120924/106890.shtml, http://english.cntv.cn/program/cultureexpress/20120925/106946.shtml & http://english.cntv.cn/program/cultureexpress/20120926/106462.shtml (for three reports on the CCTV English-language programme "Culture Express," 24, 25 & 26 September 2012), and http://tv.cntv.cn/video/C13425/0002ea84f1943dd-c209587de0a4e5c44 & http://tv.cntv.cn/video/C13425/99e0d3d4f7143ddc209587de0a4e5c44 (for two parts of a longer feature in Chinese, broadcast in the XZTV "Zai Xizang" ("In Tibet") series). We thank Kazunobu Matsuda for first drawing our attention to these reports.

[15] *Bod rang ljongs su nyar tshags byas pa'i ta la'i lo ma'i dpe cha kun btus par ma / Xizang zizhiqu zhencang beiyejing yingyin daquan* 西藏自治区珍藏贝叶经影印大全 (Chinese title: "Complete Collection of Photographic Reproductions of Palm-leaf Scriptures Preserved in the Tibet Autonomous Region").

[16] *Bod rang ljongs su nyar tshags byas pa'i ta la'i lo ma'i dpe cha bris ma'i dkar chag / Xizang zizhiqu zhencang beiyejing xieben zong mulu* 西藏自治区珍藏贝叶经写本总目录 (Chinese title: "General Catalogue of Palm-leaf Scripture Manuscripts Preserved in the Tibet Autonomous Region").

sumably 60,000 folios or folio fragments), inscribed with works relating to many branches of knowledge, both religious and secular, including astronomy, poetics, and grammar.[17] The manuscripts are said to cover the period from the 7th to the 17th centuries, and they are written in many different scripts. The international significance of the project is repeatedly emphasized in the reports, which state that the catalogue is meant to demonstrate to the world the contents of the collections, in order to enhance scholarship in the future.

The production of these handsome, large-format volumes represents a major step forward in research on Tibet's repositories of Indian manuscripts, a step we would hail more enthusiastically if it had been taken in broad daylight. Unfortunately, despite the abovementioned rhetoric, this publication is hardly one in any real sense of the word, since it is not public: at present the volumes are a closely-guarded secret, with access to them strictly limited. We have unconfirmed reports that the print-run was very small, and that few people are allowed to see them. Although some copies are held by institutions in Beijing, including the China Tibetology Research Center, to our knowledge no foreign scholar has yet been accorded the privilege of looking at them, let alone using them. This is obviously not a satisfactory state of affairs for all interested parties. While recognizing the rights of countries to control their own cultural property, at the same time we hope that eventually the fruits of all this industry will be shared with scholars outside the Peoples' Republic of China, in line with the open and free exchange of information that ought to be the norm in academia. This would be all the more appropriate, given that the manuscripts in question, produced in India and, by the vicissitudes of history, preserved in Tibet, are part of the heritage of the whole world.

6 *The birch-bark scrolls in Kharoṣṭhī script from Greater Gandhāra*

The thirties of the last century witnessed not only the Gilgit find and the rediscovery of Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet, but they also saw the foreshadowing of the next major finds, which were once again to happen in the utmost northwestern corner of the Indian subcontinent and in a region with climatic conditions similarly favourable to the preservation of manuscripts as those in the Central Asian Tarim Basin. In 1932 Sylvain Lévi published a paper on fragments found by Joseph Hackin in 1930 in a cave in the Bamiyan Valley near the smaller of the two monumental Buddha statues.[18] The material was birch bark, and most of the fragments were written in various forms of Brāhmī ranging from the 3rd to the 8th centuries, with a few also in Kharoṣṭhī. This was a first hint at sizable remnants of Indian Buddhist literature in Afghanistan, a hint which was confirmed, unexpectedly and impressively, by the next finds about sixty years later.

In 1995 the British Library acquired several birch-bark scrolls reportedly discovered in eastern Afghanistan, in the area of Greater Gandhāra, as the region soon came to be referred to by scholars. These scrolls were found to contain texts written in Kharoṣṭhī script and in a little-known language, Gāndhārī, and it soon became evident that they not only formed part of a literature considered completely lost, but also represented the oldest Buddhist (and indeed Indian) manuscripts preserved so far. Very soon they were being called the "Dead Sea Scrolls of Buddhism" in the media, and although the claim implicit in this designation seemed exaggerated, at least in the beginning, it nevertheless aroused public interest and guaranteed high prices in the market. Both factors may have contributed to

[17] From the reports one can catch only partial indications of the contents when the spines of the volumes are shown, e.g. vols. 9–12 contain Prajñāpāramitā mss (Sher phyin), 49–53 Language (sGra), 55 Poetics (sNyan ngag), 56 Lexicography (mNgon brjod), 58–60 Vedas (?) (Rig byed), and 61 Fragments (Thor bu).

[18] Sylvain Lévi, "Note sur des manuscrits sanscrits provenant de Bamiyan (Afghanistan), et de Gilgit (Cachemire)," *Journal asiatique* 220 (1932): 1–45. The first part of the paper deals with the fragments from Bamiyan (pp. 1–13) and includes photographs of four fragments.

further scrolls being preserved after their discovery by local people in Afghanistan and Pakistan. To date, approximately 77 scrolls are known, and their age and contents fully justify the importance for the history of Buddhism implied by their comparison to the Qumran find. As was to be expected, they contain canonical texts, but also a rich exegetical literature. Probably the biggest surprise they gave scholars was the existence of several Mahāyāna sūtras, one of them a version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, often thought to be one of the earliest Mahāyāna sūtras of all.[19] So far, there are only two non-Buddhist texts, a legal document and a work of the Rājanīti/Arthaśāstra type which is written not in Gāndhārī, but in Sanskrit. The scrolls are distributed over various collections, described in the contributions by Richard Salomon (pp. 1–17), Mark Allon (pp. 19–33), and Harry Falk and Ingo Strauch (pp. 51–78). Collett Cox introduces a specific genre, the exegetical texts, which were an important development within Gandhāran Buddhism (pp. 35–49).

7 The Brāhmī manuscripts from Bamiyan

Hackin's find in 1930 had already indicated the existence of Brāhmī manuscripts in Bamiyan, and this, too, was reconfirmed in the nineties. In 1996 the Norwegian manuscript collector Martin Schøyen acquired 108 fragments which reportedly came from a cave in Bamiyan, and this auspicious number formed the nucleus of a rapidly growing collection of such items, which finally contained several thousand sizable fragments and many more microfragments.[20] Although it is claimed that the manuscripts come from one place, the collection is extremely diverse; the material comprises palm leaf, leather and birch bark, but there are no scrolls. Judging from the palaeography, the fragments range from the 2nd to the 8th or even 9th centuries; the overwhelming majority are written in Brāhmī, but there are also several hundred Gāndhārī fragments in Kharoṣṭhī, and — what is very unusual — all of these are written on palm leaf. Among the Brāhmī fragments, many are in Sanskrit, but there are a fair number of manuscripts written in a language best described as Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit in the narrower sense of the term. Most of the manuscripts were sold in London, but some passed through the hands of dealers in Japan; therefore they are now distributed over at least four collections, three of them known — the Schøyen Collection in Norway, and the Hirayama and Hayashidera Collections in Japan — and one belonging to an anonymous collector in Europe.[21] Their common source is proven by the fact that fragments in the different collections can be shown to belong to the same manuscript or even the same folio.

Quite unlike the neighbouring Gilgit find, the Bamiyan manuscripts contain a surprisingly high number of fragments which have so far resisted any attempt at identification, although frequently enough text is preserved to allow a search for parallels in the existing

[19] Until recently we had Kharoṣṭhī fragments of six Mahāyāna sūtras: *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, *Bhadrakalpika* (although the assignment of this text to the Mahāyāna is contested), *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, *Sucitti*, *Sarvapuṇyasamuccayasamādhi*, and the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra described in this volume by Ingo Strauch. However, as we go to press, two more have been added to the number: an as yet unidentified text discovered by Kazunobu Matsuda and the *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi*, identified by Paul Harrison, Timothy Lenz and Richard Salomon. The total, now eight, is bound to increase.

[20] Buddhist manuscripts of this type constitute only one part of the Schøyen Collection as a whole.

[21] Provisionally termed "Collection of Private Ownership." It comprises six fragments, one of them probably from a *Bhikṣuprātimokṣavibhaṅga*, another one from a version of the *Dīrghilasūtra* (corresponding to the *Upakkilesasutta* in the *Majjhimanikāya* or to the relevant passage in the *Kosambakkhandhaka* of the *Mahāvagga*). A third fragment belongs to the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* manuscript published in Jens Braarvig *et al.*, eds., *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Vol. I (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection I). Hermes Publishing: Oslo, 179–214, and preserves not only the end of this sūtra, but also the beginning of another, so far unknown, Mahāyāna sūtra, which opens with a dialogue between the Buddha and the bodhisattva Maitreya on the merit of producing a Buddha image. This fragment will be published in the next volume of the series Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection.

Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese and Tibetan corpora. Most probably none of these works is attested elsewhere, and this observation lends strong support to the image of the iceberg, of which we see only the topmost tip, i.e., we infer that only a tiny fraction of the Buddhist literature once existing in India has come down to us. Those manuscripts which have been identified contain works of Mainstream Buddhism, possibly of various schools; but among the vinaya texts those of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins prevail, which is consistent with Xuanzang's reports on the Bamiyan Saṅgha. There are a number of Mahāyāna sūtras, some of which were previously known — apart from short citations in other works — only from their Chinese and Tibetan translations, e.g., the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*, the *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā*, and the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśa*. Fragments of commentaries are attested among the earlier manuscripts, but with very few exceptions it is difficult to identify them. Conspicuous is a folio of a work apparently written from a Mīmāṃsā standpoint, the only example so far of a non-Buddhist philosophical text from Bamiyan.

The Schøyen Collection is described by Jens Braarvig (pp. 157–164), the Hirayama and Hayashidera Collections by Kazunobu Matsuda (pp. 165–169). Lore Sander studies questions of palaeography from Greater Gandhāra to Central Asia and, in the second part of her paper, takes a closer look at the fragments found by Joseph Hackin in Bamiyan in 1930 and then preserved in the Kabul Museum until its sack by the Taliban (pp. 171–186).

8 Manuscripts from Nepal

By far the largest numbers of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts are preserved in Nepal. Today they are distributed over public and private collections in the Kathmandu Valley and in collections all over the world which obtained manuscripts from Nepal since the days of Brian Houghton Hodgson at the beginning of the 19th century. Among them a considerable number of palm-leaf manuscripts are preserved, which have been studied for their contents, for the historical data which their colophons contain,[22] for their illustrations,[23] and for many other purposes. The older among those which provide historical information generally date to the 11th and 12th centuries, but there is the famous manuscript of the *Skandapurāṇa*, possibly the oldest dated Nepalese manuscript, which goes back to 810 CE and indicates that libraries in Nepal, unlike those on the Indian subcontinent, offered conditions which allowed books to survive at least twelve hundred years.

In line with the religious practice of the Newars, the overwhelming majority of the manuscripts contain texts relating to Tantric Buddhism. With very few exceptions, Mainstream canonical works of the various schools are absent,[24] and the absence of Vinaya texts is conspicuous.[25] A number of Mahāyāna sūtras have been preserved in Nepal, especially the

[22] Cf. Luciano Petech, *Mediaeval history of Nepal (c. 750–1480)*, Roma: Is.M.E.O., 1958 (Serie orientale Roma, 10.3): 10f.

[23] Cf. Pratapaditya Pal and Julia Meech-Pekarik , *Buddhist Book Illuminations*, Hong Kong etc.: Ravi Kumar Publ., 1988, and, more recently and with extensive bibliographical references, Karen Weissenborn, *Buchkunst aus Nālandā: Die Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā-Handschrift in der Royal Asiatic Society/London (Ms. Hodgson 1) und ihre Stellung in der Pāla-Buchmalerei des 11./12. Jahrhunderts*, Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Univ. Wien, 2012 (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 77). See also Jinah Kim, *Receptacle of the Sacred: Illustrated Manuscripts and the Buddhist Book Cult in South Asia*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.

[24] Notable exceptions include the famous *Mahāvastu* of the school of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins and a manuscript possibly from a *Madhyamāgama* containing part of the *Upālisūtra* edited already by Sylvain Lévi ("Notes indiennes," *Journal asiatique* 206 (1925): 26–35) and of the **Śikhālaka-/ *Sujātaka-sūtra* and the **Apramāda-/*Upamā* edited by Kazunobu Matsuda, "New Sanskrit Fragments of the *Madhyama-āgama* from the Cecil Bendall Manuscripts in the National Archives Collection, Kathmandu" (in Japanese), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 44.2 (1996): 868–862.

[25] Two rare exceptions are the oldest surviving Pali manuscript (cf. Oskar von Hinüber, *The Oldest Pāli Manuscript: Four Folios of the Vinaya-Piṭaka from the National Archives, Kathmandu (Unter-*

so-called *nava dharmāḥ*, a famous group of nine sūtras, among them the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīkasūtra* already studied and translated by Eugène Burnouf. In the collections of manuscripts from Nepal there are texts of the epistemological school, there are commentaries, there are story collections of the Jātaka/Avadāna class, there are hymns (*stotra*) and there are poetical works of famous authors like Aśvaghoṣa and Haribhaṭṭa.

With the founding of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) in 1970 research on and documentation of the written heritage of the Kathmandu Valley entered a new phase. Within forty years more than 110,000 manuscripts in Sanskrit, Newari, Nepali and other Indian languages — Buddhist, Hindu and secular — in public and private collections were microfilmed, and thus a priceless treasure became accessible to scholars worldwide. In 2002, despite the fact that there were apparently still thousands of Sanskrit manuscripts in Nepal which had not been filmed, the NGMPP came to an end and was replaced by a new project, the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP), with the aim of preparing a detailed and comprehensive descriptive catalogue of all the Nepalese manuscripts which the NGMPP had recorded. Previously it had only been possible to prepare a filing card for each manuscript after a rather cursory study, but in recent years, due to the much more detailed cataloguing work, a number of important texts have unexpectedly come to light.

Although Harunaga Isaacson, the present director of the NGMCP, participated in the conference in Stanford, he was regrettably unable to contribute a paper on the present state of research on the Buddhist manuscripts in Nepal. However, there are various digital ways of informing oneself about the project as such, about the catalogue and about recent finds and studies.[26] Especially impressive is the list of publications based on manuscripts made available by the NGMPP/NGMCP.[27] To a certain extent the importance of the Nepalese manuscripts is also highlighted in Shin'ichirō Hori's discussion of their colophons (pp. 257–258) and also in Michael Hahn's contribution to this volume (pp. 333–346), which deals with a number of manuscripts from Nepal, mostly of poetical works, and illustrates how they contribute to establishing a philologically convincing text.

9 *Pali Manuscripts*

The study of Pali manuscripts goes back at least as far as that of Buddhist Sanskrit texts, and in 1826 the same Eugène Burnouf who studied the first Mahāyāna sūtra in an Indian language wrote also an important Pali grammar.[28] Since then the knowledge of Pali manuscripts has vastly expanded, and it is far beyond the scope of the present volume to cover this important subject. Since Pali Buddhism has survived until today even more vigorously than the Buddhism of the Newars, manuscript production continued well into the 20th century, and there is a tremendous amount of valuable palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in countless monasteries, temples, libraries and private residences throughout Sri Lanka and

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suchungen zur Sprachgeschichte und Handschriftenkunde des Pāli II), Mainz: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991) and the so-called *Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācanā* manuscript of disputed school affiliation, edited already in 1920 by C. M. Ridding and L. de La Vallée Poussin and again in 1993 by Michael Schmidt ("Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā. Die Handschrift Sansk. c.25(R) der Bodleian Library Oxford." In *Studien zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde: Festgabe des Seminars für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde für Professor Dr. Heinz Bechert*, ed. R. Grünendahl, J.-U. Hartmann, P. Kieffer-Pülz, Bonn: Indica et Tibetica, 1993: 239–288; for remarks on the school affiliation cf. M. Schmidt, "Zur Schulzugehörigkeit einer nepalesischen Handschrift der Bhikṣu-Karmavācanā," *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur*, bearbeitet von F. Bandurski *e. a.,* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994: 155–164).

[26] For a general overview see http://www.uni-hamburg.de/ngmcp/index_e.html; for the catalogue see http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/; for the *Newsletter of the NGMCP* see http://www.uni-hamburg.de/ngmcp/newsletter_e.html#nl6 (only nos. 3, 5 and 6 are available). (All pages last accessed on May 30, 2013).

[27] See http://www.uni-hamburg.de/ngmcp/publications_e.html (last accessed on May 30, 2013).

[28] Cf. de Jong 1987: 13f. (see above, note 1).

the Southeast Asian strongholds of Theravāda Buddhism. These texts urgently need to be listed and documented in order to prevent them from falling victim to the vicissitudes of climate, neglect and economic exploitation and to make them accessible for study and research. Better known and better preserved are the collections of Pali manuscripts in Western academic libraries,[29] but even here a lot still needs to be done.

Peter Skilling in his contribution (pp. 347–366) presents exemplary thoughts on the Pali literature of Thailand and on its materiality, and he suggested to us that we include another paper, by Bhikkhu Ñāṇatusita, on Pali manuscripts in Sri Lanka with a specific focus on the manuscripts imported to Ceylon from Buddhist centres in Southeast Asia (pp. 367–403). Both papers serve in a way as examples for what would be needed to do justice to the whole area of Pali Buddhism, and they highlight existing gaps rather than cover the field. Having to do with living traditions, they address present problems, for instance the oftentimes rather deplorable state of manuscript collections in Sri Lanka (pp. 370ff.) and the loss documented by comparison of present data with earlier surveys (p. 378). They also raise a number of interesting points worth reflecting on with regard to much earlier developments, such as the introduction of new scripts (p. 352), the change in meaning of the term Tripiṭaka (p. 361), and the ongoing impact of the imported literature in its new environment (p. 362). Skilling calls the Pali literature of Siam "doubly damned as a late literature preserved in even later manuscripts" (p. 364) and raises the intriguing — if not, to some, irritating — question (*ibidem*): "Which is more interesting or important, a seventeenth-century manuscript composed in Ayutthaya, or a second-century Gandhari fragment?" While the antiquities market has a ready and unambiguous economic answer to this question, scholars will take rather diverse views on questions of interest and importance. Looking at the papers of the present volume, readers may get the impression that their distribution tends to reflect the answer of the market. However, we would like to emphasize that this has not at all been our intention. The selection rather follows aspects of manageability, with a view to present the latest research and to stress collections which preserve singular material. For the understanding of a specific development at a given place and time, a late Pali manuscript may easily furnish more important information than a two-thousand-year-old manuscript fragment from Afghanistan.

10 Finding Texts

From the above survey it becomes obvious that by no means all collections of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts have been covered. There are simply too many private and public collections distributed all over the world and too many scholars studying them in order to list all the collections and describe all the recent contributions which have helped to advance our knowledge; thus, there must be important gaps besides the Pali manuscripts. One example would be the famous collection of Giuseppe Tucci in Italy, which was difficult to access until recent years, but is now, thanks to the efforts of Francesco Sferra, being made available to scholars in editions and excellent photographic reproductions.[30]

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[29] Cf., e.g., for German collections *Singhalesische Handschriften*, part 1 and 2, Wiesbaden 1969 and Stuttgart 1997 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XXII, 1 and 2) and *Burmese Manuscripts*, parts 1–7 (from part 5 with the title *Birmanische Handschriften*), Wiesbaden/Stuttgart 1979–2010 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XXIII, 1–7); for French collections *Catalogue des manuscrits palis des collections françaises fonds des bibliothèques publiques et privées*, établi par Jacqueline Filliozat, EFEO, Paris, et révisé par Jinadasa Liyanaratne et William Pruitt, Pali Text Society, Oxford (CD-Rom; 1972–2003); for English collections Tilman Frasch, "A Preliminary Survey of Burmese Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland," *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Spring 2004; for Danish collections C. E. Godakumbura, assisted by U Tin Lwin, *Catalogue of Cambodian and Burmese Pali Manuscripts*, Copenhagen 1983 (Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Xylographs etc. in Danish collections, II, 1).

[30] Francesco Sferra (ed.), *Sanskrit Texts from Giuseppe Tucci's Collection*, Part I, Roma; Is.I.A.O.,

Descriptions, title lists or catalogues exist for many collections, and by now there are various resources for accessing them. Already in 1992 Akira Yuyama presented a very useful overview,[31] meanwhile updated in the bibliography prepared by Yasuhiro Sueki,[32] of which a further updated pdf file is available for download.[33]

For the collections that are dealt with in this volume, the contributions below present the latest state of research. For the material from Gandhara, Central Asia and Gilgit in particular, all the identifications of texts and all the manuscripts and, more often, manuscript fragments in which these texts are preserved are listed. These lists of identifications provide excellent research material, for instance for a history, still to be written, of Indian Buddhist literature in Central Asia. They also demonstrate how consistent the collections of manuscripts from the Northern Route of the Silk Road are with each other, a point made already twenty years ago with regard to the Hoernle and Turfan Collections (cf. below, p. 223). However, they also lead, especially in the case of the Central Asian collections, to several rather long and partly overlapping lists of texts which can be found in several collections. There is only one exception, namely the list of "Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna and related texts" on pp. 226–229, which unites Mahāyāna texts found in Khotan from all Central Asian collections. Some readers may find this tiresome, but we decided against collecting all the information into a general index or a general title list at the end of the volume, because the degree of completeness varies widely among the contributions, and because it is difficult to conceive how a reader could possibly benefit from an index which combines, e.g., Mahāyāna texts in the Stein Collection with the Pali texts listed by Bhikkhu Ñāṇatusita. Therefore, a scholar who is interested in a specific work and wants to establish whether its Indic text is extant will have to check the individual lists in each of the relevant contributions.

A certain degree of redundancy in this volume will be observed with the Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet. Several scholars describe the history of and the research on this material from their specific viewpoints. Since the number of accessible texts is still rather limited, it is unavoidable that the same texts and the same editions are referred to in various places. However, in the light of recent developments (cf. above, pp. xiv–xv), we preferred to leave the contributions unaltered despite these overlaps, since, in a certain way, they illustrate not only the history, but also the politics of research and accessibility, which seemed to us no less interesting.

11 Closing Remarks

Although the papers in this volume are mainly concerned with describing the various manuscript collections and the research devoted to them, they often raise interesting issues of broader relevance. For example, Helmut Krasser discusses the notion of an Urtext with regard to the commentarial genre he is concerned with, and he reaches the conclusion that the peculiarities of some commentaries are much better explained once these commentaries are understood as a kind of student's notes (pp. 305ff.). In such a case, one can still use this material to reconstruct a Sanskrit text, but reconstructing the Urtext of the work commented upon will become impossible. On p. 144 Jens-Uwe Hartmann mentions another important observation by Gudrun Melzer affording us for the first time a closer look at the actual practice of a scriptorium: modern technical means of reproduction and

2008 (Manuscripta Buddhica, 1).

[31] *Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Collections. A Bibliographical Guide for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology*, Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992 (Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica, *Pamphlet*, No. 2).

[32] *Bibliographical Sources for Buddhist Studies from the Viewpoint of Buddhist Philology*, Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, [2]2008 (Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica, 3): 4–17.

[33] At http://www.icabs.ac.jp/english/library_e/bibliography_e.htm (last update April, 2013).

image manipulation provide much better images than earlier black and white copies and permit us to see marks which previously went unnoticed. This has led to the detection of a twofold pagination system in some manuscripts, revealing a copying process in which several scribes participated. Similarly, Michael Hahn draws attention to his discovery of a singular marking system in a manuscript of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* (p. 340).

A serious problem connected with the manuscripts' status as antiquities is addressed by Jens Braarvig (pp. 162–163). Old manuscripts frequently found and still find their way into foreign collections as a result of activity considered illegal under present international agreements. Indic manuscripts are no exception here, and this raises ethical issues in dealing with them. Roughly ten years ago, Martin Schøyen, the owner of the Schøyen Collection, and Jens Braarvig, as the leading researcher of the group of scholars studying the Bamiyan manuscripts in the collection, became the main targets of a heated campaign in Norway against the acquisition and study of such material. As a result, several bodies, among them the Board of the International Association for Buddhist Studies, affirmed the right of scholars to study such manuscripts and to document the results to the best of their abilities. Yet, the illegal trade — and the money earned through it — is probably both a blessing and a curse. On the one hand, illegal raiders will be less inclined to throw away a manuscript or use it to fuel their camp fires once its monetary value is known, but on the other hand the knowledge of that value may provoke further searching, and such clandestine digging invariably destroys all the information about the find-spot and thus about the context of a manuscript, which for a scholar may be even more important than the manuscript itself. A similar tension between idealism and realism can be seen at the end of the chain which starts with the illegal excavation or the chance find in Afghanistan or Pakistan: once the manuscripts reach the dealers in London, Tokyo and elsewhere, they command such high prices that generally only wealthy collectors can afford to buy them, but for the most part, as far as we know, the manuscripts have not disappeared from view altogether, as they could well do. Many of these same collectors have shown themselves very sympathetic to scholarly concerns, and have been generous in allowing access to their collections and facilitating research on the items they have acquired. Thus knowledge advances, but not without cost. In a perfect world, perhaps, every such manuscript would be unearthed in the context of a scientific, properly documented archaeological excavation and then entrusted to the expert curatorial care of a public institution, preferably in the same country, offering open access to scholars — but alas we do not live in that world.[34]

To end on a less ambivalent and more positive note, one of the most encouraging features of work on Buddhist manuscripts over the last two decades has been its international and collaborative character. Although the aim of the Stanford conference was to bring together the principals of all the major manuscript projects currently underway, wherever in the world they might be located, these projects have tended in any case to run across national boundaries, with many researchers actively engaged in two or more of them. Although no discipline could be more closely identified with the humanities than classical philology, the *modus operandi* of Buddhist manuscript studies has come more and more to approximate that of the sciences. The solitary scholar poring over his or her manuscript in the lamplight has become a thing of the past, to be replaced by groups of researchers from many different countries working shoulder to shoulder, and, what is more, employing the latest technology. More often than not we find large numbers of people

[34] For some recent reflections on these issues see, e.g., James Curo, ed., *Whose Culture? The Promise of Museums and the Debate over Antiquities*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009, and, with particular reference to Afghanistan, Juliette van Krieken-Peters, ed., *Art and Archaeology of Afghanistan: Its Fall and Survival*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, especially the article by Atle Omland, "Claiming Gandhara: Legitimizing Ownership of Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, Norway," pp. 227–264, which takes a very critical perspective on some of the material dealt with in this volume.

sitting around a table looking at screens together, as they manipulate and examine digital images of the manuscripts, and the results of their high-tech investigations and the vigorous discussions that accompany them are published in books and papers in which joint authorship is becoming commonplace.[35] In this way the digital revolution has also revolutionized the study of manuscripts, and what those unnamed scribes wrote so painstakingly on birch bark and palm leaf, in some cases over two thousand years ago, in some cases also with no intention that it ever be read, is now being rapidly translated into code, for scholars the world over to access at the click of a mouse. Although we are not quite there yet, we look forward to the time when all this material, along with the research devoted to it, is freely available on the internet, and the barriers to the advancement of our knowledge of the rich literary heritage of Buddhism are cleared away.

In closing, we would like to acknowledge all those who made the 2009 conference which led to this volume possible. We are grateful to Dr Irene LIN and the Robert H. N. HO Family Foundation Center for Buddhist Studies at Stanford for organizing what proved to be a most stimulating and productive meeting. The enthusiastic participation of graduate student helpers Rafal Felbur, Chiew Hui HO and Nicholas Witkowski also helped things to run smoothly. As we prepared this volume for publication, we benefitted from the encouragement of Professor Ernst Steinkellner, and we thank the Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften for accepting it into their distinguished series. Finally, we must record our gratitude to the conference participants and contributors for their patience over the last few years, as unforeseen technical difficulties and the pressure of other commitments combined to slow down the editorial process, and we also thank them for the care with which they updated their contributions to reflect further developments and publications since 2009. Three times the Jacaranda mimosifolia which can be seen in full bloom in the conference group photograph has shed its purple blossoms over the paving of Stanford's Main Quad, and now, as it sheds them a fourth time, it is gratifying to see the conference at last bear fruit in this volume.

Paul Harrison (Stanford) Jens-Uwe Hartmann (Munich)

[35] For younger and less well-established scholars in the humanities, however, multiple authorship can still be a risky career gambit, and one fears that promotion and tenure committees are likely to be slow to adjust their criteria to the new situation.

Gāndhārī Manuscripts in the British Library, Schøyen and Other Collections

RICHARD SALOMON (SEATTLE)

1. Introduction: Buddhist manuscripts in Gāndhārī

Until recently, Buddhist literary texts in Kharoṣṭhī script and Gāndhārī language were virtually limited to a single famous manuscript,[1] usually known as the "Gāndhārī *Dharmapada*"[2] after the title of John Brough's authoritative edition (Brough 1962). But the discovery of a group of twenty-nine fragmentary birch-bark scrolls containing various Buddhist texts in Gāndhārī, acquired by the British Library in 1995, revealed what had long been suspected by some Buddhist scholars, namely that an extensive body of Buddhist literature in Gāndhārī had existed in and around the early centuries of the Common Era.

This conclusion was subsequently confirmed by the discovery of many other manuscripts of the same or similar type, which are surveyed in this and in three other articles in this volume (by M. Allon, C. Cox, and H. Falk and I. Strauch). As a result, it is now clear that in the period in question the Gandhāra region and the adjoining areas of "Greater Gandhāra" nurtured a vast literature in the local language, including both translations of well-known Buddhist texts from other languages and original local compositions. Indeed, it is now clear that Gāndhārī was at this time one of the principal literary languages of Indian Buddhism, and that the disappearance of this literature for nearly two millennia, until its recent partial rediscovery, was merely an accident of history. In its day, Gāndhārī probably played as important a role as Pāli, Sanskrit, and other more familiar languages of Buddhist traditions, and even had a special role of its own in that it was the language of the first Buddhist texts which were introduced into Central Asia and thence into China, thereby becoming the source of some of the earliest Chinese translations of Buddhist texts. Thus, although the Gāndhārī literary tradition died out in its homeland by about the fourth century CE, it lived on, in a sense, through its legacy as the earliest vehicle for the spread of Buddhism into East Asia. The rediscovery of a substantial corpus of samples of this lost literary tradition, though no doubt a tiny fraction of what once must have existed, opens up an entirely new dimension of the early history of Buddhist literature and doctrine which is still only beginning to be explored.

The principal collections and individual manuscripts in Gāndhārī which have been recently discovered and made available to scholars are:[3]

1. The British Library collection: discussed in this article and in that of C. Cox in this volume.
2. The Robert Senior collection: discussed in the article by M. Allon in this volume.
3. The Bajaur collection: discussed in the article by H. Falk and I. Strauch in this volume.
4. The "Split" collection: discussed in the article by H. Falk and I. Strauch in this volume.
5. A large group of fragments from Bamiyan, now divided among the Schøyen, Hayashidera, and Hirayama collections: discussed in this article.
6. A group of manuscripts in the Paul Pelliot collection in the Bibliothèque nationale de France: discussed in this article.

[1] For information on other Gāndhārī manuscripts discovered before 1995, see Salomon 1999: 59–68.

[2] Since two other manuscripts of the *Dharmapada* in Gāndhārī have subsequently been discovered (see Lenz 2003: part I, and H. Falk and I. Strauch's article in this volume, pp. 60ff.), it is now preferable to refer to the first one as the "Khotan *Dharmapada*."

[3] For other recent surveys and overviews of Gāndhārī manuscripts, see Allon 2007a, 2008, Salomon 2006a, 2006b, and Strauch 2008: 112–113. For a complete listing of the manuscripts, see the "Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts" by S. Baums and A. Glass (http://gandhari.org/catalog/).

7. A single manuscript at the University of Washington: discussed in the article by C. Cox in this volume.
8. A single manuscript in the Library of Congress, Washington DC: discussed in this article.
9. A private collection of miscellaneous scrolls, temporarily referred to as the "new" collection: discussed in this article.

Unfortunately, the provenance, archaeological context, and circumstances of discovery of most of these manuscripts are uncertain or entirely unknown. Many of them first came to light in the antiquities market, where reliable reports are hard to come by. But it can be assumed with reasonable certainty that most of them come from the Afghanistan-Pakistan border area, and it is believed that some of the largest groups, such as the British Library and Senior collections, came from the region of Haḍḍa in Nangarhar Province of Afghanistan, in part on the basis of reliable testimony of past discoveries there of similar materials in similar circumstances (Salomon 1999: 20–21, 59–65). However, these and other such materials could also have come from other sites in border areas such as Bajaur, which is reportedly the provenance of the Bajaur collection.

Two of the largest groups of manuscripts, the British Library and Senior collections, were found in inscribed clay pots which had probably been interred in stūpas or elsewhere on the grounds of Buddhist monasteries. Another large group, the Bajaur collection, was reportedly found inside a "stone chamber," which may have been a relic chamber inside a stūpa (Strauch 2008: 104–105). These data, uncertain and imprecise as they may be, suggest that in Gandhāra manuscripts were ritually interred in ways analogous to bodily relics of the Buddha or of revered teachers, being considered as a kind of dharma-relic (Salomon 1999: 69–86). In some cases, such as the British Library Collection, it appears that the manuscripts were considered to be "dead," that is, they were worn-out old manuscripts which had been marked for ritual disposal after fresh copies had been made from them.[4] But in at least one other case, namely the Senior scrolls, the manuscripts were evidently not only new when interred but were apparently written up as a "commissioned collection" (Allon 2008: 163; see also Allon 2007b: 4) with the express intention of being interred. In any case, it is clear that the manuscripts were conceived as relics which had to be ritually buried, and it is due to this practice that they have survived to the present.[5]

Due to the fragmentary condition of most of the Gandhāran manuscripts and the extreme fragility of the birch-bark scrolls on which they are written, it is impossible to give precise figures as to the original number of manuscripts and separate texts involved.[6] However, the total number of scrolls with Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī texts now known is approaching one hundred, most of which are available for scholarly study, and the number of distinct texts contained within them is considerably greater than that. There are also close to three hundred

[4] This interpretation, however, has been questioned in Lenz 2003: 108–110, and the question remains open in the absence of firm archaeological data which might have clarified the issue.

[5] For a general discussion of the issue, see Salomon 2009. On the treatment of "dead" scriptures in Buddhism and other religions, see now Myrvold 2010.

[6] For example, separated portions of a single scroll may not have been recognized as such in the initial stages of conservation and cataloguing, so that the same text may be divided under two or more numbers in a catalogue. Despite the complications and confusion which this can cause, experience in this and other similar projects has shown that attempting to reorganize the original numeration of manuscript fragments often only makes the situation even more difficult. For this reason, original cataloguing numbers (most notably in the case of the very complex British Library Collection) have been retained in this and other relevant publications, so that, for example, some manuscripts are published under titles such as *Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-type Sūtras: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 12 and 14* (Allon 2001).

The number of "texts" is also difficult to specify because a single scroll or manuscript often contains more than one text, and conversely, a text may be divided among two or more scrolls. It is only in the process of detailed study that the situation with regard to these variables becomes clear, so that in many cases, particularly among the numerous very small fragments from the Bamiyan area, we still have no clear idea how many original texts and manuscripts are involved. For these reasons, the figures mentioned here are very approximate and tentative.

fragments, most of them very small, of Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī texts on palm leaf, the majority from the Bamiyan area. The number of original manuscripts and texts which they represent is at this point impossible to determine, but there are probably at least several dozen. Imprecise as these figures may be, they do suffice to confirm — especially in combination with reports of the discovery in modern times of other such manuscripts, now lost — that there was in antiquity a vast Buddhist literature in Gāndhārī, of which what we have so far seen is no doubt only a tiny fraction.

The intention of this article is to present an up-to-date report on recent discoveries of Gāndhārī manuscripts and a survey of the progress made toward their study and publication, as well as a brief and preliminary summary of the results and insights derived therefrom. Although this overall survey will inevitably repeat much of what has been stated in previous general discussions and specialized studies by myself and others on Gandhāran manuscripts, it is meant to compile the relevant data in a single convenient location as well as to provide new information on the latest discoveries and developments in this fast-moving field. This article will concentrate on those collections or genres which are not discussed in the other articles on Gāndhārī materials in this volume, namely the non-scholastic texts of the British Library Collection, the Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī fragments, a single manuscript in the Library of Congress, and the "new" collection. As for the remaining groups, the Senior collection is presented by M. Allon, the scholastic, commentarial, and exegetical texts in the British Library collection and University of Washington manuscript by C. Cox, and the "Split" and Bajaur collections by H. Falk and I. Strauch.

Shortly after the British Library's acquisition of its collection of Kharoṣṭhī scrolls, an agreement was drawn up in 1996 between it and the University of Washington to promote their study and publication under the auspices of the British Library/University of Washington Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project (EBMP; now renamed University of Washington Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project).[7] Subsequently, the EBMP contracted with the University of Washington Press to publish scholarly editions of texts from the British Library Kharoṣṭhī collection in a series entitled Gandhāran Buddhist Texts (GBT), of which six volumes have been published to date and several more are in various stages of preparation.

In the meantime, several other groups of Gāndhārī manuscripts of similar types, most notably the Senior collection, came to light and were made available to the EBMP for study and publication. These further collections are also being published in the GBT series, with the exception of the Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī fragments from Bamiyan, which are published in the Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection (BMSC) series (Braarvig *et al.* 2000, 2002, 2006, forthcoming). The GBT is intended to present detailed scholarly editions and studies of the new texts in a convenient and consistent format, in order to avoid the disorganized and inadequate publication programs that have plagued some other major manuscript discoveries in India (for example the Gilgit manuscripts) and elsewhere.

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[7] See the EBMP's website at www.ebmp.org/.

2. The British Library collection

2.1 Research to date and future agenda

Of the twenty-nine "fragments"[8] listed in the original catalogue of the British Library Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts presented in Salomon 1999: 42–55, nine have been published in full or in part[9] in the Gandhāran Buddhist Texts series, as follows:

Fragment 1 (first text), *Anavatapta-gāthā*: GBT 5 (Salomon 2008b), part II.
Fragment 1 (second text), Avadāna collection: GBT 6 (Lenz 2010), chapter 5.
Fragment 2, Avadāna collection: GBT 6 (Lenz 2010), chapter 6.
Fragment 3, Avadāna and Pūrvayoga collection (fragment 3A) plus miscellaneous fragments (3B–L): GBT 6 (Lenz 2010), chapter 7 and appendix 4.
Fragment 5A, miscellaneous verses: GBT 1 (Salomon 2000), appendix 4.
Fragment 5B, "Rhinoceros Sūtra" (*Khargaviṣana-sūtra*): GBT 1 (Salomon 2000).
Fragments 12 and 14 (first text), *Ekottarikāgama*-type sūtras: GBT 2 (Allon 2001).
Fragments 16 and 25 (first text), *Dharmapada*: GBT 3 (Lenz 2003), part I.
Fragments 16 and 25 (second text), Pūrvayoga collection: GBT 3 (Lenz 2003), part II.
Fragment 21 (first text), unidentified text: GBT 6 (Lenz 2010), appendix 5.
Fragment 21 (second text), Avadāna collection: GBT 6 (Lenz 2010), chapter 8.

In addition, fragments 7, 9, 13, and 18, which proved to constitute a single text, have been edited by S. Baums in his PhD dissertation (2009) and will be published as a future volume of the GBT series. These fragments comprise a particularly long and interesting text, an exegetical commentary on a series of well-known verses with interesting structural and methodological parallels to the *Peṭakopadesa* and *Nettipakaraṇa* on the one hand and the *Niddesa* on the other.[10]

Thus within the foreseeable future nearly one half of the British Library manuscripts will have been published, including many of the longest, best-preserved, and important among them. In addition, two further editions of British Library texts are currently in preparation and are expected to be published in the near future:

1. A polemical Abhidharma text in fragment 28, being prepared for publication by C. Cox.
2. Two Avadāna collections on fragment 4 (second text) and fragments 12 + 14 (second text), being edited by T. Lenz and J. Neelis. The publication of these texts will complete the Avadāna/Pūrvayoga corpus, which is among the most original and important material among the British Library scrolls.

Other texts which are designated as priorities for future publication include:

1. An expository Abhidharma treatise in fragment 10.
2. An exegetical commentary on a series of verses in fragment 4 (first text), similar in format and contents to the text of fragments 7, 9, 13, and 18 already edited by S. Baums.
3. A commentary on the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* in fragment 15. This text is of particular interest as representing a previously unknown type of commentary on a foundational sūtra,[11] and is being studied as a group project by the EBMP research staff at the University of Washington. In view of the considerable time which will be required to prepare a

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[8] The term "fragment" was used in the initial cataloguing of the British Library collection with reference to what were then deemed to be the remnants of separate manuscripts. However, as explained in note 6, these fragment numbers do not always actually correspond to individual scrolls or texts.

[9] "In part" refers to those cases where a single manuscript contains two or more unrelated texts which are being published separately.

[10] See the description of this text in the article by C. Cox in this volume, pp. 39–40.

[11] See the discussion in the article by C. Cox, pp. 36–39.

complete edition due to the length and difficulty of the text, the EBMP plans to successively publish partial editions comprising separate sections of the numerically arranged text.

Beyond these priorities, the EBMP intends eventually to publish further editions of some though not necessarily of all of the remaining texts. Some of the small and/or poorly preserved and partially illegible fragments such as nos. 11, 19, 22, 24, and 27 will not be amenable to publication as full editions, and may eventually be published in the form of annotated facsimiles instead of detailed editions with full documentation and commentary as in GBT volumes to date. The format of the full-text editions will also be adjusted in future in light of the ever-growing body of data. For example, the exhaustive compilation of palaeographic, phonological, and morphological data presented in the first six volumes of GBT will be gradually reduced in future volumes to summary and representative information as these topics become better documented and more generally accessible.[12]

2.2 Evaluation

The early phase of the EBMP's work on the British Library collection focused on texts of the Sūtra and related genres, of which the major representatives,[13] namely the *Dharmapada* fragment, the *Ekottarikāgama*-type sūtras, the "Rhinoceros Sūtra," and the *Anavatapta-gāthā*,[14] have been edited and published. These texts were prioritized, first, for their interest as representing previously unknown versions of familiar texts or genres, with as many as four parallels in different languages,[15] and second, because the existence of these parallels in better-known languages made them relatively tractable on the philological level.

The study of these documents has led to a greatly enhanced knowledge of the Kharoṣṭhī script and Gāndhārī language,[16] and this new information in turn provided the groundwork for the considerably more challenging study of the many texts in the British Library and other collections for which no direct parallels are known. The first steps in this direction were taken by Timothy Lenz, whose studies of several Avadāna and Pūrvayoga compilations in GBT 3 and 6 involved particularly difficult material consisting of extremely brief skeleton outlines of stories, usually fragmentary or partially illegible, and mostly without parallels elsewhere in Buddhist literature. Despite these difficulties, Lenz has succeeded in elucidating the characteristic features of Gandhāran Avadāna/Pūrvayoga literature, showing, for example, that in the Gandhāran tradition, in contrast to other Buddhist literatures, the genre label "Avadāna" refers to stories which relate events in the present (narrative) time whereas "Pūrvayoga" refers to stories of actions performed in previous lifetimes (Lenz 2003: 92). In their colloquial and extremely laconic style, the British Library *avadāna*s seem to be the earliest surviving germ of what was to develop later into the formal literary genre of Avadāna and Avadāna collections.

Also of particular interest in the Gandhāran *avadāna*s are the sporadic local geographical and historical references, including characters such as the "Great Satrap" (*mahakṣatrapa*) Jihonika and the "Commander" (*stratega*) Aśpavarma, both of whom were previously known from inscriptions and coins but not in Buddhist literature. Such topical references confirm the local origin of many of the Gāndhārī *avadāna*s and illustrate how regional Buddhist literatures in antiquity incorporated historical circumstances into their texts.

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[12] See also the discussion of this point in the article by M. Allon in this volume, pp. 28–29.

[13] Some of the still unidentified fragments, such as fragment 26 + 29, may also contain sūtras, but this remains to be confirmed.

[14] For the rationale of considering the *Anavatapta-gāthā* as a sūtra, even though it is not typically classed as such in modern scholarly literature, see Salomon 2008b: 14–18.

[15] The results of the comparisons of such versions will be summarized below in §7.2.

[16] See the discussion in §7.4.

A third genre which is prominently represented in the British Library collection involves texts which can be broadly grouped as scholastic literature. Texts placed under this rubric have proven particularly difficult due to the almost complete absence of textual parallels or even of equivalent genres, their highly technical character, and of course the usual problems of fragmentary and poorly preserved texts. Nonetheless, considerable progress has been made, particularly by S. Baums in connection with the commentaries on groups of verses and by C. Cox on the Abhidharma treatises.[17]

Overall, the British Library Collection appears to represent a random cross-section of the types of texts which were preserved in the library of a Gandhāran Buddhist monastery, or perhaps in the personal collection of a scholar-monk. In either case, it gives us some inkling of the texts and genres which were deemed worthy of preservation and study by the residents of such a monastery. The other manuscripts and collections discovered subsequently have both broadened and clarified this picture, as will be discussed in subsequent parts of this article.

3. The Bamiyan Gāndhārī fragments

3.1 Progress toward identification and publication

Among the thousands of Buddhist manuscript fragments found in the Bamiyan area (see the contributions by J. Braarvig and K. Matsuda in this volume), now divided among the Schøyen, Hirayama, and Hayashidera collections, there were several hundred fragments, mostly very small, of palm-leaf folios in Kharoṣṭhī and Gāndhārī. In most of them, the script and language reflect later stages of development (Salomon 2001), and a relatively late date has been confirmed by radiocarbon testing of three fragments (Allon *et al.* 2006). Although none of these techniques yields precise dates, it would appear that most if not all of the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī fragments date from around the late second century and the early or mid-third century CE. As such, they constitute the earliest component of the Bamiyan manuscript material as a whole, which dates from approximately the second to seventh centuries CE.

Many of these small fragments can be grouped together in terms of their contents and handwriting, there being some forty-seven discernible individual hands among the fragments. However, it is by no means always clear that all of the fragments in the same hand are part of the same text, so that at this point it is impossible to determine how many separate texts or manuscripts are represented. The number of distinct hands nevertheless indicates that at least several dozen manuscripts must have been involved.

These factors have hindered the identification of the texts involved, but in the last few years significant progress has been achieved in this regard. The first text to be identified was the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, six small fragments of which were published in Allon and Salomon 2000. More recently, twenty-five of the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī fragments have been identified as part of a numerically arranged sūtra collection. The sūtras mostly correspond to ones in the last three sections of the Pāli *Aṅguttaranikāya* (the navaka-, dasaka-, and ekādasaka-nipātas), so that these fragments seem to belong to the later part of what was probably a complete manuscript of a Gāndhārī sūtra compilation equivalent to the Pali *Aṅguttaranikāya* and the Sanskrit *Ekottarikāgama*. These fragments are currently being prepared for publication in BMSC iv (Braarvig *et al.* forthcoming) by Chanida Jantrasrisalai, Timothy Lenz, LIN Qian, and Richard Salomon.

The text of the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* is represented by fifty-two small fragments of a single manuscript which together comprise some 15% of the entire corpus of the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī materials. These fragments have been edited for publication by Stefan Baums,

[17] See the further discussion in §7.2.

Andrew Glass, and Kazunobu Matsuda in BMSC iv. Although the *Bhadrakalpika* was immensely popular in Northern Buddhist traditions, being available in Tibetan, Chinese, Uyghur, Khotanese, and Mongolian translations, these fragments were at the time[18] the first known text of the sūtra in an Indian language.

The *Bhadrakalpika* fragments were also of special interest as the first specimen in Gāndhārī of a Mahāyāna text, or at least of a text which came to be associated with the Mahāyāna. Subsequently, single small fragments of two more Mahāyāna sūtras in Gāndhārī were identified among the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī fragments, and in this case, unlike the *Bhadrakalpika*, both are unquestionably pure Mahāyāna texts (Allon and Salomon 2010: 7–9), thus proving beyond a doubt that Mahāyāna texts were present in Gāndhārī literature.[19] The first of these contained a portion of the ninth chapter, the *Vīryapāramitā*, of the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka-sūtra*. The fragment has been edited and will also be published in BMSC iv (Baums, Braarvig and Salomon forthcoming).[20]

The other Mahāyāna text is a small fragment from the *Sarvapuṇyasamuccaya-samādhi-sūtra*, which was previously known only from Tibetan and Chinese (T nos. 381 and 382) translations, and was not preserved in any Indian language, apart from brief citations in other texts. The fragment preserves a small portion of a dialogue between a sage named Uttara and the buddha named Vimalakīrtirāja, approximately corresponding to Taishō no. 381, 979b12–28 and no. 382, 996a16–27. This text will also be published in BMSC iv (Harrison, Lenz, LIN and Salomon forthcoming).

The fourth volume of BMSC will also contain an edition (Salomon forthcoming) of thirty-two fragments written by a single scribe (Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī scribe 7) with a particularly distinct hand. The contents of these fragments are quite diverse, including a series of utterances by the Buddha immediately before his *parinirvāṇa* with partial parallels in several Mahāyāna sūtras, groups of verses of the *Dharmapada*/*Udānavarga* type, and narratives of the Avadāna or similar genre. Although direct or approximate correspondences were found for several individual verses and phrases, no parallel for the text as a whole has been determined. Thus it remains unclear whether these fragments represent a single text, perhaps a Mahāyāna sūtra containing Avadāna passages and quotations from *Dharmapada* collections, or whether they come from two or more separate and unrelated manuscripts written by the same scribe, or are parts of a single *Sammelhandschrift* containing several separate texts. It is hoped that their publication will enable experts to identify further parallels in other Buddhist literatures, if in fact they exist.

3.2 Preliminary evaluation

Like the British Library Collection, the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī fragments provide a random cross-section of manuscripts which were read and copied in a monastic institution in the far northwestern fringe of the Indian Buddhist world. And again like the British Library fragments, we find in them a mixture of familiar texts which are common to some or all Buddhist traditions and local materials which have not been preserved elsewhere. But an important difference is that whereas the British Library scrolls provide a snapshot of Buddhist literature at a relatively early phase of its development in Gandhāra, around the first century CE, the Bamiyan fragments reveal a considerably later stage, probably about the late second to the third centuries CE. Thus they bring to light the last phase of

[18] Recently a small fragment of the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* in Buddhist Sanskrit, apparently from the Khotan region, has been identified; see the article by DUAN Qing in this volume, pp. 270ff.

[19] See the further discussion in §7.2.

[20] Fragments of a later Sanskrit manuscript of the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka-sūtra* were also found among the Bamiyan fragments (Braarvig and Pagel 2006), and another complete Sanskrit manuscript has recently been found in Beijing. These new discoveries confirm the popularity of this text in early Indian Mahāyāna.

Gāndhārī literature, in which Gāndhārī and Kharoṣṭhī were coming more and more under the shadow of Sanskrit and Brāhmī-derived scripts until they merged with them and disappeared entirely during the third century CE or not long thereafter (Salomon 2008c).

In view of the relatively late date of the Bamiyan fragments, it is not surprising that it was among them that the first specimens of Mahāyāna sūtras in Gāndhārī were found. However, single Mahāyāna texts have now been identified in three earlier groups of Gāndhārī manuscripts, as will be discussed below. Thus, pending the further identification of texts in the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī material and perhaps also in other collections, it remains to be seen whether Mahāyāna texts are in fact relatively more prevalent there.

4. The Pelliot fragments in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and other Central Asian manuscripts

The Paul Pelliot collection in the Bibliothèque nationale de France includes eight small fragments in Kharoṣṭhī script written on palm leaf which were found near Kucha on the northern rim of the Tarim Basim in the Xinjiang-Uyghur autonomous region of the People's Republic of China. They were published in full in Salomon 1998, but no parallel texts have been found for any of them. The eight fragments, some of which contain only a few letters, belong to at least four and possibly as many as seven different original manuscripts. Among the ones which contain enough text to permit any approximate determination of their contents, the majority seem to be narrative, perhaps belonging to the Avadāna or a similar genre. Only one fragment (no. 8) contains a scholastic text, perhaps a commentary or Abhidharma treatise. A particularly interesting item is the best preserved fragment (no. 1), which is composed, not in Gāndhārī, but rather in more or less standard Sanskrit written in Kharoṣṭhī script. In general, the palaeographic and linguistic features of the Pelliot fragments suggest that they belong to the middle period of Gāndhārī literature, roughly around the second century, although in view of their very meager remains this is far from certain.

In addition to the Pelliot fragments, and of course the well-known Khotan *Dharmapada*, several other small fragments of Gāndhārī manuscripts have been found at various places in Xinjiang (Salomon 1999: 59). The combined evidence of these finds suffices to establish that a significant body of Buddhist literature in Gāndhārī existed in the oases of the Tarim Basim as well as in Gandhāra and adjoining regions in the early centuries of the common era. The presence among them of a manuscript in Sanskrit written in Kharoṣṭhī script is consistent with the testimony of a few other such specimens in manuscripts and inscriptions from Gandhāra and Central Asia, including a manuscript containing Rājanīti/Arthaśāstra-type verses in the Bajaur collection (Strauch 2008: 125–127; see also pp. 71–72 in this volume). This new material thus confirms that there existed an established tradition of writing Sanskrit texts in Kharoṣṭhī in the regions where it was the predominant script, and it may be hoped that further specimens of such texts will turn up in the future.

5. Library of Congress scroll

A single scroll of unknown provenance was acquired by the Library of Congress in Washington DC in 2006. It contains a single incomplete text which has been tentatively designated as the **Bahubuddha-sūtra* on the basis of close parallels to a Buddhist Sanskrit sūtra of that name which is incorporated in the *Mahāvastu* (III.242.5–248.2). The text, composed in alternating verse and prose, presents a biographical summary of the fifteen Buddhas from Dīpaṅkara to Maitreya, describing their courses of training (*caria* = Sanskrit *caryā*), lifespans, the eons in which they lived, social class (brahman or kṣatriya), assemblies, and duration of their dharma-teaching. Thus it belongs to a well-attested genre of

collective Buddha biographies such as the *Mahāvadāna-sūtra*/*Mahāpadāna-sutta* and *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*. Although the closest textual parallels are found in passages which are incorporated into larger collections such as the *Mahāvastu* and the *Fó běnxíng jí jīng* 佛本行集經 ("Sūtra of the Previous Lives of the Buddha," Taishō no. 190), the format of the **Bahubuddha-sūtra* scroll suggests that it was being presented there as a separate text.

The Library of Congress scroll was subjected to radiocarbon testing in 2007 which yielded a range of dates (97.5% probability) between 206 BCE and 59 CE.[21] The early part of this span seems implausibly early, but this test establishes beyond a reasonable doubt that the scroll was written, at the latest, in or around the first half of the first century CE, and that it therefore belongs to the early phase of the Gandhāran manuscript tradition. This, along with the even earlier range yielded by a test of one of the scrolls in the "Split" collection (184–46 BCE; see the article by H. Falk and I. Strauch in this volume, p. 54), indicates that this tradition goes back at least to the first century BCE.[22]

6. The "new" collection

Another collection of Gāndhārī manuscripts on birch-bark scrolls is currently in private hands but has been made available for inspection. The provenance is unknown other than that it was reported to have been found somewhere in Afghanistan and to have been kept for some years in a private collection in Kabul. Because most of the scrolls have not yet been unrolled and conserved and because many of them are in very fragmentary condition, it is not even possible to determine the number of separate scrolls, although there appear to be at least a dozen and possibly considerably more than that.

Among the scrolls that have been conserved and read in a preliminary fashion, three are of particular interest. One of them contains a set of numbered verses, mostly in an unidentified non-standard metre with fifteen syllables per quarter. This text may be a stotra to various Buddhas, perhaps referring to the encounters with them of the Bodhisattva (i.e., the future Śākyamuni), since two of the three concluding verses mention the Buddhas Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Viśvabhū, and Konākamuni.

Another fragment contains five verses parallel to those of the *Mahāviyūha-sutta*, one of the sūtras of the Pāli *Aṭṭhakavagga* (incorporated into the *Suttanipāta*, verses 905–908). The "Split" collection also includes a scroll with verses corresponding to those of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* (verses 841–844 on the recto and 966–968 on the verso), which appears to be written in a very similar hand.[23] Thus these two fragments are evidently parts of the same manuscript of a Gāndhārī version of the *Aṭṭhakavagga*/*Aṣṭakavarga*. This implies that the manuscripts in this collection actually belong to the same group as the "Split" collection, which has apparently been divided into two or more parts[24] in modern times.

A third text in the new collection consists of some scattered fragments of a Mahāyāna sūtra which corresponds to a text, hitherto known only in Chinese and Tibetan, describing the miraculous encounter of the infant son of the lay-follower Vimalakīrti with the Buddha. This child's name is given in one of the Chinese translations of the sūtra (Taishō no. 479 *Shànsī tóngzǐ jīng* 善思童子經) as Shànsī 善思 = *Sucitta, which agrees with the name *suciti* applied to him in the new manuscript. Thus this is yet another definite example of a Mahāyāna sūtra in Gāndhārī, but unlike the several later examples in the Bamiyan fragments, the palaeographic and linguistic features of this manuscript indicate that it belongs to the early or middle phases of Gāndhārī literature. The "Split" collection, which seems to be part of the same group as this one, contained another Mahāyāna sūtra, a

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[21] All radiocarbon (^{14}C) dates cited in this article are 2σ calibrated ranges.
[22] See the further discussion of the dates of the Gāndhārī manuscripts in §7.1.
[23] See the article by H. Falk and I. Strauch in this volume, p. 61.
[24] See again the article by H. Falk and I. Strauch, p. 54.

Prajñāpāramitā text which has been radiocarbon-dated to 25–43 CE (14.3% probability) or 47–147 CE (81.1% probability), so that the **Sucitti-sūtra* could be roughly contemporaneous with the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, dating to some time in the first or early second century. It could conceivably be even older, in view of the surprisingly early result, noted above, of 184–46 BCE for another manuscript in the "Split" collection. In any case, it is certain that the **Sucitti-sūtra* belongs among the earliest manifestations of Mahāyāna texts in Gandhāra known to date.

7. A new perspective on Buddhist literature in Gāndhārī

7.1 Dating the Gāndhārī manuscripts

I originally proposed a date for the British Library collection in the first half of the first century CE (Salomon 1999: 141–155) on the basis of a combination of textual, historical and epigraphic evidence. Some of the links in the chain of argument were admittedly tenuous, and I therefore did not rule out a later date in the second century.[25] Since then, the discovery of many other Gāndhārī mss and the radiocarbon tests carried out on some of them have clarified and broadened their historical context. These tests, combined with palaeographic and linguistic indications, suggest a date for the Senior manuscripts around the first half of the second century CE, while the Bamiyan Gāndhārī fragments are clearly later, probably not earlier than the latter part of the second century. One of the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* fragments from Bamiyan produced the latest date range, 210–417 CE (Allon *et al.* 2006: 290), which seems to indicate that Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts were being produced until at least the early third century.

More recent radiocarbon tests, however, have yielded more surprising results at the other end: a range from the second to the first half of the first century BCE for a scroll in the "Split" collection, and from the second century BCE to the first half of the first century CE for the Library of Congress scroll. It is thus firmly established that the Gāndhārī manuscript tradition goes back at least to the late first century BCE. The date of the scrolls in the British Library collection remains uncertain, since it has not been possible to perform radiocarbon tests on them, but the previously proposed date in the early first century CE is supported, though not proven, by the new evidence of similar Gāndhārī manuscripts from this period. All in all, the overall span of dates for the known Gāndhārī manuscripts extends for at least three centuries, from the latter half of the first century BCE to the early third century CE, and quite possibly further in either direction.

7.2 Genres and canons of Gāndhārī literature

Not unexpectedly, many of the generalizations and preliminary conclusions presented in Salomon 1999 about Buddhist literature in Gāndhārī on the basis of the British Library collection only have turned out to be premature if not completely wrong. For example, the absence of Vinaya texts from the British Library collection (Salomon 1999: 163–164) does not mean that Vinaya texts were not preserved in written form at the time, as was hypothesized there. For a *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* manuscript and a *karmavācanā* text of approximately similar date has now come to light in the Bajaur collection (Strauch 2008: 116–118), and the Senior collection contains five narrative texts concerning the life of the Buddha whose closest parallels are to be found in *Vinayavastu* texts.[26] Nonetheless, Vinaya texts are still very much in the minority among the currently known Gandhāran manuscripts, in which texts and genres associated with the *Sūtra*- and *Abhidharma-piṭaka*s, along with various types of non-canonical or paracanonical texts, strongly predominate.

[25] This later date was preferred by Falk (2000: 211).
[26] See the article by M. Allon in this volume, pp. 25–26.

Similarly, with reference to the absence of Mahāyāna texts among the British Library manuscripts I opined (Salomon 1999: 178) that "[i]t remains to be seen in what way, if any, the new manuscripts may contribute to this issue [viz., the theory of an early Mahāyāna presence in Gandhāra], but it now seems most likely that any such contribution will be a negative, or at best an indirect, one. Of course, further analysis and possible future discoveries could well change the picture, but as matters stand at this point, the British Library scrolls do not offer any support for the hypothesis of a relatively early origin for Mahāyāna Buddhism."[27] Obviously, subsequent discoveries have changed the picture, since at least five indisputably Mahāyāna texts (not including the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* from Bamiyan, which in the opinion of some scholars is not a true Mahāyāna sūtra) have now turned up, not only among the later Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī fragments but also in the relatively early materials from Bajaur, the "Split" collection, and the "new" collection. Thus the silence of the British Library materials on this point turns out to have proven, as usual, nothing.

But as in the case of the Vinaya material, Mahāyāna texts are still a distinct minority in the extant Gāndhārī literary corpus as a whole, and all of the specimens were found together with larger numbers of "Mainstream" texts. Thus they do not give the impression that the Mahāyāna was then functioning as an independent institution. Rather, it would seem that Mahāyāna texts were being studied along with Mainstream texts in Gandhāran monasteries, and were not yet perceived to be in conflict with them or marginalized by them. Therefore we seem to be getting glimpses of an early formative period which preceded the later development of the Mahāyāna into distinct institutional identities and doctrinal positions.[28]

As for the better represented genres of Buddhist literature in Gāndhārī, the Mainstream or Āgama sūtras are generally the most consistent with parallel texts in other Buddhist literatures, as would be expected. The majority of the sūtras now known in Gāndhārī have more or less direct parallels in one, or more often in several other canons in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, and (less frequently) Tibetan, and even those which lack exact parallels usually have a partial similarity to sūtras preserved elsewhere. For example, the situation with regard to the three "*Ekottarikāgama*-type sūtras" in the British Library Collection is typical: two of the sūtras have parallels in Pāli, Chinese, and/or Sanskrit, while one lacks a direct parallel (Allon 2001: 224). Similarly, of the four *Saṃyuktāgama-sūtras* on Senior scroll 5, three have direct parallels in other *Saṃyuktāgama* collections in Pāli, Chinese, and/or Tibetan, while the fourth has only partial parallels (Glass 2007: 51; M. Allon in Glass 2007: 9–10).[29]

However, it has not proven possible, at least so far, to determine any consistent pattern with regard to the text-historical relationship of the Gāndhārī sūtras to their parallels in other canons and languages. A given Gāndhārī sūtra will typically resemble one of the parallel texts in some regards but a different parallel in others; see, for example, the discussions of the relationship between the Gāndhārī version of the "Rhinoceros Sūtra" and its Pāli and Sanskrit parallels in Salomon 2000: 38–48, and of the *Ekottarikāgama*-type sūtras and their various parallels in Allon 2001: 26–40.[30] Thus it is usually not possible to say that a particular Gāndhārī sūtra is consistently closer to, for example, its Chinese correspondent than to the Pāli one. In other words, there is no distinct special relationship

[27] This position was still reflected in the brief survey of Buddhist literature in Gāndhārī in Salomon 2004.

[28] See Allon and Salomon 2010: 11–18 for a fuller discussion of these issues.

[29] This explains why the great majority of the texts in the Senior collection, which consists mostly of sūtras, have been identified. This contrasts with the other large collections with more diverse contents, for which parallels have not yet been located for many or even most of the texts.

[30] Similar discussions may be found in the relevant chapters of the other volumes in the GBT series.

between the Gāndhārī Sūtra corpus, or even for the most part of the specific sūtras within it, and any of the other *Sūtra-piṭaka*s. Rather, the connections are complex, interwoven, and seemingly unpredictable. All in all, one gets the impression that we are operating at a stage before Sūtra canons were definitively fixed and authoritatively edited, so that a considerable degree of fluidity and flexibility still prevailed with regard to the structure and wording of particular sūtras,[31] as well as to their inclusion and arrangement within corpora such as the *Ekottarikāgama/Aṅguttaranikāya* or *Saṃyuktāgama*.

This is not to say, however, that such compilations did not exist in Gandhāra and elsewhere at this period. For example, the arrangement of the *Saṃyuktāgama* sūtras in the Senior collection shows that they were drawn from underlying collections whose structures had significant similarities to those of other *Saṃyuktāgamas* (Glass 2007: 42–50). Parallels to texts belonging to all of the five standard Nikāya divisions of the Pāli *Sutta-piṭaka* are represented in the various Gāndhārī collections.[32] Sūtras corresponding to ones classed in the *Khuddakanikāya* in Pāli are particularly well-represented in Gāndhārī, especially in the British Library collection (Salomon 1999: 159–161) but also in the "Split" and "new" collections. Particularly prominent among this group are the three Gāndhārī manuscripts of the *Dharmapada* now known.[33] The *Anavatapta-gāthā*, which was probably also classified as a *Khuddakanikāya/Kṣudrakāgama* sūtra (Salomon 2008: 18), is also extant in manuscripts from two separate collections (British Library and Senior).

Thus it is clear that comprehensive collections of Āgama sūtras existed in Gāndhārī, at least in oral form; the question is when they began to be written out in full. The recent discovery among the Bamiyan fragments of portions of what was probably a complete manuscript of a Sūtra compilation parallel to the *Ekottarikāgama/Aṅguttaranikāya* provides the first direct evidence that such larger compilations were extant in complete written texts. But it must be noted that these fragments, like the Bamiyan material in general, date from the later phase of Gāndhārī manuscripts, probably from the late second century CE at the earliest. Earlier Gāndhārī manuscripts, that is, those dating from the first half of the second century CE or earlier, do include single Sūtra texts and Sūtra anthologies, but nothing that can be definitely identified as a complete canonical Āgama. Such complete written collections may have existed at that time, but if so, they have not yet come to light. But in any case, we do now know that at least by the later period of Gāndhārī literature complete canonical Sūtra collections had come to be preserved in written form.

The situation with regard to parallel texts and canons is very different in connection with texts outside the Sūtra genre. Among Abhidharma texts and non-canonical scholastic literature, parallels are simply not to be found, though this is hardly surprising since the Abhidharma-piṭaka is the one which typically shows the greatest variation, by far, among different Buddhist canons. The situation with the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* commentary in the British Library collection is typical. With regard to its overall structure, method, and contents[34] it has virtually nothing in common with the two other extant commentaries on the *Saṅgīti*, namely the Theravādin Pāli commentary on the *Dīghanikāya*, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, and the Sarvāstivādin Sanskrit commentary *Saṅgīti-paryāya*. Materials in this category thus constitute a particularly important aspect of the ongoing rediscovery of the Buddhist literature of Gandhāra, providing glimpses into an early stage of development of a pre-

[31] Compare the comments in Strauch 2008: 115.

[32] See the convenient summary chart in Strauch 2008: 113, fig. 9.

[33] The Khotan *Dharmapada* (Brough 1962), the British Library *Dharmapada* (Lenz 2003: part I), and the newly discovered *Dharmapada* manuscript in the "Split" collection (see the article by H. Falk and I. Strauch in this volume, p. 60).

[34] Here I refer to the form of the commentary itself, not to the root text of the sūtra underlying it, which is very close to that of the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrghāgama* preserved in Chinese translation (see §7.3). The contrast between the independent textual status of the commentary and the close parallel for the sūtra text is illustrative of the contrast being made here.

viously almost unknown scholastic tradition. For example, the structural and conceptual resemblances of Gandhāran commentaries to the semi-canonical Pāli exegetical texts *Netti-ppakaraṇa* and *Peṭakopadesa* suggest that these texts, whose presence in the Pāli canon has long been suspected of being intrusive (von Hinüber 1996: 80, 82), may have derived from Gandhāran commentarial traditions, and might even have been translated into Pāli from Gāndhārī archetypes.[35]

Besides the genres discussed above, several other familiar ones are represented among the Gandhāran texts, although like the major genres they are typically unevenly distributed among the various groups of manuscripts.[36] For example, the related Avadāna and Pūrvayoga genres are richly represented among the British Library scrolls, but elsewhere have only been found to date in the "Split" collection and apparently among the Pelliot fragments. Stotras are represented in the British Library, Bajaur, and possibly also the "new" collection, suggesting that this genre was already popular in early Gandhāra. The Bajaur collection also includes single examples of several genres which were not previously attested among Gāndhārī manuscripts: *rakṣā*, *rājanīti*, a mnemonic poem based on the Arapacana syllabary, and a secular document.[37]

7.3 School affiliations

In general, it is difficult to establish firm affiliations of Gāndhārī manuscripts with particular schools, among other reasons because of the aforementioned instability of the forms of individual texts in the early canons or proto-canons. This being said, the clearest indications by far of a distinct school affiliation for any of the collections of Gāndhārī manuscripts involves the British Library Collection, where we have strong indications that at least some of the scrolls belonged to the Dharmaguptaka tradition. They were found inside a clay pot which had originally been donated to "the Dharmaguptakas" (*dhamaüteaṇa*) for use as a vessel for water, but which was subsequently reused as a container for the interment of the manuscripts (Salomon 1999: 80, 243–247). Moreover, the commentary on the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* is based on a root text which is very closely related to that of the Chinese translation of the *Dīrghāgama*, generally believed to belong to the Dharmaguptaka school, but which is very distinct from other surviving versions of the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* (Salomon 1999: 171–174).[38] Thus it is reasonable to conclude that at least some of the manuscripts in the British Library Collection reflect the texts and traditions of the Dharmaguptaka school, and that the collection as a whole reflects the holdings of a Dharmaguptaka monastery or a resident thereof.[39]

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[35] The discovery by Zacchetti (2002) that An Shigao's *Yīn chí rù jīng* 陰持入經 (T 603) corresponds to the sixth chapter of the *Peṭakopadesa* supports the possibility of a Gāndhārī origin, or at least a Gāndhārī manifestation, for this class of texts. Although he does not refer specifically to Gāndhārī, Zacchetti concludes that "The fact that chapter 6 was translated by An Shigao, who presumably reached China via the Silk Road, seems to corroborate the hypothesis that the *Peṭakopadesa* was originally composed in Northern India" (p. 92).

[36] For summaries of genres attested in Gāndhārī literature in general, see Salomon 2004 (though no longer up to date) and the chart in Strauch 2008: 113, fig. 9. For the particularly wide variety of genres in the Bajaur collection, see Strauch 2008: 113–127.

[37] Secular documents in a local variety of Gāndhārī are attested in very large numbers from Central Asia, but this is the first example from Gandhāra itself.

[38] See also the article by C. Cox in this volume, pp. 36–39.

[39] In this connection, it may be significant that the doctrinal positions reflected in the polemical Abhidharma treatise in British Library fragment 28 are stated in explicit opposition to those of a branch of the Sarvāstivāda school (see the article by C. Cox in this volume, pp. 43–46). Since the Sarvāstivādins and the Dharmaguptakas appear on the basis of inscriptional data to have been among the most dominant schools in Gandhāra at the time in question (Salomon 1999: 175–176), it is possible, though far from certain, that the positions espoused in British Library fragment 10 represent those of the Dharmaguptaka residents of the monastery from which it came.

Such indications are however much harder to come by among the other Gāndhārī texts and collections. In the Senior collection there are some indications of possible Dharmaguptaka affiliation, particularly among the Vinaya narratives.[40] Some other Sūtra texts, such as the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* from Bamiyan (Allon and Salomon 2000: 271–273) and the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra* in the Senior collection,[41] seem to be more similar to the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* version attributed to the Dharmaguptakas than to other parallels, but the relationships are not consistent and distinctive enough to provide proof of their school affiliation.

It is among Vinaya texts generally, and especially in the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*s, that one normally expects to find the clearest and most reliable indications of school affiliation. Yet, the so-far unique *Prātimokṣa* manuscript which was identified by Strauch in the Bajaur collection has yielded unexpectedly ambiguous results. According to Strauch's interpretation, this manuscript contains two versions of the same set of rules, neither of which agrees exactly with other *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*s preserved in Pāli, Sanskrit, and Chinese. The first text, on the recto of the scroll, is "closely related to the Dharmaguptaka/Kāśyapīya versions" (2008: 117), while the verso text more resembles the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin text. Strauch thus concludes with regard to the Gāndhārī texts in general, "there is a strong affinity towards the Dharmaguptakas" (p. 115). However, he adds appropriate words of caution against assuming that textual variation was directly linked to school affiliation at the period in question, and concludes that "in the early age of Buddhist literature which we are dealing with the boundaries of recensions must not [i.e., "need not"] coincide with sectarian boundaries."

So, all that can be said for the time being is that one of the major groups of Gāndhārī manuscripts, the British Library collection, is certainly affiliated with the Dharmaguptaka school (or perhaps one should rather say, with a Dharmaguptaka monastery), and that there are indications, albeit much less certain, that some of the other collections, such as the Senior scrolls, are also connected with the same tradition. Beyond that, we can only hope that future study or future discoveries will clarify not only the school affiliations of the manuscripts themselves but also the question of what exactly school affiliation meant at this stage of development of Buddhist doctrines and institutions.

7.4 The philological significance of Gāndhārī manuscripts

Besides their value for the study of Buddhist literature, history and doctrine, the Gāndhārī manuscripts have an equal importance for the philological study of the Gāndhārī language and, more broadly, for Indo-Aryan philology as a whole. Until recently, Gāndhārī was known for the most part only from inscriptions, coin legends, and secular documents from Central Asia, which presented a limited range of style and vocabulary.[42] The recently discovered manuscripts have now brought to light a wide variety of literary forms which have vastly expanded our understanding of the orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax, and especially the lexicon of Gāndhārī.[43] This new material is summarized in comprehensive fashion in the relevant chapters of the individual text studies in the GBT series, and part of the long-range plan of the EBMP is to publish a reference grammar of literary Gāndhārī as well as pedagogical materials for students of the language.

In the meantime, an on-line Gāndhārī dictionary has been compiled by Stefan Baums and Andrew Glass under the auspices of the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project (http://

[40] See the article by M. Allon in this volume, p. 23.

[41] See again the article by M. Allon, p. 25.

[42] See Salomon 2008a for a summary of the textual sources and linguistic features of Gāndhārī in general.

[43] For a general description of the various levels and styles of literary Gāndhārī, see Salomon 2002.

gandhari.org/a_dictionary.php). Until now, there has been no dictionary of Gāndhārī, and lexical resources have been limited to word lists and brief glossaries in studies of particular texts or corpora.[44] The on-line Gāndhārī dictionary now contains over 125,000 entries from epigraphic, numismatic, and documentary sources as well as from the new manuscript discoveries, arranged in a fully searchable format.

The new documents have also contributed a great deal to our knowledge of Kharoṣṭhī palaeography, revealing many previously unrecorded styles, character forms, and combinations. These data are presented in detail in the palaeography chapters of the individual volumes of the GBT series, and have been summarized in a preliminary but authoritative fashion in Glass 2000. A comprehensive and definitive palaeographical study of literary Gāndhārī is part of the long-range plans for EBMP publications.

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[44] The principal examples are Brough 1962: 294–315 for the Khotan *Dharmapada*, Konow 1929: 181–185 for the inscriptions known at the time, and Rapson and Noble 1929: 329–379 and Burrow 1937: 71–134 for the Central Asian secular documents.

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Sumaṅgalavilāsinī

Fó běnxíng jí jīng 佛本行集經
Shànsī tóngzǐ jīng 善思童子經

The Senior Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts

MARK ALLON (SYDNEY)

The Senior Collection of birch-bark scrolls containing Buddhist texts written in the Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script is by now relatively well known to those who have kept abreast of the discoveries of ancient Buddhist manuscripts that have been made in the last two decades in Afghanistan and Pakistan.[1] Since detailed information about the collection and its texts has been published elsewhere, most notably in Allon 2007b, Glass 2007a, and Salomon 2003b and 2009, I will here provide an account of what research has been undertaken to date on these manuscripts, give an updated overview of the collection in the light of this research, and discuss some of the problems we face in interpreting these and similar manuscript finds.

1. Research and publications

To date, a number of publications and PhD theses dealing with the Senior manuscripts have been completed or are in progress.

Two reports or overviews of the collection have been published. The first was a preliminary notice published in 2003 by Richard Salomon as "The Senior Manuscripts: Another Collection of Gandhāran Buddhist Scrolls" (*Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123: 73–92). This included an edition, translation, and word by word analysis of a section of the second sūtra on scroll 20 (see below) and of the inscription on the pot in which the manuscripts were found, which is repeated with some variation on its lid. A second overview of the collection was published in 2007 by Allon in the form of the introductory chapter to Andrew Glass's *Four Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama Sūtras* (Allon 2007b). This included a brief catalogue of the texts in the collection and a discussion of the date of the manuscripts in the light of radiocarbon tests, of the *nikāya* affiliation of the texts, the character of the collection, the genres represented, and the possible reasons for their production. A more detailed catalogue and study of the collection is currently being completed by Allon and will appear as *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra II: The Senior Kharoṣṭhī Fragments* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts. Seattle: University of Washington Press).

The texts on the following scrolls have been published to date (the siglum RS stands for Robert Senior, the owner of the collection):

RS 5: Andrew Glass, *Four Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama Sūtras: Senior Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 4. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007). This is based on the author's PhD thesis *Connected Discourses in Gandhāra: a Study, Edition, and Translation of Four Saṃyuktāgama-Type Sūtras from the Senior Collection* (University of Washington, 2006). It publishes the four sūtras on scroll 5, three of which have their primary parallels in the Pali and Chinese *Saṃyuttanikāya*/*Saṃyuktāgamas* (SN/SĀ). As with all volumes of the Gandhāran Buddhist Texts (GBT) series published to date, this includes an edition, translation, and section-by-section analysis of each sūtra, a comparison of each text with its parallels in other languages, a physical description of the manuscript, and chapters dealing with palaeography and orthography, phonology, and morphology. Glass also includes a valuable study of the arrangement of all surviving SN/SĀs and of the relationship between them and the SN/SĀ sūtras in the Senior Collection (chapters 1 and 2). For reviews, see Boucher 2004/2008, Norman 2008, Lǐ 2011, and Fussman 2012.

RS 14: Richard Salomon, *Two Gāndhārī Manuscripts of the Songs of Lake Anavatapta (Anavatapta-gāthā): British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 1 and Senior Scroll 14* (Gandhā-

[1] For an overview of these manuscript finds, see Allon 2008.

ran Buddhist Texts 5. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008). This publishes the *Anavatapta-gāthā* (AG) fragment on Senior scroll 14 (see especially pp. 327–403) along with the much larger portion of the text preserved in the British Library Kharoṣṭhī manuscript collection. Besides the usual chapters found in each volume of the GBT series (just mentioned), Salomon includes a major study of all known versions of the AG or AG-type texts and of the relationship between them. For reviews, see von Hinüber 2010 and Cousins 2011.

RS 20, text no. 2: In his initial report on the collection mentioned above, Salomon (2003b: 87–90) included an edition, translation, and commentary on the first seven lines of the second sūtra on scroll 20, a Gāndhārī version of the Pali *Mahāpariḷāha-sutta*, "Sutta on the great burning" (SN no. 56.43; V 450–2).[2] The two sūtras on this scroll will be edited by Joseph Marino for his doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle.

RS 22, text no. 3: The third sūtra on scroll 22 is a Gāndhārī version of the Pali *Dutiya-cchiggaḷayuga-sutta*, "Second sutta on [the simile of] the hole in the yoke" (SN no. 56.48; V 456–7). An edition, translation, and commentary on the ten lines of the text which contain a well-known simile were published as Mark Allon, "A Gāndhārī Version of the Simile of the Turtle and the Hole in the Yoke" (in O. von Hinüber, R. M. L. Gethin, and Mark Allon, eds., *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 29, 2007: 229–62). This section of the sūtra was chosen for publication since it contained several interesting features, the most notable being the use of an archaic word for the hole in a yoke.

Besides the doctoral thesis of Glass (2006) mentioned above, two further PhD theses entail studies of texts in the collection; one completed, the other in progress. They are

RS 19: Mei-huang Lee (Tien-chang Shi), *A Study of the Gāndhārī Dārukkhandhopama-sutta ("Discourse on the Simile of the Log")* (University of Washington, 2009). This presents an edition, translation, study, etc. of the sūtra preserved on scroll 19, which is a Gāndhārī version of the Pali *Dārukkhandha-sutta* (1), "The [first] sutta on [the simile of] the [floating] log" (SN no. 35.241 [35.200 according to the European edition]; IV 179–81). The author is currently preparing the work for publication in the GBT series.

RS 12 (and possibly RS 1 + 3, 4, 10): These scrolls contain the four *Majjhimanikāya/ Madhyamāgama* (MN/MĀ) sūtras in the collection. They are being edited by Blair Silverlock as part of his doctoral research at the University of Sydney, beginning with RS 12 which is a Gāndhārī version of the Pali *Cūḷagosiṅga-sutta*, "Shorter sutta [set] in the Gosiṅga [forest]," no. 31 of the MN (I 205–11).

The results of the radiocarbon dating of two samples of birch bark from the Senior manuscripts and a discussion of their significance were published as "Radiocarbon Dating of Kharoṣṭhī Fragments from the Schøyen and Senior Manuscript Collections" (Allon, Salomon, Jacobsen, Zoppi 2006). In conjunction with the date given in the inscription on the pot, these results make a significant contribution to the debate concerning the date of the Kushan emperor Kaniṣka.

The Senior Collection has been discussed by members of the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project (EBMP) and related manuscript projects in several articles dealing with the new manuscript finds from Afghanistan and Pakistan and related topics. Examples are Allon 2007c (esp. pp. 135ff.), 2008 (esp. pp. 163–7); Glass 2004 (esp. p. 140), 2007b; Salomon 2003a (esp. p. 388), 2006a (esp. pp. 140–1), 2006b, 2009; and Strauch 2009. Further, the collection as a whole, or individual texts in the collection, have been the subject of numerous conference papers, most notably by Allon, Glass, Lee (Tien-chang Shi), and Salomon.[3]

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[2] Chinese and Sanskrit parallels to this and the following sūtras can be found in Allon 2007b.

[3] Details of conference papers will not be given here.

The Senior Collection has also been discussed or referred to by several authors who themselves are not working with Gāndhārī manuscripts. Examples are Caillat 2003 (esp. p. 458); Dietz 2007: 65–66; Oberlies 2003: 44, n. 40; Skilling 2009: 64; and Yuyama 2004: 29, n. 86.

Predominantly on account of the announcement of the results of the radiocarbon dating and of their significance for the date of Kaniṣka, the Senior manuscripts have attracted considerable media attention, both in the form of articles in print and online media and in radio broadcasts and interviews (as have the British Library Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts and the Bamiyan manuscripts). Examples are

(1) "Birch-bark Manuscripts Could Reveal When Buddhism Moved to China" by Peter Monaghan, *The Chronicle of Higher Education,* Research and Publishing, March 31st, 2006; vol. 53, issue 30, p. A22;

(2) "Buddhist Scrolls Proved Ancient," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, General News, March 9th, 2006, p. 6;

(3) "'Dead Sea Scrolls of Buddhism'- The Missing Link." *Velocity* (Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organization online bulletin), March 6th, 2006.

(4) Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC), Radio National, *Breakfast*, March 9th, 2006; Mark Allon interviewed by Fran Kelly;

(5) Australian Broadcasting Commission, Radio National, *The Ark*, Part 1: March 26th, 2006 (15 min.); part 2: April 2nd, 2006 (15 min.); Mark Allon interviewed by Rachael Kohn.

Finally, the Senior manuscripts have been mentioned in print and online articles and in at least one radio program dealing with the ethical dimension of these manuscript finds, most of which have primarily been concerned with the British Library Kharoṣṭhī and/or the Schøyen (Bamiyan) manuscripts.[4] Examples are

(1) Neil Brodie. "The Circumstances and Consequences of the British Library's 1994 Acquisition of Some Kharosthi Manuscript Fragments." *Culture Without Context* 17, 2005 (online journal).

(2) Australian Broadcasting Commission, Radio National, *The Ark*, Part 2: April 2nd, 2006; Mark Allon interviewed by Rachael Kohn.

2. General overview of the collection in the light of the above research

The Senior Collection of Gandhāran manuscripts is named after its owner, Mr. Robert Senior of Butleigh, Glastonbury (U.K), who has generously put these manuscripts at the disposal of the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project for the purposes of study and publication. The collection consists of twenty-four birch-bark scrolls or scroll fragments containing at least forty-one Buddhist texts written in the Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script. They were found in an earthenware pot (height 35 cm, diameter 30 cm)[5] that was reportedly discovered "in an underground chamber."[6] Given that the inscriptions on the pot and its lid (see below) refer to it (presumably the pot with manuscripts inside) being "established" (*pratithavi(*-ḏa)* = Skt. *pratiṣṭhāpita-*) "in a stūpa" (*thubami* = P *thūpamhi*/Skt. *stūpe*),[7] it is highly likely that this "underground chamber" was within a stūpa. This chamber may well have been similar to the stone chambers discussed by Salomon (2009) that have been found in Gandhāra in which relics, funerary pots, or pots containing manuscripts had been placed.

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[4] For references relevant to the Schøyen and British Library collections, see http://folk.uio.no/atleom/manuscripts.htm. Besides Brodie 2005 mentioned here, see also Omland 2006.

[5] Salomon 2003b: 74; 2009: 26.

[6] Robert Senior (personal communication).

[7] Salomon 2003b: 76.

While some manuscripts are in reasonably good condition, with the text or texts on them being almost complete, in most cases only a portion of the original scroll has survived. Examples are RS 12, which is the left half of a manuscript, the upper section of which is missing, and RS 21, which represents a small portion of the right hand section of a scroll preserving the remnants of only a few lines of writing. Unfortunately, it is likely that some manuscripts from the original deposit perished during the course of being buried for almost two millennia or, due to their fragile nature, were destroyed in recent times in the process of being recovered or subsequently handled (Allon 2007b: 20, 23).

As with most of the new Buddhist manuscript discoveries from Pakistan and Afghanistan, the exact provenance of the Senior Collection is unknown. Salomon (2003b: 74) proposed that these manuscripts most likely came from the same region as the British Library Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, that is, Haḍḍa, near Jalalabad in eastern Afghanistan.[8] The only information that would contradict this assessment is a report in an article by Khan and Khan (2004: 9) which suggests that the British Library manuscripts came from Swat, Pakistan. Given that the new Bajaur and Split Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts (see the article in this volume by Falk and Strauch) come from Northwest Pakistan, this raises the possibility that the British Library and Senior manuscripts also come from this region. Unfortunately, we are unlikely to learn the exact provenance of the Senior manuscripts, nor probably that of the British Library manuscripts.

As noted, the pot and its lid both have dated inscriptions stating more or less the same thing (translation by Salomon 2003b: 74–8):

[pot] "In the year [twelve], in the month Avadunaka, after (*five) days; at this time [this] was established in honor of [his] father and mother, in honor of all beings; [the donation] of Rohaṇa, son of Ma̱sumatra."

[lid] "Year 12, month Avadu[naka], after 5 days, (*established?) by Rohaṇa, son of Ma̱sumatra, in the stūpa, in honor of all beings."

On the basis of the characteristics of these inscriptions, Salomon[9] argued that the era referred to can be securely identified as that of Kaniṣka I, with the year 12 mentioned in these inscriptions therefore corresponding to ca. 140 CE if one adopts Harry Falk's dating of 127/8 CE for Kaniṣka. Since the radiocarbon dating of the manuscripts produced a 2 sigma date range of 130–250 CE, it is therefore likely that the manuscripts were produced between 130 and 140 CE (Allon 2007b: 5).

Of the donor, Rohaṇa Ma̱sumatra, "Rohaṇa, son of Ma̱sumatra," we have no further information. His name does not appear among the surviving manuscripts, nor is he known from other inscriptional sources. All that can be said about him is that he was probably a wealthy layman who had enough resources to pay the considerable cost that must have been associated with the production of these manuscripts. Though speculative, it is not unreasonable to assume that he also paid for the construction of the stūpa in which the pot containing these manuscripts was interred, particularly if it was a subsidiary stūpa.

In contrast to the British Library Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts which were found in a pot containing an inscription stating that it was the property of the Dharmaguptaka community (Salomon 1999: 166–78), no such reference to the *nikāya* affiliation of the monastic community who produced the Senior manuscripts is found in the inscription on the pot or on the associated manuscripts. However, based on the close similarities between several texts in the collection and their parallels in other languages, it is likely that this collection was similarly produced by a Dharmaguptaka community (Allon 2007b: 5–6).[10] But this needs

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[8] For the provenance of the British Library manuscripts, see Salomon 1999: 20–1 and the article in this volume by Salomon (pp. 1–17).

[9] 2003b: 76–8; 2009: 26; and in Allon *et al.* 2006: 286.

[10] For criticism of some of the arguments used to arrive at this conclusion, see Boucher 2004/2008:

some qualification. The very limited number of texts composed and transmitted by early Buddhist communities that have survived, combined with our still rudimentary knowledge of the history of early Buddhist communities, means that we have a poor understanding of the development of early Buddhist literature, which in turn greatly restricts our ability to understand the distinctive features of a text or collection of texts and to identify the likely *nikāya* affiliation of the community who produced it.[11] For example, parallels to the bulk of the texts in the Senior Collection are found in the Pali *Saṃyuttanikāya* (SN), a product of the Mahāvihāra in Sri Lanka, in the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama* (SĀ) and among fragments of Sanskrit SĀ sūtras from Central Asia, both of which are generally attributed to the Sarvāstivādins,[12] and occasionally in vinaya literature or in miscellaneous texts such as the *Mahāvastu*. Consequently, most of these Gāndhārī sūtras have only two or three parallels for comparison, which generally differ enough from the Gāndhārī version to indicate that they belong to different lines of transmission. The rare exception is the second sūtra on scroll 22 (RS 22 no. 2), a Gāndhārī version of the Pali *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta*/Skt. **Anātmalakṣaṇa-sūtra*, for which there are many parallels: as a sutta/sūtra in the Pali SN and Chinese SĀ, as an independent sūtra in Chinese translation, and as a component of longer narratives in four vinayas (including the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya), the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra*, *Mahāvastu* and *Avadānaśataka*.[13] Of these multiple versions the Gāndhārī text is closest to that found in the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, but not identical with it; a pattern that is evident wherever a Dharmaguptaka version is available (found either in their vinaya or *Dīrghāgama* preserved in Chinese). But there are only a handful of texts of this category due to the paucity of Dharmaguptaka texts available to us.[14] In order for us to fully understand the texts of the Senior Collection — their form and features, their place in the development of the literature, and why of all versions they are most similar to but not identical with their parallels found in Dharmaguptaka texts — we would need at our disposal multiple examples of each text dating from different periods and originating from different geographical locations that had been transmitted by a diversity of *nikāya*s. Given that we do not have such a corpus of texts, we should more strictly be speaking of textual lineages rather than *nikāya* affiliation. In other words, the texts in the Senior Collection clearly belong to the same or a closely related textual lineage as the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya and *Dīrghāgama* preserved in Chinese.

The Senior manuscripts represent a collection of new manuscripts that were commissioned for ritual burial, most probably in a stūpa, for meritorious purposes, and as such must have been regarded as being similar to or the same as bodily relics of the Buddha. The evidence for this is the following:

(1) the inscription on the pot is similar in character to those used for deposits of bodily relics, in that it states that it was "established" or interred "in a stūpa" "in honor of [his] father and mother, in honor of all beings" (Salomon 2009: 26);

(2) the pot with these manuscripts inside was reportedly found "in an underground chamber," which suggests the type of burial chamber typically used for relics (Salomon 2009);

189–191. For Boucher's recommendations regarding the use of the terms "sectarian," "*nikāya*," etc., see n. 1 of his article.

[11] Regarding our poor understanding of the development of early Buddhist literature, we do not, for example, have a clear idea of the extent to which communities of different *nikāya* lineages borrowed texts from each other or adopted innovations in plot, wording, imagery and the like found in individual texts, or whether such developments were more a regional rather than "sectarian" phenomenon.

[12] For references, see Glass 2007a: 28–9; 2008: 185.

[13] For references, see Allon 2007b: 15.

[14] For details, see Allon 2007b: 5–6.

(3) the manuscripts were written by one scribe, most probably within a short period of time, and appear to have been new when buried;

(4) it is evident from other similar collections that manuscripts were buried, and there is evidence that manuscripts were included in funerary pots along with ashes, bones, and other items (Salomon 2009);

(6) these manuscripts probably would not have survived if they had not been buried (though not necessarily ritually and in a stūpa);

(7) many of the manuscripts were rolled up and then folded in half before being deposited in the pot. This shows that they were not manuscripts that were in regular use that happened to be kept in a pot, since it would have been unacceptable to fold birch bark manuscripts in this way that were in regular use because of the damage that results from this action.[15]

In contrast to bodily relics (or the physical remains of the Buddha) and contact relics (objects used by him, such as a bowl or robe) whose power is based on their physical association with the Buddha, these Dharma relics (texts that encapsulate the teaching of the Buddha) draw their power from the principle that whoever sees the Dharma sees the Buddha, an idea that is attributed to the Buddha himself.[16] Although these Dharma relics may not have had the same power that is generally associated with the physical remains of the Buddha, they nonetheless would have made present the Buddha and transformed the stūpa which housed them into an object of veneration.[17]

The forty-one texts that comprise the collection are all of the canonical Śrāvakayāna (or Mainstream) classification, a classification that is based on their characteristics and on their parallels in other languages. The majority of the texts in the collection, twenty-nine in total, are short sūtras whose primary parallels[18] are found in the Pali *Saṃyuttanikāya* and/or Chinese or Sanskrit *Saṃyuktāgama* (26 sūtras) or which, though they lack parallels in other languages, are likely to have been drawn from the SĀ of the community who created this collection (3 sūtras), since their subject matter and length is similar to the SĀ sūtras in the collection.[19] Glass (2007: 49–50) has shown that the sūtras in this collection with parallels in the SN/SĀ must have been selected from a SĀ (although the use of this title is

[15] In a private communication Andrew Glass expressed the following opinion: "I think rolling and folding was normal. We see this practice (i.e., the same patterns of damage) with short manuscripts in the British Library collection … and in other collections with birch bark manuscripts …. I have rolled and folded birch bark and find it still flexible and intact after almost 10 years." However, there would have been no reason to fold rolled up manuscripts that were in regular use. It is much more likely that they were folded to fit in the pots in which they were buried.

[16] *yo … dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati; yo maṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati* (SN III 120.28–31; cf. It 91; Mil 71).

[17] For this practice in Gandhāra, see Salomon 1999: 58–68; 2009.

[18] Regarding the designation "primary parallel," several sūtras in this collection have parallels in more than one Nikāya/Āgama or division of the various canons. Although identifying the primary parallel is occasionally problematic, since even within the canon of one school texts are occasionally found in more than one Nikāya/Āgama or Piṭaka, in most cases it is not. For example, parallels to the sūtra preserved on RS 19, a Gāndhārī version of the Pāli *Dārukkhandha-sutta*, are found in the Pali SN, Chinese SĀ, Chinese EĀ, and in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (MSV) preserved in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese (see Allon 2007b: 14 for references). However, when the Chinese EĀ and MSV are compared with their parallels in other languages, it is evident that a large number of sūtras and other textual materials have been added to them, resulting in these works being rather "encyclopaedic" in nature. Given that so many sūtras in the Senior Collection have parallels in the SN/SĀs, it is therefore highly likely that this Gāndhārī *Dārukkhandha-sutta* was drawn from the SĀ of the community who created this collection. A similar example is the sūtra preserved on scroll 2 (RS 2), a Gāndhārī version of the Pali *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* (Skt. *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra*). Parallels to this sūtra are found in the Pali DN, Chinese DĀ, Sanskrit DĀ (both Gilgit and Central Asian), as an independent Chinese translation, and in the Chinese EĀ and MSV (Allon 2007b: 8). Clearly, this sūtra has a primary association with the DN/DĀ, it subsequently being included in the MSV, but in no other Vinaya, and in the EĀ which was translated into Chinese.

[19] See Allon 2007b: 21.

not proven) whose sūtras were organized into *saṃyukta*s according to the same principles as those employed for the arrangement of suttas/sūtras in the SN/SĀs that we know in Pali, Sanskrit, and Chinese. Perhaps this is not surprising, since Buddhist communities would have had stable if not fixed Āgamas well before the 2nd century CE, the date of these manuscripts (Allon 2007b: 21–2). Compelling evidence for the principle of arranging material noted by Glass and for the stable nature of Āgamas at this period is provided by the fourteen sūtras on RS 11, since these fourteen suttas form the *Vana-saṃyutta* of the Pali SN and a similar division within the two Chinese SĀs (T no. 99 and 100), although the order of the sūtras is different in each case.

A further four sūtras in the collection have their primary parallels in the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* and/or Chinese or Sanskrit *Madhyamāgama*. At the time of writing my earlier overview of this collection (Allon 2007b: 21), only three had been identified: RS 1 + 3, a Gāndhārī version of the Pali *Dhammacetiya-sutta* (MN no. 89), whose Chinese parallel is MĀ no. 213; RS 10, a Gāndhārī version of the Pali *Saṅkhārupapatti-sutta*, MN no. 120, whose Chinese parallel is MĀ no. 168; and RS 12, a Gāndhārī version of the Pali *Cūḷa-gosiṅga-sutta*, MN no. 31, whose Chinese parallel is MĀ no. 185.[20] The MĀ parallel to a fourth sūtra in the collection, that on the very fragmentary RS 4A, which I had taken to be a composite text on the basis of its contents and apparent lack of parallels (Allon 2007b: 8–9), was recently identified by Jin-il Chung (Göttingen, private communication, 13.09.09). This most likely represents a Gāndhārī version of the *Shìzhě jīng* 侍者經, "Sūtra on an attendant," no. 33 of the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* (T 1 no. 26 pp. 471c–475a).

Of course, we cannot be certain that these four sūtras were found in the MĀ of the community who created this collection, rather than in another Āgama. As is well known, there is considerable overlap between the MN/MĀs and DN/DĀs, with suttas/sūtras found in the MN/MĀ of one school found in the DN/DĀ of another, and vice versa. However, given that the Senior Collection is likely to have been produced by a Dharmaguptaka community and that these four MĀ sūtras lack parallels in the Chinese DĀ which is attributed to the Dharmaguptakas, it is likely that they were found in the MĀ of this community (cf. Allon 2007b: 22).

One sūtra in the collection has a primary association with the DN/DĀ. This is the text on scroll 2 (RS 2), a Gāndhārī version of the Pali *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* (Skt. *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra*), whose parallels are found in the Pali DN, Chinese DĀ, Sanskrit DĀ, Chinese EĀ, MSV, and as an independent Chinese translation.[21] Of all versions, the one found in the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* is closest to it.[22]

Five further texts, which are narrative in nature, depict episodes from the life of the Buddha or of his monks, with most parallel versions in other languages being found in vinaya literature.[23] They are the conversion of Sujātā and her family shortly after the Buddha's awakening in Bodhgaya (RS 18; or possibly 15 + 18); Moggallāna/Maudgalyāyana (G Mogalaṇa) telling the Buddha that a deity had informed him of Devadatta's wish to lead the Sangha, followed by the Buddha enumerating the five kinds of teachers (RS 16 + 23A no. 1); the going forth of Anuruddha/Aniruddha (G Aṇarudha) (RS 16 + 23A no. 2); the visit of the brahman youth Nāla(ka) (G Ṇala) and the *nāga* serpent Erakapatta/Elāpattra (G Elapatra) to the Buddha (RS 24 no. 1); and the account of the merchants Tapussa/Tripuṣa (G Trivuṣa) and Bhallika (G Valiya) giving the Buddha his first meal after his

[20] Some of these sūtras have further parallels in the Chinese EĀ and/or MSV (see Allon 2007b for details).

[21] Allon 2007b: 8; see also footnote 18 above.

[22] Allon 2007b: 5, 22, n. 34.

[23] For details, see Allon 2007b.

awakening and the Buddha acquiring a bowl in which to receive this food through the efforts of the gods of the four directions (RS 24 no. 2).

One text, a Gāndhārī version of the *Anavatapta-gāthā* (RS 14), or more specifically the Anavatapta verses of Mahākāśyapa, which was recently published by Salomon (2008), appears to have been classed as a sūtra by the compilers of this collection, since it appears in the list of the fifty-five texts preserved on scrolls 7 and 8 (RS 7 + 8) that are referred to as sūtras (G *sutra*) by the final line of the text (see below).

Finally, text no. 5 on scroll 22 (RS 22) remains unidentified, though some of its wording is familiar.[24] The texts on RS 4B, 9, 21, and 23B have not yet been identified due to the difficulty in reading them.

Of a different category to the above are scrolls 7 and 8 (RS 7 + 8). Although they are separate pieces of bark of different dimensions, these two manuscripts contain a single list of texts which is followed by the statement (line 26) "in all fifty-five, 55, sūtras" (*sarva-piḍa sutra pacapacaïśa 20 20 10 4 1*).[25] Indeed, fifty-five texts do appear to be listed, with entries corresponding to titles known in other sources, a key word, the subject matter of the sūtra being referred to, or the first significant sentence or sentences of it (Allon 2007b: 18–19). Although one would expect this to be a list of the texts included in this collection, this turns out not to be the case. There is, in fact, a major mismatch between the texts listed on RS 7 + 8 and the texts that have actually survived: many texts that have survived do not appear to have entries in this list, while many entries in this list refer to texts that have not survived.

Of the surviving texts only twelve have a clear reference on RS 7 + 8, while the matching of another seven with a reference on RS 7+8 is possible, but far from certain.[26] Thus, at best, nineteen of the surviving texts are listed on RS 7 + 8. The remaining twenty-two of the forty-one surviving texts appear to have no corresponding reference on RS 7 + 8. Consequently, thirty-six of the fifty-five texts listed on RS 7 + 8 do not refer to any of the surviving texts. In some cases the word or phrase that constitutes the entry is too general in meaning or too common in occurrence to allow for the text being referenced to be identified with certainty. Two such examples are found on line 3: *aṇicasana* = P *anicca-saññā*/Skt. *anitya-saṃjñā*, "perception of impermanence," which could refer to any number of sūtras dealing with this topic; and *veśali* = P *Vesālī*/Skt. *Vaiśālī*, the name of a town frequently visited by the Buddha. But in many other cases the identification of the text being referenced is more certain, though the text has not survived. In these cases the identification is based on the similarity of the entry with titles preserved in other languages or on the similarity between the Gāndhārī phrase or sentence with that found in a text preserved in another language, in conjunction with contextual information. An example is *agakṣaṇa*, "wish" (line 1), which corresponds to the Pali word *ākaṅkhanā* "desire, wish." This is likely to be a reference to a sūtra that in Pali is called the *Ākaṅkheyya-sutta*, "Sutta on 'if [a monk] should wish,'" no. 6 of the *Majjhimanikāya* (I 33–6) and in Chinese the *Yuàn jīng* 願經, "Sūtra on wishing," no. 105 of the *Madhyamāgama* (T 1 no. 26 pp. 595c11–596b8).[27] In this case the identification is based on the similarity of titles and the fact that all, or virtually all, the entries that precede and follow this entry on the first two lines of RS 7 + 8 appear to be references to sūtras that are found in the Pali MN and/or Chinese or Sanskrit MĀ.

As can be seen, a large proportion of the texts that have survived are not referenced in the list of fifty-five sūtras on RS 7 + 8, while a large proportion of texts listed on RS 7 + 8

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[24] Allon 2007b: 16.
[25] Translation by Richard Salomon (2003b: 83).
[26] For details for this and the following discussion, see Allon 2007b: 19.
[27] See Allon 2007b: 19 for details and a further example.

have not survived. The reasons for the discrepancy, the function of this list, and the relationship of it to the texts that have actually survived are complex and the reader is therefore referred to Allon 2007b: 19–20, 23 for this discussion. But suffice it to say here that all proposals remain speculative for reasons discussed below.

The genre and likely association with a particular division of the canon of the texts listed on RS 7 + 8 whose identification has been established with some degree of certainty appear to be approximately the same as the genre and classification of the texts that have survived. The main difference is that the list on RS 7 + 8 lacks references to narrative texts dealing with episodes from the Buddha's life that are generally associated with vinaya literature.[28] Thus both the surviving manuscripts (and therefore the collection of texts that were deposited in this pot and interred in a stūpa) and the collection of texts listed on RS 7 + 8 represent a selection or anthology of Śrāvakayāna (or Mainstream) canonical texts.

It is probably impossible to identify the person or persons who determined the makeup of these anthologies and why these particular texts were chosen. Those who may have determined or influenced what texts were listed on RS 7 + 8 and what texts were placed in the pot for burial include the donor, Rohaṇa, the scribe, and a senior monastic who oversaw the project, although other individuals are possible candidates. Of course, more than one of these individuals may have had a say. Identifying the factors that determined the choice of texts is likewise problematic since a text may have been chosen in such a context for any number of reasons: its theme or themes, i.e. its central teaching or teachings; the individuals portrayed in the text, including the main character or characters in the narrative, the one giving the discourse, and the audience and whether they are monastics or laymen; the importance of that text to the community who produced this collection of manuscripts; or some personal association, for example, that the text was a favourite of a venerated teacher.

Of these we are only able to say something of the first two, that is, the theme or themes and the individuals portrayed. In the case of the latter, no patterns are discernible since a great diversity of characters is involved. For example, in the texts that have survived we find the following: the Buddha; monks in general; the original group of five monks; specific monks such as Ānanda, Anuruddha/Aniruddha, Mahākassapa/Mahākāśyapa, Moggallāna/Maudgalyāyana; kings such as Pasenadi/Prasenajit and Ajātasattu/Ajātaśatru; the merchants Tapussa/Tripuṣa and Bhallika; laymen; brahmans; the inhabitants of a village; deities; and the nāga serpent Erakapatta/Elāpattra.

The identification of the theme or themes of these texts that may have influenced their inclusion is similarly problematic. First, we have an incomplete set of data for both collections of texts. In the case of the list on RS 7 + 8 a significant proportion of the texts referenced (15 out of 55) have yet to be identified, while in several other cases the identification of the text being referenced is possible but not certain. In the case of the texts that were placed in the pot for burial, it is highly likely that not all have survived. Secondly, texts commonly have multiple themes or teachings, any one of which could have influenced the choice of those texts for inclusion in the collection.

Parallel to the diversity of characters depicted in these texts, a great diversity of themes is discernible both in the texts listed on RS 7 + 8 and in the texts of the surviving collection. The latter, for example, include the following themes and teachings:[29] the superiority of the Buddha over other ascetics or teachers; the person and status of the Tathāgata; the superiority of the Buddha's monks; the benefit good monks bring to the people and country; correct practice for monks and right path; teachings such as the five aggregates, the six sense-bases, the Four Noble Truths, aiming for nibbāna rather than the realms of the

[28] Allon 2007b: 22.
[29] For a more detailed discussion, including other themes and references, see Allon 2007b: 23–25.

gods, the benefit of living in harmony and of practicing the meditative absorptions, and errors in a monk's practice. Several texts have an association with the founding of the fourfold community: the Buddha's second discourse (*Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta*); the merchants Tapussa/Tripuṣa and Bhallika becoming the first laymen; Sujātā becoming the first laywoman; and the nāga serpent Erakapatta/Elāpattra becoming the first non-human convert. At least two texts have a special association with Gandhāra and the North-West: the accounts of the merchants and the nāga serpent just mentioned. From this diversity, one can draw few concrete inferences. In Allon 2007b: 25 I speculated that the collection of surviving texts could have been a tribute to the Triple Gem: the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. However, it is probably the case that any random selection of canonical sūtras and vinaya narrative passages would lead to the same conclusion. Consequently, the reason or reasons why this particular set of texts was chosen for inclusion in a pot that was interred in a stūpa in ancient Gandhāra currently eludes us.

3. Problems encountered in dealing with Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts

There are many difficulties associated with studying, interpreting, and publishing Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts. First and foremost are problems associated with reconstructing each manuscript and with reading, editing, translating, and interpreting the text. These are due to several factors, the first of them being the often poor physical state of the manuscript. Although some are complete, the majority of these manuscripts are fragmentary, with whole sections missing and with fragments out of place in the glass frames in which they are preserved. In some cases a manuscript is reduced to a mere collection of fragments. Other physical features that have an impact on the reading of the text include splitting and distortion of the bark, text obscured by overlaying fragments or folds, and the surface of the bark being badly worn, resulting in the text being difficult to read even with the aid of infrared imaging.

Another set of difficulties is related to the peculiar characteristics of the Gāndhārī language and the limitations of the Kharoṣṭhī script. This includes the lack of standardized orthography which results in a great diversity of spellings for individual words, with variation encountered even within a manuscript written by one scribe; the tendency for various forms of a word with different phonological developments to be preserved side by side, e.g. the attested spellings for the common Sanskrit and Pali particle *ca* "and" "but" are *ca*, *ci*, *ja*, *ji*, *ya*, *yaṃ*, *e*, *i*, *hi*, and *a*; the lack of distinction between certain grammatical cases, especially between the nominative, accusative, locative and vocative singular of *-a* stems[30]; the limitations of the Kharoṣṭhī script as it is utilized by the scribes of these documents, particularly that long vowels and certain consonant clusters such as geminates are not marked, as well as the inability of the script to accurately relay the phonology of the language; and the general lack of punctuation throughout these documents which means that the text usually consists of one continuous string of writing with boundaries between individual words or phrases not marked. Thus dealing with these Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts is fundamentally different from dealing with Sanskrit/Brāhmī manuscripts, even fragmentary ones: the latter are generally in better condition; they date from a later period when there is less variation in the form of letters within a given script type; the orthography has been standardized and more accurately reflects the phonology; and, in contrast to Gāndhārī, the language is well understood.

One of the major consequences of such difficulties is that to date the publication of each Gāndhārī text or manuscript has resulted in a monograph of a comparatively large size, due mostly to the sheer quantity of the accompanying interpretative material: not infrequently

[30] For interesting comments on this phenomenon, see Norman 2008: 311.

single words or phrases require several pages of commentary. The size of the publications of the EBMP in relation to the quantity of text published has been the object of criticism by at least one reviewer of the EBMP series.[31] With reference to Andrew Glass's 2007 publication *Four Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama Sūtras: Senior Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5*, which runs to 252 pages, the reviewer remarked:

> While we have to marvel at the careful reconstruction of RS 5 presented here, the reader should be aware that he is reading a monograph-length study of a mere 42 lines of text. This is a lot of attention for a very small part of the collection, especially since the larger questions this works raises—the very ones which are likely to draw the interest of Buddhologists—must remain tentative and inconclusive. (Boucher 2004/2008: 191)

This is an interesting point. It is the case that in future volumes in the Gandhāran Buddhist Texts (GBT) series the chapters on palaeography, orthography, phonology, and morphology will be reduced in size as these features come to be better understood; the reader then being referred to discussions in previous publications. It may also be the case that the chapter on the physical description of the manuscript could be reduced in size through images of the manuscripts and related information being made available on the EBMP website (www.ebmp.org). However, I do not believe that editors of these texts can get away with less comment on the text itself and still fulfil their duty to ensure that this difficult material is properly interpreted. It is also unlikely that anyone else will undertake this primary interpretive work at a later date. Further, there are compelling reasons for keeping all information related to a particular manuscript or text bound in a single volume, including the most unreadable of chapters such as that dealing with physical description of the manuscript, rather than dividing information between print and electronic media. It is the case that a book is a more secure medium than electronic storage. Besides, publications of this class are of a completely different category to most other monographs in Buddhist studies. They are reference works rather than something one reads cover to cover.

Another negative consequence of the difficulties presented by this material is the time it takes to bring a text to publication, though I think that those working on the Gāndhārī material through the EBMP have not been too tardy to date.[32] And given that we are now so much more skilled at dealing with Gāndhārī manuscripts, the rate at which texts are published will only increase.

Besides the problems associated with reconstructing, reading, editing, translating, and interpreting individual texts, a major challenge facing those who deal with the multi-text collections—the British Library, Senior, Bajaur, Split, and Schøyen collections—is interpreting them as collections; in particular, determining the reason for their production and understanding why in each case this particular set of texts was formed into a collection. This, of course, is also of vital importance to understanding the individual texts within each collection. In order to understand a collection, we need to know whether it is a random accumulation of old, worn out manuscripts, a collection of new manuscripts created as a commission, the private property of a monk, or a section of a monastic library, because each of these possible scenarios has implications for our understanding of the texts involved. We also need to know whether the collection was ritually buried or not, whether the collection as we have it is complete and, if not, whether the loss occurred in antiquity or subsequent to its discovery in modern times. And most importantly, we need to know the region from which the manuscripts originate, the exact location of the find, the type of structure involved, its location within the monastery compound, the manner in which the

[31] Boucher 2005 (review of Allon 2001) and 2004/2008 (review of Glass 2007).

[32] See the contributions by Salomon and Cox in this volume for an overview of works published to date by the EBMP.

manuscripts were buried, whether other items accompanied the burial, the size and likely status of that monastery, the nature of the community that produced the manuscripts, and so on.

In this regard, the loss of contextual information for these manuscript finds and the lack of proper documentation of their discovery resulting from not being recovered through proper archaeological research, are tremendously significant. In the case of the Senior manuscripts, this has serious ramifications. For example, despite the inscription on the pot stating that it was established in a stūpa, we cannot be absolutely certain that the pot containing the manuscripts was in fact interred in a stūpa or was rather buried within the stūpa compound or in another location. And of particular significance is the likely loss of manuscripts from the original deposit. The incomplete status of the surviving manuscript collection means that it is not possible to solve several major problems we have in interpreting it. The first is the mismatch between the surviving texts and those listed on RS 7 + 8 discussed above. Given the lack of proper documentation of the discovery of these manuscripts we currently cannot determine which of several scenarios explaining the discrepancy is the correct one, or at least most likely one:[33] namely, (i) whether the scribe compiled the list on RS 7 + 8 as a guide to the texts he was going to write for the commission, but then changed his mind, excluding some while writing others he had not listed; (ii) whether all the texts listed on RS 7+8 were included in the original deposit along with others he had not listed, with a large proportion of these not surviving; or (iii) whether the collection of texts listed on RS 7+8 was not written as a guide to or record of the texts that were included in this commission, but was initially drawn up for another purpose, this list and a proportion of the texts referenced in it then being included in the collection of texts that were placed in the pot for ritual burial.

Again, since the Senior manuscripts are a commission, they involve intention and choice: someone has chosen these texts rather than others. But as we saw in the above discussion, this intention and choice remains hidden because the loss of material means that it is not possible to accurately identify the themes and subject matter of the texts of the original collection.

Now, although we lack contextual and related information for the Senior manuscripts and for similar finds that would enable us to fully, or at least better understand them, it is still surely amazing and wonderful that we have these texts. We have recovered a small, but significant portion of that vast ocean of literature produced and transmitted by Buddhist communities during the long history of this religion: versions of texts attested in other sources that throw light on the development and transmission of those texts; texts without exact parallels that attest particularly early forms of certain genres and which are therefore important witnesses to the development of these genres (e.g. commentarial and Abhidharma texts); texts belonging to monastic lineages we had scant knowledge of, and so on.[34] Although this is, of course, true, the lack of contextual information actually has ramifications for our understanding of the individual texts as well. For example, the version of a text that was written out to be included in a ritual burial may be different from that found in the monastic library that was produced for study and teaching purposes. In the case of a text destined for ritual burial, for example, it is quite possible that a scribe could have omitted sections of the text because for him the resulting text was sufficiently representative of the standard version (if there was a standard version), or perhaps he might have modified the wording of a text in order to fit it on a particular piece of birch bark.

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[33] As listed in Allon 2007b: 20.

[34] For the significance of these new manuscript finds, see Allon 2008: 173–178.

Ultimately, given the choice between having these manuscripts as we do without contextual information, without proper documentation of their discovery, and in most cases being damaged since their discovery, and acquiring them in the future as the result of proper archaeological discovery and documentation, there is no doubt that we would choose the latter. Texts can only be properly understood in context.[35]

Now the lack of contextual and related information for these manuscripts means that our conclusions for the most part can only ever be tentative; our conclusions have to be of the "maybe," "possibly," "it appears" kind or at best of the "it is highly likely that" form. Yet the tentative status of our conclusions and speculations is so often overlooked by those who use our work: when it is necessary to tell a story it is very tempting to ignore the tentative language of the original conclusions, with the hypothetical becoming fact; "maybe" and "possibly" do not make a good story. One example will suffice. In 2001 I published a manuscript from the British Library collection containing three Gāndhārī sūtras under the title *Three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-Type Sūtras* for a good reason: on the available evidence, I could not determine whether this manuscript represented a section of an *Ekottarikāgama* or an anthology of such sūtras. Yet despite this, this manuscript has frequently been referred to as an example of a Gāndhārī *Ekottarikāgama* in subsequent publications. And this takes us back to the review of Andrew Glass's recent publication mentioned earlier in which it was remarked that "This is a lot of attention for a very small part of the collection, especially since the larger questions this works raises — the very ones which are likely to draw the attention of Buddhologists — must remain tentative and inconclusive." Unfortunately, the tentative and inconclusive are the norm with this material. In fact, if we are careful, this is characteristic of our discipline, particularly when dealing with history. We occupy a discipline where the tentative is the norm and certainty is indeed rare.

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[35] Of course, I am fully aware of the complexity of this issue. For all of these manuscripts we do not have the luxury of such a choice: they have been discovered either by accident or during the course of clandestine searches for other antiquities in regions where government control of archaeological sites is impossible. It is also highly likely that they would have been destroyed had they not been seen to have a monetary value.

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Gāndhārī Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts: Exegetical Texts

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1. The exegetical genre

The exegetical genre, including both commentaries and scholastic treatises, is particularly well represented among Gāndhārī Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, comprising nine within the British Library (BL) collection, nine within the Bajaur collection (Strauch 2008; see article by Harry Falk and Ingo Strauch in this volume, pp. 51ff.), as well as the University of Washington scroll. Among the longest Gāndhārī manuscripts discovered to date, the exegetical texts provide ample evidence of a variety of text formats, interpretive techniques, and explicatory strategies that enable their classification within several general categories. When arranged according to relationship to a root text and increasing complexity of structure, these general categories in turn suggest a provisional chronology for the emergence of interpretive techniques within the exegetical genre. The discussion of Gāndhārī commentaries and scholastic treatises presented here proposes such a tentative textual classification that will be useful for an overview of the historical development of the exegetical genre. However, interpretive techniques and explicatory strategies cannot be correlated exclusively with specific text types (e.g., Sūtra, commentary, Abhidharma), and simpler, more straightforward exegetical methods continued to be used even after the emergence of more complex approaches. As a result, the presence or absence of specific interpretive techniques or explicatory strategies does not unequivocally indicate relative chronology among texts of a particular type nor does it permit the dating of individual texts.

2. Texts

Although differing in style and contents, the Gāndhārī commentaries and scholastic treatises within the BL collection as well as the UW scroll can be provisionally classified on the basis of three overlapping criteria: (1) their explicit commentarial function, which is indicated by their relationship to or independence from a root text; (2) their stylistic features, which display an increasingly regimented structure; and (3) their interpretive techniques, which are marked by growing complexity in the methods of categorization, discursive examination, and polemical argumentation.

These three criteria permit the classification of Gāndhārī exegetical texts into two broad groups, which, given their shared interpretive techniques, clearly represent a continuous lineage of exegesis: (1) straightforward commentaries; and (2) independent scholastic treatises. Straightforward commentaries, at their most basic level, attempt to render a root text more accessible or comprehensible and thus structure their comments in accordance with phrase citations, or lemmata, from the root text. The simplest interpretive techniques used are glossing and grammatical or etymological explanation, whereby compounds are analyzed and individual words are furnished with synonyms or clarified through etymological explanations. Glossing and compound analysis are frequently presented within a restatement that reveals the syntactic structure of the root text passage, often followed by a summary paraphrase of the passage as a whole. Finally, passages are further elaborated by applying extraneous doctrinal categories or scriptural passages, similes, and a simple listing of alternative interpretations. Finally, two Gāndhārī commentaries also employ more advanced techniques of "categorial mapping" or "categorial reduction," which will be discussed below.

By contrast, independent scholastic treatises are not directly linked to a root text nor are they structured by lemmata. Instead, they adopt a more formalistic and externally grounded structure that attempts to reorganize doctrinal topics in an abstract way and, in the most advanced example, to examine the implications of different doctrinal interpretations through the critical evaluation of contending viewpoints. They employ all of the interpretive techniques found in straightforward commentaries but also include independent catechesis, text-internal cross-referencing, discursive examination, and finally the active criticism of alternative interpretations and polemical argumentation. As a result, these texts display development from the simpler straightforward commentaries and approach a stage similar to that of the independent scholastic treatises of the middle- to late-Abhidharma period of the second to fifth centuries CE.

2.1 Straightforward commentaries

The group of straightforward commentaries includes three Gāndhārī texts or text groups: (1) a previously unknown commentary on the *Saṅgītisūtra*; (2) the University of Washington scroll; and (3) three commentaries on previously unknown collections of verses.

2.1.1 Saṅgītisūtra commentary

The Gāndhārī commentary on the *Saṅgītisūtra* within the British Library collection (BL 15) constitutes one of the longest of the Gāndhārī manuscripts and exhibits the simplest commentarial style. The manuscript comprises approximately 450 lines of text, including 340 well-preserved lines that represent the middle 75% of the original text, beginning from the mid-three- through the mid-seven-membered sets of doctrinal categories. The remaining 110 poorly preserved lines are found at the very fragmentary beginning and end of the manuscript and represent approximately 25% of the original text. Presumably, this poorly preserved portion of the manuscript originally contained the introductory and concluding frame story as well as the remaining initial and final doctrinal category sets.

The *Saṅgītisūtra* was an extremely widespread and important sūtra with one version extant in Pāli (*Dīghanikāya*: no. 33, 3.207–271), two in Chinese translation (T 1 no. 1 [9], T 1 no. 12), and a Sanskrit version or versions represented by various fragments discovered in Afghanistan and Central Asia (Tripāṭhī 1985; Lévi 1932: 9–11; Hoernle 1916: 16–24; Stache-Rosen 1968). Its importance is also demonstrated by its inclusion within a widely attested early grouping of six sūtras (Skt. *ṣaṭsūtraka*), three of which, the *Daśottarasūtra*, *Arthavistarasūtra*, and *Saṅgītisūtra*, are doctrinal in content (Hartmann 1994). The *Saṅgītisūtra* consists of an extended list of doctrinally significant categories arranged progressively from sets of one member through sets of ten members. The frame story relates that this communal recitation of the doctrine organized into numerical category sets was initiated by Śāriputra in order to create a structured, consensually sanctioned summary of the teaching that would prevent discord of the type that had erupted within the Jaina community upon the death of its leader.

Doctrinal enumerations of the type found in the *Saṅgītisūtra* were undoubtedly used not only as summaries of the teaching but also as mnemonic aids for its oral preservation and transmission; hence, they became an obvious object for the practice of commentary. In addition to the Pāli commentary on the version of the *Saṅgītisutta* in the *Dīghanikāya* (*Dīghanikāya-aṭṭakathā*: 3.971–1052), which is included among the collections of Pāli commentaries redacted by Buddhaghosa, one other independent commentary on the *Saṅgītisūtra* is extant: the *Saṅgītiparyāya* (T 26 no. 1536) preserved in Chinese translation, which came to be included among the seven canonical Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma texts. With the exception of the commentaries preserved in Pāli, commentaries on sūtras are rare among extant Indic Buddhist texts. Therefore, the existence of two independent commen-

taries on the *Saṅgītisūtra* — the Gāndhārī commentary and the *Saṅgītiparyāya* — becomes significant and might be interpreted in two ways. First, these two *Saṅgītisūtra* commentaries might represent the only surviving examples of more widespread traditions of sūtra commentary, perhaps even of divergent and localized commentarial traditions. Or second, they might indicate the particular importance of the *Saṅgītisūtra* itself as a summary of early Buddhist teaching warranting extended commentarial exegesis. In the latter case, these two commentaries might then be interpreted as proto-scholastic works or transitional texts on a path moving from commentary on particular sūtras such as the *Saṅgīti* toward independent scholastic or Abhidharma treatises.

Comparisons among the extant versions of the *Saṅgītisūtra* indicate that the order of doctrinal category sets structuring the Gāndhārī commentary is virtually identical to that in the version of the *Saṅgītisūtra* preserved in the Chinese translation of the *Dīrghāgama* (T 1 no. 1 [9]) and is markedly different from that in all other versions. This similarity in structure between the Gāndhārī commentary and the *Dīrghāgama* version suggests textual and very possibly school connections. Linguistic, contextual, and text-internal evidence connects the Chinese translation of the *Dīrghāgama* with Gandhāra and with the Dharmaguptaka school (Salomon 1999: 173–174). A Dharmaguptaka connection is suggested also for the Gāndhārī *Saṅgītisūtra* commentary through its structural similarity to the version of the *Saṅgītisūtra* preserved in the *Dīrghāgama* as well as through the inscription on the clay pot in which the British Library collection of Gāndhārī manuscripts was found, which explicitly links the clay pot, if not also its contents, to the Dharmaguptaka school (Salomon 1999: 21). Although it is still premature to claim conclusively a simple school affiliation for either the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* or for the Gāndhārī manuscripts as a whole, the close connection between the Gāndhārī and *Dīrghāgama* versions of the *Saṅgītisūtra* does provide emphatic evidence at the very least of related textual lineages and traditions of textual transmission within the northwest region. Likewise, a common exegetical tradition within the northwest is suggested by similarities between the Gāndhārī *Saṅgītisūtra* commentary and the *Peṭakopadesa* and *Nettippakaraṇa* in their shared terminology, commentarial explanations, and supporting scriptural passages, as well as in their interpretive technique of categorial reduction.

The Gāndhārī *Saṅgītisūtra* commentary adopts a relatively simple commentarial pattern in which lemmata from the root text containing the headwords within each doctrinal category set or category sub-item are explained first by etymologies and then by definitions through glossing that often specify their “distinguishing characteristic” (G *lakhaṇa*, Skt. *lakṣaṇa*): for example, “The six sets of sensations: sensations have the characteristic of ‘experiencing’” (G *ṣa veḏaṇaḵaa aṇubhavaṇalakhaṇa veḏaṇa*). The commentary continues with explanatory expansion or paraphrase, similes, metaphors, and the citation of alternative interpretations, but lacks any attempt to argue a position or to adjudicate among the interpretations cited. Throughout, the commentary employs typical functional markers or commentarial operators. For example, words and phrases are marked for comment with the quotative particle G *ḏi* (Skt. *iti*), and glosses or equivalencies are signaled with the participle “is referred to” (G *vuto*, Skt. *ukta*). Occasionally, the abbreviation formulae “it is to be carried out in detail” (G *vistareṇa katavo*, Skt. *vistareṇa kartavyam*) or “as has been put down in detail” (G *yas̱a vistareṇa ṇikṣivita*, Skt. *yathā vistareṇa nikṣiptam*) signal the intended expansion within the commentary of a well-known list, definition, or narrative account. Different viewpoints or alternative interpretations are marked by the phrases “another alternative” (G *avaro payao*, Skt. *aparaḥ paryāyaḥ*) or “certain ones state” (G *keyi aha/ahaṃsu*, Skt. *kecid āhuḥ*), but without criticism or sanction of any particular alternative.

In addition to these standard, relatively straightforward exegetical methods, in the case of virtually every doctrinal category set, the Gāndhārī *Saṅgītisūtra* commentary utilizes a more complex interpretive technique of "categorial mapping" or "categorial reduction," a technique also frequently encountered in the *Peṭakopadesa* and *Nettippakaraṇa*. Here the commentary "maps" or identifies the individual items of each doctrinal category set with those in other, standard category sets, often those cited elsewhere in the *Saṅgītisūtra* itself. On the simplest level, categorial mapping clarifies the meaning and function of one set of doctrinal categories through association with the meaning and function of another category set. It also simplifies doctrinal complexity by means of a process of reduction through mutual identification. When previously unrelated doctrinal category sets are identified through commentary, one set can then be understood to signify others, and the total number of sets with different meanings and functions is thereby reduced. Through this process of identification, previously unrelated category sets are fused to create an integrated doctrinal edifice that gives prominence to selected categories and concepts, and other categories that are subsumed within them fall out of use. The horizontally arrayed mass of doctrinal category sets present in the sūtras is thus assembled to form a hierarchical structure that reveals the doctrinal agenda of the commentator. This creative work of the commentator evident in this technique of categorial mapping will eventually lead to the more overt doctrinal reorganization carried out in Abhidharma, which culminates in its characteristic, later focus of ontological reduction in terms of dharmas.

The commentary on the category set of the five controlling faculties (G/Skt. *indriya*) serves as a good example of this variety of interpretive techniques. After a schematic list of the faculties and a definition of "controlling faculty" as "sovereignty" (G *a̱sivaḏea*, Skt. *ādhipatya*), the commentary explains the controlling faculties as arising through a process of serial dependence and then specifies the activities of all five controlling faculties through the combined similes of the members of a household and an army. Next, the commentary carries out categorial reduction by identifying the set of five controlling faculties first with the twofold classification of factors as "support" (G *ahara*, Skt. *āhāra*) and "supporter" (G *aharaḵo*, Skt. *āhāraka*) and then with the praxis-related categories of the five "aggregates of practice" (G *kaṃdha*, Skt. *skandha*), the eightfold noble "path" (G *maga*, Skt. *mārga*), and finally with stages of realization along the path.

A second, more comprehensive application of categorial reduction is carried out on the structure of the *Saṅgītisūtra* as a whole through the specialized application of "content lists" (Skt. *uddāna*) found at regular intervals throughout the Gāndhārī commentary. Groups of approximately ten doctrinal category sets or individual category sub-items are incorporated within content lists that are reorganized and subsumed under the category set of the four noble truths. Straightforward content lists occur in the various Sanskrit Central Asian fragments of the *Saṅgīti* and are a regular feature of the *Peṭakopadesa* as well as Abhidharma texts such as the *Saṅgītiparyāya*. However, since the word *uddāna* does not appear in the Gāndhārī *Saṅgītisūtra* commentary, it is impossible to determine whether such content lists were present in the Gāndhārī version of the *Saṅgītisūtra* itself. Nonetheless, it is clear that the content lists used within the Gāndhārī *Saṅgītisūtra* commentary do not function as a simple table of contents but rather involve an additional layer of exegetical activity that restructures or reduces the various doctrinal category sets appearing in the sūtra under one overarching single category set, namely, the four noble truths.

The use of the four noble truths as a heuristic device can be observed in early Abhidharma texts such as the **Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra* (T 28 no. 1548), as well as in the *Peṭakopadesa*. The function of the four noble truths as a meta-level organizational feature, as evident in the Gāndhārī *Saṅgītisūtra* commentary, has also been noted in the **Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* (T 28 no. 1550, T 28 no. 1551) and related texts, as well as in such

later texts as the **Catuḥsatyaśāstra* (T 32 no. 1647), the **Tattvasiddhiśāstra* (T 32 no. 1646), and the *Abhidharmakośa* (Pradhan 1975). Given the probable connection of all of these texts with the northwest region, it is possible that their shared interpretive techniques and the particular importance of the four noble truths indicate a regionally defined lineage of commentarial practice and exegesis centered in Gandhāra.

2.1.2 The University of Washington scroll

The UW scroll consists of twelve separate manuscript strips containing approximately forty-six lines of largely continuous text. Although structured as a straightforward commentary on a sūtra, it might also have been part of an independent scholastic treatise in which a sūtra passage is cited and discussed. The root sūtra passage parallels sections in the *Dhātuvibhaṅgasutta* (*Majjhimanikāya*: no. 140, 3.237–247) that examine the topic of sensations (P *vedanā*) and the process by which sensations "become cool" (P *sītībhavissanti*) through religious praxis.

While the Gāndhārī text cites lemmata from the root text, the commentary as a whole is structured as a continuous narrative. Each lemma is introduced or concluded by the phrase "therefore, he states" (G *tenaha*, Skt. *tenā 'ha*), in which "he" is identified as the "Bhagavat" (G *bhagava*, Skt. *bhagavat*) or as the "teacher" (G *acarya*, Skt. *ācārya*). Simple interpretive techniques include etymological glosses, compound analysis, and the expansion of similes. For example, the commentary offers an etymological gloss on the term "sensation": "What is the meaning of sensation? [The term] 'sensation' [means] sensed" (G *vedaïdam=idi ko artho vididaṃ vedaïdaṃ*). These simple glosses or grammatical explanations are followed by more detailed doctrinal elaboration: for example, "sensation (G *vedaïda*) [refers to] the experience of objects in accordance with their characteristics" (G *arthanubhavanani nimitayogeṇa vedaïda ◦ eva vedaïdani*). The commentary maintains structural continuity through a pattern of simple questions and answers as well as through transitional commentarial operators such as "therefore" (G *tasma*, Skt. *tasmāt*), "in that case" (G/Skt. *tatra*), "in this way" (G *eva*, Skt. *evam*), and "furthermore, how?" (G *avi gho puṇa*, Skt. *api khalu punar*). Finally, the commentary diverges from the root text through summary paraphrase signaled by the distinctive commentarial operator "the elucidation [is] …" (G *paridivaṇa*, Skt. *paridīpana*) and through alternative interpretations marked by the phrase "another states" (G *avaraha*, Skt. *apara āha*). However, no arguments are presented and no particular viewpoint is sanctioned.

2.1.3 The verse commentaries

The British Library collection includes three commentaries on previously unknown collections of verses (I: BL 4; II: BL 13; III: BL 7, 9, 13, 18). Verse commentary II, the longest of the three, contains over 400 lines of text in thirty-nine numbered sections commenting on forty-three verses.[1] The commentary is also structured by content lists on sets of ten verses. Parallels for the verses have been located in a variety of sources including the *Arthapada* (Skt. *Arthavargīya*, P *Aṭṭhakavagga*), *Pārāyaṇa* (P *Pārāyanavagga*), *Dharmapada* (P *Dhammapada*), *Udāna*, and *Ityuktaka* (P *Itivuttaka*).

The commentary on each verse is signaled by a lemma, usually consisting of the entire first quarter of the verse, which is followed by the statement: "[Preceding is] the text; the explanation on it [follows]" (G *sutro tatra ṇideśo*, Skt. *sūtraṃ tatra nirdeśaḥ*). The commentary frequently presents several complementary explanations for an entire verse, the first of which usually includes etymologies or glosses for individual words as well as a paraphrase of the verse as a whole. This initial general commentary is followed by one or

[1] This discussion of verse commentary II is based upon Baums 2009.

more additional explanations of the entire verse introduced by the commentarial operator "in brief" (G *sakṣeve*, Skt. *saṃkṣepe*) with further subdivisions often marked by "or else" (G *asa va,* Skt. *athavā*). Alternative interpretations are signaled by "some claim" (G *keyi aha,* Skt. *kecid āhuḥ*) or "another" (G *avara,* Skt. *apara*), but once again no attempt is made to argue a position or to adjudicate among the interpretations given.

The additional explanations of an entire verse usually follow two exegetical patterns. The first, shared with the Gāndhārī *Saṅgītisūtra* commentary, is that of categorial mapping, whereby sections of the root verse are identified with individual members of an extraneous set of doctrinal categories. Although no single or overarching doctrinal topic can be discerned for the selection of these extraneous category sets, certain sets appear repeatedly, in particular, those related to the four noble truths and aspects of religious practice. The application of one doctrinal set to a given verse will occasionally precipitate its own further explication in terms of other category sets, yielding the reinterpretation of a relatively straightforward verse through a series of embedded reductions that result in an increasingly complex doctrinal structure. The second exegetical pattern employed within the additional explanations in the verse commentaries also utilizes a technique of explanation through identification by interweaving sections of the root verse with a separate scriptural passage. In this case, each successive portion of the verse is explained through identification with a section of the scriptural passage, thereby evoking its original context and extended meaning.

As in the case of the Gāndhārī *Saṅgītisūtra* commentary, comparison with other early Buddhist exegetical texts suggests a close relationship between the verse commentaries and the *Niddesa* and other Pāli commentaries on the basis of their shared explanations for individual terms and their appeal to the same scriptural passages. However, the method of categorial reduction and the particular importance of the four noble truths as an overarching heuristic device appear to be characteristic of exegetical material associated specifically with the region of Gandhāra, in particular, such texts as the verse commentaries, the Gāndhārī *Saṅgītisūtra* commentary, the *Peṭakopadesa*, and the *Nettippakaraṇa*.

2.2 Independent scholastic treatises

In contrast to the straightforward commentaries, independent scholastic treatises are not directly linked to a root text but constitute autonomous treatments of doctrinal topics that are structured by their own distinctive formats and guided by separate explicatory strategies. Independent scholastic treatises employ all of the simpler interpretive techniques typical of the straightforward commentaries but also utilize more complex methods of catechesis, text-internal cross-referencing, and finally, the active criticism of alternative interpretations and polemical argumentation. In accordance with these distinctive formats and interpretive techniques, the independent scholastic treatises among the Gāndhārī manuscripts can be provisionally classified into three groups: (1) expository treatises including BL 10 and BL 17; (2) catechetical treatises, BL 20+23; and (3) polemical treatises, BL 28.

2.2.1 Expository treatises

2.2.1.1 Expository treatise: BL 17

British Library fragment 17 has been classified as a simple expository treatise because it does not follow the commentarial structure of lemmata and explanation but appears to be structured loosely in accordance with independent doctrinal topics. The manuscript consists of forty-two partial lines of text, and damage to the manuscript precludes a clear sense of either its contents or its structure. Stray terms throughout the text suggest a topic con-

cerning aspects of religious practice and attainments: for example, “dependent origination” (G *paḍicasamupada*, Skt. *pratītyasamutpāda*), one “stationed in the teaching” (G *dhamaṭhida*, Skt. *dharmasthita*), the “eye of the teaching” (G *dhamacakhu*, Skt. *dharmacakṣus*), and “attaining enlightenment” (G *avisabujadi*, Skt. *abhisambudhyate*). Other terms could function in a variety of doctrinal contexts including religious practice: for example, “virtuous” (G/Skt. *kuśala*), “perceptual consciousness” (G *viñaṇa*, Skt. *vijñāna*), “concentration” (G *samasi*, Skt. *samādhi*), and “person” (G *pugala*, Skt. *pudgala*). In style, BL 17 appears to consist of straightforward exposition, and, although some questions and comparisons are employed, there is no evidence of structured catechesis, polemical argumentation, or other characteristics of the explicatory strategies typical of the more developed Gāndhārī scholastic treatises.

2.2.1.2 Expository treatise: BL 10

British Library fragment 10 contains approximately ninety-four lines of text divided by major punctuation marks into three sections. Although the structure of the original text is not yet clear, the preserved portion consists of a continuous exposition of praxis-related topics possibly unified by the term “insight” (G *praña*, Skt. *prajñā*). The first section discusses the “noble eightfold path” (G *aryaṭhagiyo maga*, Skt. *āryāṣṭāṅgiko mārgaḥ*) in relation to being “dissociated from defilements” (G *kileśehi viprayuto*, Skt. *kleśair viprayuktaḥ*), the three praxis-related “aggregates” (G *dhamakadha*, Skt. *dharmaskandha*), the thirty-seven factors favorable to enlightenment, and “states of liberation” (G *vimuti*, Skt. *vimukti*). The second section contrasts “worthy” and “unworthy persons” (G *s̱apuruṣ̱a/as̱apuruṣ̱a*, Skt. *satpuruṣa/asatpuruṣa*) noting their accompaniment by virtuous or defiled factors as well as the worthy person’s practice of the ten “virtuous courses of action” (G *kuśalakamapatha*, Skt. *kuśalakarmapatha*) and his prospect for a “good rebirth state in a heaven” (G *sugatisvargaloke upapajati*, Skt. *sugatisvargaloka upapadyate*). The final section focuses on “voidness” (G *śuñada*, Skt. *śūnyatā*), refers to states such as the “cessation of conception and sensation” (G *s̱añavedaïdanirodha*, Skt. *saṃjñāvedayitanirodha/saṃjñāveditanirodha*), and contrasts the “Buddha abode” (G *budhaviharo*, Skt. *buddhavihāra*) with the “abode of the hearers” (G *śrapakaviharo*, Skt. *śrāvakavihāra*).

In style, BL 10 adopts a loosely structured, catechetical format and signals either abbreviated or expanded explanation with the commentarial operators “brief” (G *s̱akṣeva*, Skt. *saṃkṣepa*) and “extensive” (G/Skt. *vistara*), respectively. It also uses both everyday and doctrinal similes, critically examines alternative interpretations indicated by the gerundive “it is to be asked” (G *prochidava*, Skt. *praṣṭavya*), cites supporting scriptural passages, and includes text-internal cross-references marked by such operators as “it has been demonstrated previously” (G *purvo darśido*, Skt. *pūrvaṃ darśitam*) or “the meaning is demonstrated extensively by this” (G *artho eteṇa vistarita darśido*, Skt. *artha etena vistāritaṃ darśitaḥ*).

2.2.2 Catechetical treatise

The single manuscript represented by BL fragments 20 and 23 contains over 400 lines of text, which might be reduced by as much as 25% after partial lines on smaller, broken manuscript fragments are combined. Although the middle portion of the manuscript is in generally fair condition, secure readings for extended passages as well as a coherent picture of the text as a whole are precluded by lacunae, overlying chips, and other manuscript damage. Nonetheless, the legible portions of the manuscript clearly indicate that the text treats a variety of doctrinal topics and adopts a more discursive, explicatory style than is typical of the straightforward commentaries or simple expository treatises examined thus

far. The terminology of the text is not limited to a single topic but rather spans the two major issues of religious practice and epistemology. A range of praxis-related terms are used beginning with "mental orientation" (G *manasikara*, Skt. *manasikāra*), which forms the basis of religious practice, progressing through "calming" (G/Skt. *śamatha*), "discernment" (G *vipaśana*, Skt. *vipaśyanā*) and the "virtuous roots" (G *kuśalamula*, Skt. *kuśalamūla*), which lead to "purification through concentration" (G *samadhipariśudhi*, Skt. *samādhipariśuddhi*). Although also employed in discussions of religious practice, terms such as "perceptual consciousness" (G *viñana*, Skt. *vijñāna*) and "object-supports" (G *araṃbana*, Skt. *ālambana*) could also signal epistemological topics. In addition to a more discursive style, BL 20+23 differs from the simpler Gāndhārī commentaries and expository treatises in its relatively advanced terminology, which suggests familiarity with the more developed scholastic schemata and doctrinal arguments found in middle-period Abhidharma texts: for example, "particular inherent characteristic" (G/Skt. *svalakṣaṇa*), "associated conditioned forces" (G *saprayutasakhara*, Skt. *samprayuktasaṃskāra*), "knowledge of suffering" (G *dukhañana*, Skt. *duḥkhajñāna*), "thought and thought concomitants" (G *citacetasika*, Skt. *cittacaitasika*), and the "group of six types of perceptual consciousness" (G *ṣaviñanakaya*, Skt. *ṣaḍvijñānakāya*).

The manuscript preserved in BL 20+23 presents an interesting study in contrasts that defies any straightforward attempt at dating whether on the basis of palaeography, phonology, format, or contents. Despite certain early palaeographic features such as the more angular form for the Kharoṣṭhī syllable *ya*, BL 20+23 is written in a quick, spidery, at times almost cursive hand. It contains features of Old Indo-Aryan phonology: for example, both retroflex and dental nasals are used corresponding to the Old Indo-Aryan equivalents (G/Skt. *svalakṣaṇe*; G *janami*, Skt. *jānāmi*); *tha* is retained in intervocalic position rather than being changed to the sibilant *sa* or *s̱a* as in later Gāndhārī texts (G *kathaṃ*, Skt. *katham*; G/Skt. *atha*; G *tatha/yatha*, Skt. *tathā/yathā*; G/Skt. *śamatha*); and *anusvāra* or conjuncts are usually preserved where expected on the basis of Old Indo-Aryan equivalents (G *evaṃ*, Skt. *evam*; G *kiṃci*, Skt. *kiṃcid*; G *prayujaṃti*, Skt. *prayuñjanti*; G *teṣaṃ*, Skt. *teṣām*; G *skaṃdha*, Skt. *skandha*; G *aṃtara*, Skt. *antara*; G *anatma*, Skt. *anātman*). However, certain Middle Indo-Aryan forms also appear: for example, G *bhikhu* (Skt. *bhikṣu*), G *kileśa* (Skt. *kleśa*), G *saṃkhara* (Skt. *saṃskāra*), G *anica* (Skt. *anitya*), and G *araṃbana* (Skt. *ālambana*).

In format, BL 20+23 follows a pattern of strict catechesis used in certain early- or middle-period Abhidharma texts such as the **Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra* (T 28 no. 1548), *Prakaraṇapāda* (T 26 no. 1541, T 26 no. 1542), and *Dhātukāya* (T 26 no. 1540). Each section is clearly demarcated by punctuation marks and begins with a question that is answered in the subsequent examination. However, in contrast to the lists of synonyms and simple definitions elicited by the formulaic questions in these other catechetical Abhidharma texts, the questions raised in BL 20+23 often entail a doctrinal problem or contradiction that precipitates an extended discursive examination. The questions with which each section begins are usually introduced by the general interrogatives "what" (G/Skt. *katama*) or "how" (G *kathaṃ*, Skt. *katham*): for example, "How is there the complete maturation of insight? Mental orientation…" (G *kathaṃ praña paripako bhavaṃti manasigara ...*). And the subsequent discursive examination often concludes with the commentarial operator the "opposite" or "in the opposite case" (G *viparyaya/viparyayeṇa*, Skt. *viparyāya/viparyāyeṇa*), which is commonly used in later Abhidharma texts to indicate a contrasting doctrinal position that further specifies the topic under discussion. Fragment BL 20+23 also employs rhetorical questions marked by "furthermore how?" (G *api kho puṇa,* Skt. *api khalu punar*), cites alternative interpretations introduced by the phrase "or else" (G *atha va*, Skt. *athavā*), and includes supporting scriptural citations signaled by the phrase "with

regard to this, it has been said by the Bhagavat" (G *atra vuta bhagavada*, Skt. *atro 'ktaṃ bhagavatā*).

2.2.3 Polemical treatise

The most complex of the Gāndhārī scholastic treatises in both style and content is BL 28, which contains 150 virtually complete lines and approximately forty partial lines of text. In format, BL 28 is not a commentary nor does it follow the pattern of structured catechesis typical of the early- or middle-period Abhidharma texts. Instead, it is polemical and records integrated arguments between the text proponent and at least two different opponents on a coherently structured set of doctrinal issues. Although the preserved text is divided into four sections by major punctuation marks, their exact function is unclear, and the text lacks any other explicit organizational indicators whether in the form of explicit section markings, content lists (Skt. *uddāna*), or an implicit topical matrix (Skt. *mātṛkā*). As a result, the overall structure of the preserved manuscript and its possible relationship to the original text from which it came are uncertain.

Throughout its various arguments, BL 28 appears to be focused on the larger topic of the existence of past and future factors. The initial and concluding fragmentary portions of the text suggest that this topic may have been embedded in a discussion of religious practice, specifically, in relation to the issue of past and future objects as conditions for the arising of contaminants (G/Skt. *anuśaya*). If this is the case, the structure of the portion of the original text preserved in BL 28 resembles the discussion of the existence of past and future factors found in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, which is precipitated by the issue of conditions for the arising of contaminants.[2]

The very fragmentary initial portion of BL 28 contains praxis-related terms such as "mindfulness of the body" (G *kayasadi*, Skt. *kāyasmṛti*), "clear comprehension" (G/Skt. *abhisamaya*), and the "knowledge of suffering" (G *dukhañana*, Skt. *duḥkhajñāna*). The underlying question appears to be whether knowledge gained in religious practice can apprehend objects of all three time periods of the past, present, and future. In the next portion of the manuscript, the text turns to the topic that will be discussed throughout the first three sections: the existence of past and future factors specifically in relation to the operation of action (G *kama*, Skt. *karman*). The first section, including the initial fragments and the first three lines of continuous text, presents a general criticism of one opponent's view that certain past and future factors exist, namely, those past actions "whose matured effects have not yet matured" (G *avivakavivaga,* Skt. *avipakvavipāka*) and their future matured effects (G *vivaga*, Skt. *vipāka*) that are "subject to arising" (G *upaḏadhama*, Skt. *utpādidharma*).

The second section of the text continues this criticism by examining the efficacy of past action in karmic functioning and the implications of that efficacy for the existence of past factors. The opponent first claims that past actions exist precisely because they are still "possessed of a fruit," thereby implicitly appealing to the principle that causal efficacy indicates existence. In response, the text proponent argues that if existent past actions are said to possess a fruit or matured effects, those matured effects must also be said to exist and should therefore arise or occur at all times. To understand this argument, it is important to note that the text proponent identifies the "existence" of a factor with the "occurrence" of its activity, which takes place only in the present time period. Thus, for the text proponent, if something exists, it must also be active and therefore present. In response to the opponent's claim of existence only for certain past actions, primarily those "whose ma-

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[2] See *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Pradhan 1975) 5.23–24, pp. 294.4–295.2, which introduces the discussion of the existence of past and future factors found in 5.25–28, pp. 295.2–301.18.

tured effects have not yet matured," the text proponent rejects the opponent's attempt to draw a distinction within the general category of past factors and instead claims that all past factors, as members of the same category, must share the same characteristics. As a result, either all past factors exist as capable of producing effects or no past factors exist. The text proponent concludes that the opponent's model not only leaves the efficacy of action unexplained but also undermines any attempt to distinguish past from present factors.

In the third section, the text proponent extends analogous arguments to counter the opponent's claim that certain future factors exist. First, the text proponent rejects the opponent's attempt to distinguish future factors that exist as "subject to arising" (G *upaḏadhama*, Skt. *utpādidharma*) from those that are "not subject to arising" (G *anupaḏadhama*, Skt. *anutpādidharma*) and hence do not exist. Next, he criticizes the opponent's appeal to a "collocation of requisite conditions" (G *samagri,* Skt. *sāmagrī*) as instrumental in determining a factor's status as subject to arising and thereby facilitating its production in the present.

Although the opponent in these first three sections is never explicitly identified, his views resemble those attributed to the Kāśyapīyas in the commentary to the *Kathāvatthu*, the **Tattvasiddhiśāstra* (T 32 no. 1646), and two of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma scholastic compendia or *Vibhāṣā* (T 27 no. 1545, T 28 no. 1546).[3] Whereas the *Kathāvatthu* and **Tattvasiddhiśāstra* reject this Kāśyapīya viewpoint because it asserts the existence of any past or future factors, the Sarvāstivāda *Vibhāṣā* compendia reject it because it does not admit the existence of all past and future factors. The text proponent of this Gāndhārī scholastic treatise agrees with the criticism offered by the *Kathāvatthu* and **Tattvasiddhiśāstra* in rejecting the existence of any past or future factors. Thus, the opponent in these first three sections appears to be aligned in some way with the Kāśyapīyas, and the text proponent presumably holds a position that differs from that of the Sarvāstivādins.

The fourth and longest section shifts to a topic that in other Abhidharma texts is closely connected to the existence of past and future factors: the proposition that "everything exists" (G/Skt. *sarvam asti*). The section begins by citing the views of an opponent identified later in the section by the term (G) Mahasarvastivada (Skt. Mahāsarvāstivāda). First, the opponent expands upon the basic proposition with a series of declarations: for example, "Everything exists at all times. Everything exists everywhere. Everything exists with every aspect. …" and so forth (G *sarvakala sarvam=asti* ◦ *sarvatra sarvam=asti* ◦ *sarvagarena sarvam=asti…*). Next, the opponent identifies the criterion for existence as inclusion within the twelve sense-spheres (G *ayaḏana*, Skt. *āyatana*) and offers two definitions of existence: (1) existence is the factors of the three time periods that are not confused; and (2) existence is the three time periods themselves. The opponent then stresses the need to distinguish existence from nonexistence and explains that the proposition "everything exists" does not mean that everything exists from every possible perspective. Finally, the opponent explains that existent factors or time periods are established and hence discriminated from one another on the basis of their intrinsic nature (G *svabhava*, Skt. *svabhāva*). The remainder of the manuscript returns to the perspective of the text proponent who offers a point-by-point criticism of the opponent's position.

This fourth section provides unequivocal evidence that the text proponent and hence this Gāndhārī scholastic treatise as a whole represents a perspective other than that of the Sarvāstivādins. Hence, the text proponent in BL 28 is clearly neither a Kāśyapīya nor a Sarvāstivādin. Although the text proponent is not explicitly identified at any point in BL

[3] *Kathāvatthu* 151ff.; *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā* 51; **Tattvasiddhiśāstra* (T 32 no. 1646) 3 p. 258c10ff.; **Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra* (T 27 no. 1545) 19 p. 96b6ff., 51 263c25ff., 144 741b13ff; **Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* (T 28 no. 1546) 28 p. 204c14ff.

28, one passage provides a clue. In his criticism of the Sarvāstivāda position that "everything exists," the text proponent claims that it is precisely his opponents, the Mahāsarvāstivādins, and not the text proponent himself, who should be referred to by the term (G) Vivarjavada. This Gāndhārī term, Vivarjavada, can be equated with the Sanskrit Vibhajyavāda or Vibhajyavādin, "those who maintain a distinction." The precise meaning and referent of this term are still uncertain, and it might be used here not to signify a school division but rather simply to indicate a mode of doctrinal presentation through the application of distinctions. However, it is also possible that it alludes to an old division among early Buddhist practitioners, or Sthaviras, between the Sarvāstivādins as one broad group and the others, namely, the Vibhajyavādins. These Vibhajyavādins may have included the Mahīśāsakas, Kāśyapīyas, or Dharmaguptakas, among others. The text proponent might then reflect a particular perspective within this Vibhajyavāda or non-Sarvāstivāda group, presumably one that is also critical of the Kāśyapīyas. This would then leave open the possibility, but of course would not prove, that the perspective of BL 28 is that of the Dharmaguptakas.

Concerning the school identity of the opponents in BL 28, it has been noted previously that the issue of the existence of certain past actions and future effects discussed in the first three sections has been associated with the Kāśyapīyas. And in the fourth section, the opponent is explicitly identified as a Mahāsarvāstivādin. However, certain of the opponent's views are inconsistent with those sanctioned by the later Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣikas in Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma sources. In particular, the opponent's second definition of existence as the time periods themselves contradicts the orthodox Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika position that the time periods do not exist as entities separate from the factors of which they consist. In fact, this view that the time periods themselves exist is attributed to the Dārṣṭāntikas and Vibhajyavādins in the Sarvāstivāda *Vibhāṣā* compendia.[4] Significantly, BL 28 does not connect this second definition of existence with another group or school, but presumably understands it to represent a Sarvāstivāda position. Thus, the two contrasting definitions of existence recorded in BL 28 suggest variety in the positions of actual Sarvāstivāda groups at the time of the composition of BL 28, which may have predated the recognition of the Dārṣṭāntikas as representing a distinct doctrinal position. Accordingly, proponents of the position that the time periods themselves exist were still able to be included under the broad label of the Sarvāstivāda, especially when viewed from the outside by competing groups such as the text proponent of BL 28. Thus, at the early date represented by BL 28, the Sarvāstivāda label covered multiple ontological viewpoints and had not yet become restricted to the positions associated with the later Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika orthodoxy.

In style, BL 28 resembles dialectical or polemical expository treatises such as the *Kathāvatthu*, **Āryavasumitrabodhisattvasaṅgītiśāstra* (T 28 no. 1549), and certain sections of the *Vibhāṣā* compendia (T 27 no. 1545, T 28 no. 1546, T 28 no. 1547). Entirely focused upon argument, it utilizes only a few other interpretive techniques such as text-internal cross-referencing, scriptural citations, and similes. The most common argument structure is that of Skt. *prasaṅga*, or "implication of an untoward consequence," in which an opponent is refuted by being forced into either an internal inconsistency or a violation of a commonly accepted doctrinal position or scriptural passage. However, the text proponent's own position remains unstated throughout. Arguments follow a regular polemical pattern that begins with the contested position, from which both implications and the untoward consequences of these implications are drawn. The typical argument cites the contested position in one of three ways: (1) through a simple statement marked by the verb "one

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[4] **Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra* (T 27 no. 1545) 76 p. 393a10ff., 135 p. 700a26ff.; **Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* (T 28 no. 1546) 40 p. 293c21ff.

states" (G *aha/ahadi*, Skt. *āha)*; (2) a question marked by the gerundive "it is to be asked" (G *prochiḏava*, Skt. *praṣṭavya*); or (3) a conditional clause typically beginning with "if" (G *yadi/yidi*, Skt. *yadi*) and concluding with the quotative particle G *di* (Skt. *iti*). Next, the text proponent offers his own criticism, often beginning with the phrase "with regard to that, it is to be said" (G *tatra vatava*, Skt. *tatra vaktavyam).* This phrase introduces either interrogative or further conditional statements that outline the implications of the contested position. Usually, the implications are divided into two logical alternatives separated by the term "or else" (G *asa̱ va*, Skt. *athavā*), and the inclusion of the final portion of an argument or of additional supporting material is signaled by the operator "and so on" (G *peyala*, Skt. *peyāla/paryāya*). Each of these alternatives is then demonstrated to result in an untoward consequence, which is usually introduced by the word "then" (G/Skt. *tena*). The refutation entails a demand for internal consistency, the strict application of definitions and distinctions, and various types of metonymy.

Although the same argument pattern and methods of refutation are used in other middle- or late-period Abhidharma texts, the arguments in BL 28 are more simple and formulaic. Perhaps the closest analogue in both content and method is the Pāli Abhidhamma text, the *Kathāvatthu*, which raises the possibility that BL 28 constitutes another example of a much more common type of exegetical text, namely, a rudimentary polemical text that records doctrinal disagreements but without the detail and complexity typical of the highly developed Abhidharma treatises of the second to fifth centuries CE.

3. Significance: historical and contextual issues

For Buddhist scholarship, these Gāndhārī exegetical texts will prove to be highly significant for several reasons. First, the Gāndhārī manuscripts date from the first to second centuries CE and hence constitute important evidence predating the regularizing redaction that yielded the later canonical texts and exegetical works. For the text history of the exegetical genre in particular, the first century CE was a pivotal moment in the progression from the straightforward commentary to the relatively more complicated scholastic treatise.

Second, the Gāndhārī manuscripts provide invaluable evidence of a Buddhist manuscript tradition within the region of Gandhāra and of a regionally localized, exegetical tradition different from those represented by the other known commentaries and scholastic treatises of the Pāli and northern Indian traditions. Since no text parallels among any of the extant Buddhist collections have yet been identified for these Gāndhārī exegetical texts, they constitute unique textual witnesses that attest to as-yet-unknown, early Buddhist exegetical lineages. The Gandhāran evidence also logically supports the presence of local manuscript production and hence exegetical lineages in other regions of India at this early date. Further, given similarities in style and interpretive techniques as well as specific examples and arguments shared with other early Indian Buddhist commentaries and scholastic treatises, the Gāndhārī texts indicate connections among the extant early Buddhist exegetical works and suggest, if not specific text-historical connections, at least an emerging set of significant doctrinal issues and a shared body of conventionalized positions, examples, and arguments on these issues. Finally, the differing doctrinal interpretations and apparent school labels recorded in the Gāndhārī exegetical texts permit a more complex view of the variety of school self-identification employed in the doctrinal disputes of this period and the fluid and dynamic nature of these early debates in contrast to the ossified doctrinal positions as recorded in the later scholastic treatises or doxographies.

Third, the relatively large number and variety of exegetical texts preserved in Gāndhārī provides evidence for the development of the exegetical genre and specifically for the function and context of use of both commentaries and scholastic treatises. As the previous overview and classification of Gāndhārī exegetical texts suggests, the use of similar but

increasingly complex exegetical methods throughout these various texts encourages us to extend the boundaries of commentary beyond the simple straightforward commentaries to include the independent scholastic treatises. Certainly, independent scholastic treatises represent a later and more complex stage of development that reflects their new context of inter-school debate and competition from other traditions. They also clearly attest to self-referential activity, in which an attempt is made to systematize previous teaching in a cohesive whole around certain significant doctrinal issues. However, these independent scholastic treatises arose within a lineage of interpretation that is continuous with the earlier simple commentaries. They were motivated by the same purposes of preserving and adapting an authoritative textual tradition and utilized the same interpretive techniques. Thus, from an historical perspective, the commentarial genre develops along a continuous path, beginning in fact with the sūtras themselves and culminating in the independent scholastic treatises of the Abhidharma.

In the sūtras, the Buddha's preferred teaching method is portrayed as one of self-questioning and explanation, itself a commentarial strategy. Increasingly more advanced commentarial activity is evident in the sūtras in their attempt to structure the teaching through a number of analytical or organizational techniques: for example, the formulation of sets of doctrinal categories and the second-level organization of these category sets in numerically structured sūtras such as the *Saṅgīti* and *Daśottara* (*Dasuttarasutta*, *Dīghanikāya*: no. 34, 3.272–292); the secondary arrangement of entire sūtras either numerically in accordance with category sets as in the Aṅguttara (Skt. Ekottarika) or topically as in the Saṃyutta (Skt. Saṃyukta) collections; and finally the application of topical matrices (Skt. *mātṛkā*) as observed in some sūtras. In addition to these structural attempts to organize the teaching systematically, certain sūtras such as those in the Vibhaṅgavagga of the *Majjhimanikāya* (*Majjhimanikāya*: 3.187–257) constitute unmistakable examples of the integration of exegetical methods within the very fabric of individual sūtras.

The fundamental commentarial impulse to make the implicit explicit and the specific exegetical methods employed in these sūtras are continued without interruption through the commentaries and into the texts classified by the tradition as Abhidharma. The earliest Abhidharma texts such as the Pāli *Vibhaṅga* and, among the northern texts, the **Śāriputrābhidharma* and *Dharmaskandha* are obviously commentaries in both structure and method. They proceed as true commentaries, extending the topical matrices first presented in passages from the sūtras and adopting sūtra passages as the very basis for their discussion of each doctrinal topic. Later Abhidharma scholastic treatises forego the simple commentary format and attempt to systematize the teaching according to external criteria. Nevertheless, they never lose touch with the exegetical methods that indicate their origins within the fundamental commentarial tradition.

Thus, this unbroken lineage of exegesis gradually comes to be expressed in distinct commentaries and finally in independent scholastic treatises, which should not therefore be seen as the ancillary by-products of an elite institutionalized or monastic culture. Instead, they represent the natural result of oral transmission and function as the indispensable context that mediated continued access to the teaching. The textual tradition from sūtra to Abhidharma is continuously transformed by the recursive operations of commentary, in which each small act of textual exegesis is fed back into the tradition to exert its own often unpredictable effects. Thus, the authoritative transmission of the teaching is carried out through this continuous transformative activity of commentary, which is reflexively enacted upon itself.

Commentaries serve many functions including the simple explanation of words and phrases, the resolution of contradictions, the construction of ideological systems, and the establishment of authoritative "text communities." However, given the oral method of

composition, preservation, explanatory elaboration, and transmission of the early Buddhist teachings, the social and pedagogical functions of commentary as the medium for learning and preservation of the teaching became paramount. The presence of commentary-like sūtras suggests that commentaries do not function merely as attempts to resolve contradictions or select among contending interpretations, functions that only become necessary with the appearance of multiple textual sources or with the attempt to determine an authoritative collection of texts that arises with canon-closure. Instead, commentaries have always existed together with the fundamental teachings that they elaborate; they represent the inevitable concomitants of oral methods of teaching and transmission present within the Buddhist tradition from its beginnings. Thus, the exegetical texts preserved in Gāndhārī provide an unprecedented view of the variety of early Buddhist exegesis, which reinforces this model of the essential pedagogical function of commentary and captures the development of the exegetical genre at a crucial stage.

Abbreviations

BL British Library
G Gāndhārī
P Pāli
Skt. Sanskrit
T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (Takakusu and Watanabe 1924–1934)

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T 1 no. 12 *Dà jífămén jīng* 大集法門經 (**Saṅgītidharmaparyāyasūtra*).

T 26 no. 1536 *Āpídámó jíyìmén zú lún* 阿毘達磨集異門足論 (*Saṅgītiparyāya*).

T 26 no. 1540 *Āpídámó jièshēn zú lùn* 阿毘達磨界身足論 (*Dhātukāya*).

T 26 no. 1541 *Zhòngshìfēn āpítán lún* 衆事分阿毘曇論 (*Prakaraṇapāda*).

T 26 no. 1542 *Āpídámó pǐnlèi zú lùn* 阿毘達磨品類足論 (*Prakaraṇapāda*).

T 27 no. 1545 *Āpídámó dàpípóshā lún* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 (**Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*).

T 28 no. 1546 *Āpítán pípóshā lún* 阿毘曇毘婆沙論 (**Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*).

T 28 no. 1547 *Bǐngpóshā lún* 鞞婆沙論 (**Vibhāṣāśāstra*).

T 28 no. 1548 *Shèlìfú āpítán lún* 舍利弗阿毘曇論 (**Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra*).

T 28 no. 1549 *Zūn póxūmì púsà suǒ jí lún* 尊婆須蜜菩薩所集論 (**Āryavasumitrabodhisattvasaṅgītiśāstra*).

T 28 no. 1550 *Āpítán xīn lún* 阿毘曇心論 (**Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*).

T 28 no. 1551 *Āpítán xīn lún jīng* 阿毘曇心論經 (**Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*).

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The Bajaur and Split Collections of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts within the Context of Buddhist Gāndhārī Literature

HARRY FALK (BERLIN) AND INGO STRAUCH (LAUSANNE)

1. Introduction

During the last decade the collections of Gāndhārī manuscripts being studied by the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project in Seattle have been supplemented by two new manuscript finds which are said to originate from the northwest of Pakistan, or — more precisely — from the Bajaur district in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (former Northwest Frontier Province). The Bajaur Collection is named after the find-spot on the northern edge of the region Bajaur on the border with Afghanistan, while the Split Collection has no attested place of origin. Since some more parts coming from the same source have surfaced in the antiquities market, pointing at a segmentation or split-up of the original lot, the term "Split Collection" is used to allow further acquisitions to find a home under the same roof. Both new collections contain important additions to the hitherto known corpus of Gāndhārī literature, among them two texts which clearly belong to the Mahāyāna branch of Buddhism. The Bajaur Collection houses what is to this date the largest manuscript of a Mahāyāna sūtra in the Gāndhārī language. Although it resembles in many regards various genres of early Mahāyāna — including Prajñāpāramitā texts and Pure Land Buddhist texts like the *Akṣobhyavyūha* — it is not identical with any known sūtra. The Split Collection contains the earliest known manuscript of a Prajñāpāramitā text. The contents of both collections can consequently be used to get some new data for one of the most controversially debated questions in the history of Buddhism, namely the doctrinal and institutional contexts in which early Mahāyāna arose. This question is of course closely connected with the problem of the specific character of Gandhāran Buddhism and its literary production.

It is only possible to evaluate the evidence of a given text or text collection by appropriately considering this extended background of Gāndhārī Buddhist literature and defining the position of the respective textual material therein. However, despite the enormous progress made in Gandhāran studies in the last decade — mainly thanks to the work done by the members of the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project under the guidance of Richard Salomon — such a survey of Gāndhārī literature which subsumes the main available data from the perspective of literary genres is still a desideratum.

Our paper will therefore introduce the new collections studied in Berlin — i.e. the Bajaur and Split Collections — by contrasting their inventory of texts with the currently available corpus of Gāndhārī literature. Thus it will also provide a base for further research by organizing the rather disparate information about this corpus according to the available publications in a concise and systematic form. Due to the ongoing or sometimes even not yet initiated research on many of the texts cited in this survey the information must be regarded as preliminary, to be superseded by a future comprehensive history of Gāndhārī literature which remains to be written.

Before coming to this overview of literary genres it is, however, necessary to give a short introduction to the main physical features of the Bajaur and Split Collections and the history of their discovery and research.

2. Gāndhārī Studies in Berlin

2.1 The Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts

The Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts was discovered in 1999 in the ruins of a Buddhist monastery near the village of Mian Kili in the Dir district. The monastery itself is

situated on the opposite bank of the river Rud which marks the boundary of the modern districts Dir and Bajaur. Hence it was decided to name the collection "Bajaur Collection." The monastery has not been excavated nor is it described in secondary literature. Its position can be best explained by the existence of a trade route connecting the Swat valley via two passes towards the Kunar valley and thence towards Nangahar or Citral.

In the year of their discovery the manuscripts were handed over to M. Nasim Khan, at that time Assistant Professor in (now Professor and Head of) the Department of Archaeology of the University of Peshawar.

In March–April 2004 the authors of this article spent a couple of days at the Peshawar University for a series of lectures. During this period a large set of birch-bark fragments were shown to them by M. Nasim Khan who had secured them, unrolled them and put them into glass frames according to the method which had been described by Richard Salomon in his ground-breaking monograph on the British Library birch-bark scrolls (1999). Soon the idea came up to establish a special manuscript project under a more comprehensive umbrella named "Pak-German projects," which were supposed to comprise also archaeological, ethnological and geographical components. As a first step towards cataloguing the manuscripts they were given preliminary signatures in April 2004 by Ingo Strauch, with a view to clarifying the number of manuscripts and scribes and the interrelationship of the fragments. After a preparatory phase of 18 months, the Bajaur Collection Project — financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) — started its work in October 2005 at the Freie Universität Berlin with Harry Falk as its supervisor, Ingo Strauch as Scientific Collaborator and Andrea Schlosser as Student Collaborator. On the Pakistani side, M. Nasim Khan and Sohail Khan received equipment and financial support and represented the project in Peshawar.

During the initial phase from October 2005 to May 2007 high-resolution digital images of the frames were prepared by the Pakistani partners which still serve as the basis for our reconstruction and editing work.

On this basis a first preliminary catalogue with sample extracts and translations was completed and published online on the homepage of our project, which went public in August 2007. This online article was revisited and slightly reworked in May 2008 according to a series of valuable comments, particularly from the side of our colleagues from Seattle, with whom a rather close cooperation developed (Strauch 2007/8). The main results of this preliminary survey were published in Strauch 2008.

Due to several reasons the intended collaboration with the Pakistani side failed. Since 2007 the Bajaur Collection Project has therefore been acting independently from the Department of Archaeology of the Peshawar University.

The focus of the project's present work is directed towards the final edition of four manuscripts from a Śrāvakayāna canonical or paracanonical background (BajC 1, 3, 5,13) and towards the first exploration of the contents and characteristics of the collection's most important text, the Mahāyāna sūtra BajC 2 (Strauch 2010).

The Bajaur Collection comprises altogether fragments from about 19[1] different birch-bark scrolls, containing around 22 different texts written by at least 18 different scribes. They are now preserved in 35 frames. Their extent is rather different — ranging from a small manuscript measuring only 6 cm in length (BajC 5) up to a large scroll over 2 m long (BajC 2).

[1] It cannot be ruled out that further research will reveal that some of the fragments and scribes treated here separately are in fact identical. The numbers are therefore provisional.

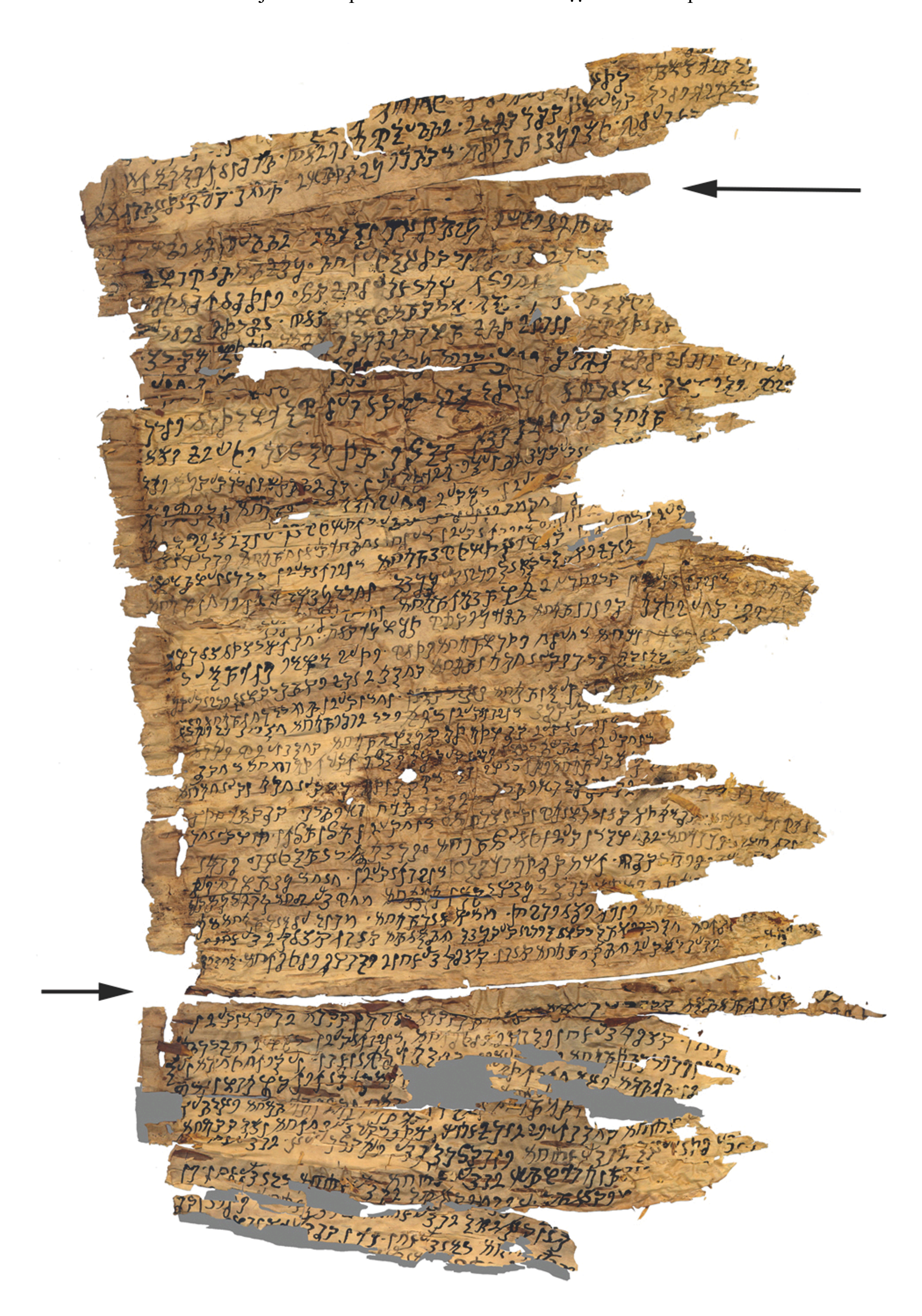


Figure 1: Part of the Bajaur birch-bark manuscript 2 containing an early Gāndhārī Mahāyāna sūtra with the junctures indicated, partially reconstructed. Courtesy: The Bajaur Collection Project, Freie Universität Berlin.

The formats represented in the Bajaur Collection correspond to the varieties known so far. Out of the 19 scrolls eleven belong to the so-called “long and narrow” type of scroll meas-

uring 11–18 cm in width. Their length can vary considerably. Up to 45 cm they are formed by a single sheet of birch bark. Scrolls exceeding this length are glued together forming thereby the so-called composite scrolls (see Figure 1 preceding page).

The remaining manuscripts belong to the "wide and short" format type, which is usually wider than 20 cm. Often they have been folded in the middle after having been rolled up, and consequently have been broken vertically. This damage has often resulted in the loss of considerable portions of one of the manuscript's sides.

In most cases the scrolls are inscribed on both sides with a single text. There are, however, a few manuscripts where the reverse was originally left uninscribed. Some of these uninscribed reverses were later on used secondarily for other texts.

2.2 The Split Collection

In 2005 Harry Falk was shown a few rolls of birch bark by a collector in Pakistan. They had allegedly been inspected earlier by a manuscript dealer from Europe and pronounced fakes. Little was said about their provenance, with hints towards Mohmand or Bajaur. It soon turned out that the original find was much larger than the few rolls presented. Certainly, the writing visible on the rolls did not support the idea of a forgery. The proprietor consented to have the scrolls opened for a thorough inspection.

This revealed that the material contained parts of five different texts, consisting of four scrolls and one single flat sheet. The rolls were opened and the fragments put into double-sided glass frames. All the rolls are no wider than 14 cm. Rolls which were originally wider than this have lost the excess material. Their length ranges from 2 cm to 90 cm. None of them is joined to a second sheet.

The quality of the birch bark is not uniform. The single sheet is of the sort of well-aged and thick bark which is, comparatively, unusually well-preserved without flaws in its texture. The four scrolls, however, were made from rather young bark, which tends to delaminate.

The single sheet and all of the scrolls are inscribed at least partially on both sides.

All scrolls were inscribed in different hands. The handwriting is not uniform. Every hand has its own particularities in respect of forms of letters as well as modes of "orthography."

Small fragments from two rolls were subjected to ^{14}C tests. One result encompassed almost the whole range of the last two centuries BC, with a peak in ca. 84 BC (Two sigma range, cal., 184–46 BC with a probability of 95%).

The second test yielded 74 AD as the central date in a Two sigma range from 47 to 127 AD with a probability of 81%. While the first result does not concur with what we believe we know about the stages of Kharoṣṭhī and their chronology, the second is well in accord with present-day views on the development of this script.

3. The Bajaur and Split Collections within the context of Gāndhārī literature

3.1 The corpus of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts

The Bajaur and Split Collections continue a series of discoveries which were sparked off in 1994 by the large manuscript find which was later acquired by the British Library. It is now commonly known as the British Library Collection. The following years witnessed further discoveries, which can help us gain a comprehensive picture of the literature which was current in Gandhāra between the first century BC and the fourth century AD. By now the following manuscript collections and single manuscripts are available[2]:

[2] The following articles contain useful surveys of some of these collections: Glass 2004, Salomon

Name	Siglum	Manuscripts/ scribes	Date (c. AD)	Main source of information
Manuscript collections				
British Library Collection	BL	28/21	1	Salomon 1999
Senior Collection	RS	24/1	1–2	Salomon 2003, Allon 2007b
Bamiyan fragments of the Schøyen and other private collections	MS	> 50 / > 50	2–4	Allon and Salomon 2000, Allon *et al*. 2006
Central Asian fragments (Pelliot Collection, Oldenburg Collection)	PC, OC	5–8/5–8	2–4	Salomon 1998, Vorob'eva-Desi͡atovskai͡a 2006
Bajaur Collection	BajC	19/18	1–2	Strauch 2007/8, Strauch 2008
Split Collection	SplitC	5/5	-1–2	Falk 2011
Unpublished private collection	–	1+x/1+x	1–2	Allon and Salomon 2010: 11
Single Manuscripts				
Khotan *Dharmapada*	KhDhp	1/1	1–2	Brough 1962
Library of Congress Scroll	LC	1/2	1–2	Salomon and Baums 2007
University of Washington Scroll	UW	1/1	1–2	Glass 2004: 141f.

Beside these major collections and manuscripts there is small number of rather fragmentary remnants of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts (cf. Glass 2004: 142, Salomon 1999: 58–68). According to their provenance they can be divided into two groups.

The first of them comprises manuscripts from Central Asia, as e.g. a very small paper fragment discovered by Sven Hedin in Loulan which does not, however, allow for any meaningful reading (Conrady 1920: 113, 191, pl. 38, no. 36). The texts on two other paper fragments from the Otani Collection (Hasuike 2004: 95f., no. 6101) show a strong tendency towards Sanskritization and probably belong to the late phase of Kharoṣṭhī writing in the 3rd–4th c. AD.[3]

The second group is represented by Kharoṣṭhī fragments from Afghanistan like the fragment on palm-leaf discovered in 1834 by Charles Masson beside numerous other fragmentary pieces in one of the sites at Haḍḍa near Jalalabad (Wilson 1841: between pp. 53 and 54, pl. III, no. 11). The presence of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts in this region is also confirmed by the excavations of J. Barthoux in 1926–28 and Mustamandi in 1966–1973, which brought to light many small Kharoṣṭhī fragments which remained, however, unpublished (Salomon 1999: 63–65).

The other Afghanistan "center of Kharoṣṭhī writing" is Bamiyan, where the manuscripts of the Schøyen Collection are said to have their origin. From the same region are four small Kharoṣṭhī fragments on palm leaf discovered from Shahr-i Zuhak, twelve kilometres away from Bamiyan (Pauly 1967: pl. 4, nos. E–H). Another hitherto unpublished palm-leaf folio which was part of the collection of the Kabul Museum can probably be identified with the manuscript remains discovered by Joseph Hackin "in a cave thirty-five meters east of the great Buddha of Bamiyan" (Salomon 1999: 66). Thanks to a photograph made by Herbert Härtel in the 1970s (cf. Sander, *infra*) it is possible to determine the language of

2006b, Allon 2007b and 2008.

[3] We will not consider here the few documents written in the later "Formal Kharoṣṭhī" from the Kuca and Turfan oases in Xinjiang which seems to have been in use till the 7th c. AD. For a preliminary survey of these documents see Sander 1999: 69–73. Two of them have been read and translated by Lin Meicun (2004).

this text as Buddhist Sanskrit and to fix its date to the late phase of Kharoṣṭhī, i.e. the 3rd–4th c. AD.[4]

During his stay in Peshawar in 2008 Ingo Strauch was shown another small palm-leaf fragment. Its exact provenance is not known, but according to its appearance and the information available from the owner it probably belongs to the group of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts from Afghanistan. It is published here for the first time (Figure 2).



2A 2B

Figure 2: A new fragment of a Kharoṣṭhī palm-leaf manuscript, seen in Peshawar in 2008 (Photograph: Ingo Strauch)

It reads: Side A: /// ? [*śatha*] *sakṣe prati* ? ///
/// [*śa*]*tha kri ṣ*[*a pa*] ? ///
Side B: /// (**śa*)*thu prahana samodha* ///
/// ? *śa ma go 4-1-1* [*śath*]. ///

The text cannot be identified on the basis of the preserved portion. Preliminary study reveals that it repeatedly refers to the Buddha, called here by his epithet Skt. *śāstā* (G. *śatha/śathu* ("teacher").[5] Other identifiable lexemes include *sakṣe*, Skt. *sākṣī* ("witness"), *prahana*, Skt. *prahāṇa* ("abandoning"), and *samodha(*na)*, Skt. *samavadhāna*, P. *samodhāna* ("collocation, combination"). According to the inserted numeral "6," the text consists of at least seven segments.

It is certain that there are many more as yet unpublished fragments of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts in private collections.[6] Most of them are rather too small and fragmentary to allow any further conclusions about their character or contents. Therefore they will not be considered in this survey.

Despite the growing amount of texts it has to be surmised that they represent only the tip of the iceberg of a much larger literary tradition. It is presently impossible to determine whether they are representative of Gāndhārī literature as a whole. Moreover, the present preliminary state of research, with many texts still unedited and unstudied, prevents us from drawing definitive conclusions. Nonetheless, it is already possible to use the available information for a survey of the presence and distribution of literary genres within Gāndhārī Buddhist literature.

[4] The Buddhist Sanskrit character is e.g. indicated by forms like *kāreṃti* (Skt. *kārayanti*) (3B, line 2) and *catvāri aryasatyāni* (3A, line 3).

[5] For *śathu* as nom. sg. m. cf. Lenz 2010: 42. Alternative Gāndhārī variants include *śastu* and *śasta*.

[6] Some of these fragments and the available evidence on "lost" manuscripts are discussed by Salomon (1999: 59–65).

3.2 The genres of Gāndhārī literature

The table below summarizes the evidence which will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent paragraphs. The figure in the respective field indicates the number of texts belonging to this genre.

Ms collection/single ms	**BL**	**RS**	**MS**	**PC/ OC**	**BajC**	**SplitC**	**UC**	**KDhp**	**LC**	**UW**	**Total**
Suggested date (c. AD)	1–2	1–2	2–4	2–4	1–2	-1–2	1–2	1–2	1–2	1–2	
Number of manuscripts	28	24	> 50	5–8	19	5	1+x	1	1	1	> 135
Śrāvakayāna Canonical Texts											
Vinaya											
Prātimokṣasūtra					2						2
Karmavācanā					2						2
Vinaya related narrative prose		*5									*5
Āgama sūtra/verse texts											
Dīrghāgama	1^{CM}	1	1								3
Madhyamāgama		4			1						5
Saṃyuktāgama		29									29
Ekottarikāgama	3										3
Kṣudrakāgama	$3^{M}+7^{CM}$					2^{M}		1^{M}			13
Unidentified/unspecified	1	1^{M}									2
Abhidharma (see below)											
Paracanonical (Śrāvakayāna) texts											
Scholastic texts/commentaries											
Scholastic treatises	5				9						14
Commentaries	4									1	5
Unspecified texts			1	1							2
Rakṣā sūtras/Dhāraṇī					2						2
Avadāna/pūrvayoga (collections)	7			4		1					12
Buddha praises/stotra	1				2	1					4
Miscellaneous/undetermined texts											
Verse texts	1				2						3
Prose texts	6			1					1		8
Unspecified texts/fragments				3							3
Mahāyāna texts											
Sūtras			3		1	1	1				6
Scholastic texts					*3						*3
Non-Buddhist texts											
Nīti texts					1						1
Secular documents					1						1

Key to ms collections and single mss: **BL** = British Library; **RS** = Senior Collection; **MS** = Bamiyan fragments of the Schøyen and other collections; **PC/OC** = Central Asian fragments of the Pelliot and Oldenburg Collections; **BajC** = Bajaur Collection; **SplitC** = Split Collection; **UC** = Unpublished Collection; **KDhp** = Khotan *Dharmapada*; **LC** = Library of Congress; **UW** = University of Washington

Since some manuscripts contain more than one text — sometimes even texts belonging to different genres — the number of manuscripts is not identical with the number of texts. Many of these manuscripts are as yet unedited and unstudied — it is therefore not always possible to determine the exact number of texts contained in them with a sufficient degree of certainty. In these cases the figure refers to the number of manuscripts where the

respective textual genre is attested. The actual number of texts might consequently be somewhat higher.

Superscript "C" indicates that a certain text is attested as part of a commentary. Superscript "M" points to the metrical character of a text. Uncertain attributions are indicated by an asterisk *.

With regard to their inventories the collections show distinctive differences. The Senior Collection contains only sūtras or closely related narrative texts from an assumed Vinaya background, written by a single scribe. It is therefore possible to designate this collection as an intentional compilation of canonical texts, probably intended from the outset for ritual burial inside a *stūpa*. On the other hand, the British Library, Bajaur and Split Collections — and most probably also the less well-preserved collections from Bamiyan and Central Asia — are rather heterogeneous compilations which comprise a multitude of Buddhist literary genres. The manuscripts' varying states of preservation as well as their arbitrary inventory seem to indicate other purposes. Although it is possible that the manuscripts as we got them had been ritually buried after use,[7] their primary purpose was certainly different and seems to point to an active use, either as part of a monastery library or in the personal possession of an individual monk.

The data presented in the table above will now be expounded in more detail by concisely introducing the hitherto known texts according to their genre affiliation. Special attention is given here to the Bajaur and Split Collections, which are being studied by the authors of this article. More information about the other manuscripts and manuscript collections can be found in the articles by Mark Allon, Collett Cox and Richard Salomon in the present volume.

Each introductory paragraph is followed by a synoptic list containing all hitherto known texts or manuscripts of the respective genre. As indicated above, texts which are preserved only within a commentary are marked by superscript "C". They actually belong to the category of "Scholastic texts and commentaries," but, of course, provide positive evidence for the circulation of the texts which they are commenting on. Sometimes, however, texts appear as well as parts of a commentary as they do as uncommented independent units. For distinguishing between these two varieties, these texts (e.g. the *Dharmapada* and the *Arthapada*) are cited twice: once as parts of a commentary and once as independent texts.

The titles of the sūtras are generally indicated in the form of their Pāli (P.) or Sanskrit (Skt.) parallels. If no parallels are available, a hypothetical Skt. title is given (*), followed by its presumable Gāndhārī equivalent, if the editors or researchers of the text decided to introduce such a designation. All titles are listed in the order of the Latin alphabet. The sign ■ preceding a bibliographical reference means that the work in question contains a complete edition of the manuscript or text.

3.2.1 Canonical Śrāvakayāna literature

The term "canonical" is used here without any implication for the assumed shape of the Gāndhārī Buddhist canon. This category indicates that direct parallels of the respective texts are parts of canonical collections of other Buddhist traditions. Consequently, the table above as well as this annotated survey are not meant to suggest that the texts included here once formed such a coherent body of texts, which could be identified as a canon or protocanon. Moreover, it cannot be taken for granted that all the texts can be attributed to a single and clearly identifiable Buddhist school (cf. Strauch 2008: 114f.). Although there is a certain amount of evidence which points to the Dharmaguptakas as originators of these texts, we can hardly exclude the participation of other schools. As far as the epigraphical

[7] See the discussion in Salomon 2009, Strauch 2008: 104f., and Strauch, forthcoming, a.

evidence indicates, apart from the Dharmaguptakas there was a strong presence of Sarvāstivādins in "Greater Gandhāra," including the region of Haḍḍa from where at least the British Library Collection is said to have come.[8]

3.2.1.1 Vinaya texts

Until very recently it has repeatedly been suggested that the writing down of this textual genre started in a much later period of Buddhist history, i.e. from the 4th c. AD onwards. Neither the first known collections of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts nor the Kuṣāṇa period manuscripts from Eastern Turkestan contained any texts from a Vinaya. Although it cannot be excluded that some of the narrative texts from the Senior Collection are reflective of a Vinaya background (cf. Allon 2007a: 22), the first indisputable evidence for written texts from a Vinaya could be identified among the manuscripts of the Bajaur Collection, which contains two different versions of a part of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* and two *Karmavācanā* formulae. Both texts are not transmitted as parts of a Vibhaṅga or Skandhaka, but as independent texts. They are not only the oldest Vinaya manuscripts known so far — their importance for the textual history of this genre is augmented by the fact that they are even older than the earliest Chinese translations of Vinaya literature, which go back to the 4th c. AD.

3.2.1.1.1 Prātimokṣasūtra

The Bajaur fragment 13 contains two different versions of the beginning of the Naiḥsargika Pācittiya section of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. Both versions are written by the same scribe on the obverse and reverse of the scroll. According to a comparative analysis conducted on the basis of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* texts preserved in Indian languages and in Chinese and Tibetan translations the Gāndhārī versions are not identical with any of these parallels. Nonetheless it is possible to attribute them to two clearly distinct branches in the transmission of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. The version on the obverse relates to the Dharmaguptaka/Kāśyapīya *Prātimokṣasūtras*, while the text on the reverse seems to be more closely affiliated with the Sarvāstivādin/Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition (Strauch 2008: 116f.). The differences between both versions and their canonical parallels allow us to characterize the Gāndhārī tradition as a witness to a formative state in the textual genesis of the various nikāya versions of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* which had not yet reached their fully developed and later canonized shape.

The reason for this side-by-side existence of two different versions is hard to explain, but points to the fact that within a monastic community more than one version of this basic text could be known. They could influence each other and thus result in the emergence of new and contaminated textual forms.[9]

3.2.1.1.2 Karmavācanā

The second Vinaya text of the Bajaur Collection is represented by a very small manuscript containing the *Karmavācanā* formulae for the appointment of the "distributor of lodging-places" (*śayanāsanagrāhaka*) on the obverse and that for the ceremony of "taking up the retreat of the rainy season" (*varṣopagamana*) on the reverse. Again the comparison of both Gāndhārī versions with their parallels in *Karmavācanā* collections and *Vinayavibhaṅga*s of various schools cannot help to establish a definite school identity. Combining this evidence

[8] For the Dharmaguptakas see the evidence discussed by Salomon 1999: 167–171 and Strauch 2007 with a more recent reference to this school. The Sarvāstivādins are e.g. mentioned on a pot from Haḍḍa (Fussman 1969). See also the survey of epigraphical sources given by Lamotte (1988: 523–529).

[9] The evidence of this manuscript is now more extensively discussed in Strauch forthcoming, a.

with the observations made on the *Prātimokṣasūtra* we have to assume that the composition of the Gāndhārī Vinaya texts attested in the Bajaur Collection is prior to the emergence of standardized canonical texts which became exclusively authoritative within the boundaries of a certain school (Strauch 2008: 117f.)

Prātimokṣasūtra

- Naiḥsargika Pācittiya 1–9 (BajC 13 recto, Strauch 2008: 116f. and Strauch, forthcoming, a)
- Naiḥsargika Pācittiya 1–8 (BajC 13 verso, Strauch 2008: 116f. and Strauch, forthcoming, a)

Karmavācanā

- *śayanāsanagrāhaka* formula (BajC 5 recto, Strauch 2008: 117f.)
- *varṣopagamana* formula (BajC 5 verso, Strauch 2008: 117f.)

Vinaya-related prose texts

- conversion of Sujātā and her family (RS 15 + 18, Allon 2007a: 13)
- Moggalāna tells the Buddha about Devadatta's wish to lead the Saṅgha, enumeration of five kinds of teachers (RS 16 + 23A.1, Allon 2007a: 16–17)
- Anuruddha's wish for ordination (RS 16 + 23A.2. Allon 2007a: 17)
- story of Nāla (Skt. Nālada/Nālaka) and Erakapatta (Skt. Elāpattra) (RS 24.1, Allon 2007a:17)
- story of Tapussa (Skt. Tripuṣa/Tripusa) and Bhallika and the Buddha's bowl (RS 24.2, Allon 2007a: 17–18)

3.2.1.2 Canonical Āgama Texts

3.2.1.2.1 Verse texts and the Kṣudrakāgama

Verse texts like the *Dharmapada* — now found in three different Gāndhārī versions — (KhDhp: Brough 1962, BL: Lenz 2003, SplitC: Falk 2011), the Rhinoceros sūtra (BL: Salomon 2000) or the *Anavataptagāthā* — preserved in two versions — (BL, RS: Salomon 2009) represent a popular genre of Buddhist literature which is part of at least three major collections of Gāndhārī manuscripts (BL, RS, SplitC). Its popularity is also confirmed by the fact that some of the texts are found in more than one version while others formed the basis of an extensive commentarial literature.

In particular the different versions of the *Dharmapada* show the rather flexible nature of Buddhist Gāndhārī literature, which is far from being a static textual tradition. While Lenz (2003: 13) was tempted to regard the few fragments of the *Dharmapada* from the BL collection as "most likely being a second version of essentially the same [i.e. Khotan DhP] text," the much more extensive remains of the *Dharmapada* in the Split collection (SplitC 3, Falk 2011) rather point to the opposite, being comparable with the Khotan Dharmapada in sequence and content only in rare cases. This new manuscript offers ample scope for comparison with the version from Khotan. It contains 87 stanzas from at least seven vargas. The "orthography" differs considerably from the one used at Khotan and where both versions are extant, the diction is often slightly different. With regard to the sequence of chapters and stanzas, the version from Subashi and the *Udānavarga* are closer than any other parallel, without being identical. The inclusion of several stanzas known otherwise only from the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, the *Saṃyuttanikāya* and particularly the *Majjhimanikāya* shows how freely the compilers worked.

Verses from the *Dharmapada* are also among the "root verses" of Gāndhārī commentaries.[10] Other commented verse texts include the *Arthapada/Arthavarga* (P. *Aṭṭhaka-*

[10] A survey of commented verses found in the BL commentaries is provided by Baums (2009: 50).

vagga),[11] the *Pārāyaṇavarga*, the *Udāna* and the *Itivṛttaka* (P. *Itivuttaka*) which are commented on in several of the commentaries of the British Library Collection (see below, survey). That these texts were not only used for commentarial purposes is shown by the independent manuscripts of this genre. Beside the *Dharmapada* manuscripts discussed above we now have at our disposal another independent text of this class, namely a verse collection among the fragments of the Split Collection which corresponds to a part of the *Arthapada* (P. *Aṭṭhakavagga*) (SplitC 1). This text is available presently in just one strip of birch bark. A recent offer in the manuscript market seems to have contained more fragments of this manuscript, thus raising the hope that some parts of the "Split" Collection will be reunited sooner or later. The fragment measures 1.8 × 11 cm, being almost completely preserved in its width. Both sides show the full content or traces of four lines, containing the full or partial text corresponding to stanzas 841–844 and 966–968 of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* division of the Pāli *Suttanipāta*. The "orthography" used is different from other hands, some letters have variant forms as if some older versions contributed to this mixture of shapes. This fragment appears to be the oldest in the collection. A ^{14}C date is so far not yet available. The readings are given in Falk 2011.

The Āgama affiliation of some of these verse texts is a matter of continuous discussion. The majority of them, however, were subsumed under the category of the so-called "Minor Texts." The status of this category within the canons of the different schools is not quite clear. Whereas in some traditions it is perceived as part of the Sūtrapiṭaka — called either *nikāya*/*āgama* or *piṭaka*[12] — other traditions classify it as a separate *piṭaka* beside the Sūtra- and Vinayapiṭaka.[13] Since the number and length of the texts which are found in the various lists of "Minor Texts" vary markedly, it can be suggested that many of the schools never completed an authoritative collection of this category (Lamotte 1988: 162f.). For the Dharmaguptakas, however — the most probable candidates for our canonical Gāndhārī literature — we surely know from their Vinaya (T. 1428, ch. 54, p. 968b) that they possessed a special collection of "Minor Texts," called Kṣudrakapiṭaka and forming part of the Sūtrapiṭaka, which included *inter alia* the *Dharmapada*, the *Arthapada* and the *Pārāyaṇa*, "which do seem, in fact, to have formed the original core of the minor texts" (Lamotte 1988: 160f.).

The more complicated issue of the *Anavataptagāthā*, which is not listed in any of the known canonical Āgama or Nikāya collections, was extensively discussed by Richard Salomon, who concludes that "we find a preponderance of evidence, though no single conclusive proof, that in the Gandhāran tradition of the early centuries of the Christian era the A[navatapta]-G[āthā] was construed as a canonical sūtra in the Kṣudrakāgama class (2008: 18)."

Thus the presence of independent verse texts like the *Dharmapada*, the Rhinoceros sūtra and the *Arthapada* as well as the extensive commentaries on verses from this text type indicate the existence of a *Kṣudrakāgama*/Kṣudrakapiṭaka-like compilation in Buddhist Gandhāran literature (Salomon 1999: 159–161).

3.2.1.2.2 Āgama sūtras

By far the largest amount of canonical sūtras in Gāndhārī literature is found in the Senior Collection. All its manuscripts were written by a single scribe, probably according to a

[11] The authentic Gāndhārī term which is apparently also used by the Dharmaguptakas can now be established as *Arthapada*. Cf. the extensive discussion in Baums (2009: 38–44).

[12] According to Lamotte (1988: 151), the Mahāsāṃghikas, Haimavatas, Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas used the designation Kṣudrakapiṭaka, but included this collection in their Sūtrapiṭaka.

[13] Such a division with a Sūtrapiṭaka consisting of four Āgamas and an additional Kṣudrakapiṭaka which is not part of the Sūtrapiṭaka is attested in various early traditions including that of the Sarvāstivādins which "never had more than four Āgamas" (Lamotte 1988: 151).

previously fixed plan (Allon 2007a: 3–25). Of the 41 surviving texts, 33 belong to the class of Āgama sūtras: 29 of them can be ascribed to the *Saṃyuktāgama*, four to the *Madhyamāgama* and only one to the *Dīrghāgama*. The character of the remaining eight texts is difficult to establish. Six of them are narrative texts with parallels in Vinaya literature, in one case in both Vinaya and Sūtra literature.[14]

Especially the arrangement of the sūtras which can be attributed to a *Saṃyuktāgama* indicates the existence of a text compilation which is partially parallel to the Pāli *Saṃyuttanikāya* and the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama* (T 99) without being identical with any of them (Glass 2007: 26–50).

This collection of canonical sūtras in the Senior Collection is supplemented by some isolated examples in other collections. Thus the British Library Collection contains three sūtras from an *Ekottarikāgama* (Allon 2001) and a further non-identified sūtra text (BL 26+29, Salomon 1999: 24).

A piece of indirect evidence for a *Dīrghagama* text is provided by a British Library commentary on the *Saṅgītisūtra*. Its attribution to a *Dīrghāgama* is indicated not only by the Pāli canon, but also by the Chinese (Dharmaguptaka) *Dīrghāgama* (T 1), the Sarvāstivāda (Oberlies 2003, n. 83 with references) and the newly discovered Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama* from Gilgit (Oberlies 2003: 66, Hartmann 2004). A further *Dīrghāgama* text is represented by the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* of the Schøyen Collection (Allon and Salomon 2000).

The evidence for *Madhyamāgama* texts is supplemented by fragment 1 of the Bajaur Collection. It contains the Gāndhārī version of a sūtra which is parallel to the Pāli *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅgasutta* given as No. 142 of its *Majjhimanikāya* (MN III 253–257). The Chinese translation of the *Madhyamāgama* (T 26) by Gautama Saṅghadeva (translated 397–398) lists this sūtra as No. 180 (p. 721c21) under the name *Qutanmi jing* 瞿曇彌經 = Skt. *Gautamīsūtra*. The comparison of this Gāndhārī version with its parallels, including two small fragments of Sanskrit versions in the Turfan and Schøyen Collections and Śamathadeva's quotations from a probably Mūlasarvāstivādin *Madhyamāgama,* cannot help to settle the question of the school affiliation of this text. Since no Dharmaguptaka *Madhyamāgama* is known, it is, however, possible that the Gāndhārī text represents an extract from a *Madhyamāgama* of this school (Strauch 2008: 118–119; see now also Strauch forthcoming, b).

Dīrghāgama

- Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (MS 2179, ■ Allon and Salomon 2000)
- P. *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* (RS 2, Allon 2007a: 8)
- Skt. *Saṅgīti-sūtra*[C] (BL 15, Salomon 1999: 24, 138, 171–173)

Madhyamāgama

- P. *Cūḷagosiṅga-sutta* (RS 12, Allon 2007a: 11)
- P. *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* (BajC 1, Strauch 2008: 118f. and Strauch, forthcoming, b)
- P. *Dhammacetiya-sutta* (RS 1 +3, Allon 2007a: 7)
- P. *Saṅkhārupapatti-sutta* (RS 10, Allon 2007a: 11)
- Ch. *Shìzhě jīng* 侍者經, "Sūtra on an attendant," T 1 no. 26 pp. 471c–475a (RS 4A, see Allon *supra*)

[14] In the present survey we will not include the evidence of the so-called "index-scroll" of the collection (RS 7 + 8), which enumerates the titles of several sūtras, but does not completely correspond to the contents of the collection. It is extensively discussed in Allon (2007a: 18–21) and in his contribution to this volume.

Saṃyuktāgama

- P. *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta* (RS 22.2, Allon 2007a: 15)
- P. *Dārukkhandha-sutta* (RS 19, Lee 2009)
- P. *Dhanuggaha-sutta* (?) (RS 22.1, Allon 2007a: 15)
- P. *Dutiyacchiggaḷayuga-sutta* (RS 22.3, Allon 2007a: 15–16)
- P. *Gaddula-sutta* (see *Nadīsutta*)
- P. *Kulaputtenadukkhā-sutta alias Nibbidābahula-sutta* (= G. *Ṣadha-sutra*, Skt. *Śraddhā-sūtra*, RS 5.3, ■ Glass 2007)
- P. *Mahāpariḷāha-sutta* (RS 20.2, Allon 2007a: 14)
- P. *Nadī-sutta cum Gaddula-sutta* (RS 17.1, Allon 2007a: 13)
- P. *Natumhāka-sutta* (G. *Ṇatuṣpahu-sutra*, RS 5.2, ■ Glass 2007)
- P. *Nibbidābahula-sutta* (see P. *Kulaputtenadukkhā-sutta*)
- P. *Puppha-sutta* (RS 22.6, Allon 2007a: 16)
- Skt. **Ṣaḍāyatana-saṃyukta*, probably a sūtra thereof about the causes of happiness and suffering (RS 20.1, Allon 2007a: 14)
- G. *Ṣadha-sutra* (see *Kulaputtenadukkhā-sutta*)
- Skt. **Saṃjñā-sūtra* (G. *Ṣaña-sutra*, RS 5, ■ Glass 2007), perhaps from a *Saṃyuktāgama* like the other texts of this scroll
- P. *Tissa-sutta* (RS 17.2, Allon 2007a: 13)
- P. *Uppāda-sutta* (RS 22.4, Allon 2007a: 16)
- P. *Vana-saṃyutta* (14 suttas thereof, 9.1–14) (RS 11, Allon 2007a: 11)
- P. *Vāsijaṭa-sutta* (G. **Vasijaḍa-sutra*, RS 5.4, ■ Glass 2007)
- P. *Veḷudvāreyya-sutta* (RS 13, Allon 2007a: 12)

Ekottarikāgama

- G. **Buddhabayaṇa-sutra* (Skt. *Buddhavacana*°, BL 12 + 14, ■ Allon 2001)
- P. *Dona-sutta* (G. *Dhoṇasutra*, BL 12 + 14, ■ Allon 2001)
- P. *Saṃvara-sutta* (G. *Prasaṇasutra*, Skt. *Pradhāna*°, BL 12 + 14, ■ Allon 2001)

Kṣudrakāgama / Kṣudrakapiṭaka

- Skt. *Anavataptagāthā* (BL 1/1, RS 14, ■ Salomon 2008)
- Skt. *Arthapada* (P. *Aṭṭhakavagga*, SplitC 13, Falk 2011)
- Skt. *Arthapada*^{C} (P. *Aṭṭhavagga*): BL verse commentary 2 (BL 7, 9, 18, 13 → line 90, ■ Baums 2009)
- Skt. *Dharmapada* (Khotan: Brough 1962, BL 16 + 25/1, ■ Lenz 2003: 11–76, SplitC 31, Falk 2011)
- Skt. *Dharmapada*^{C}: BL verse commentary 1 (BL 4/1, Salomon 1999: 27), BL verse commentary 2 (BL 7, 9, 18, 13 → line 90, ■ Baums 2009), BL verse commentary 3 (BL 13, line 91 →, ■ Baums 2009: 606–608)
- P. *Itivuttaka*^{C}: BL verse commentary 2 (BL 7, 9, 18, 13 → line 90, ■ Baums 2009)
- P. *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta* (G. **Khargaviṣaṇa-sutra*, BL 5B, ■ Salomon 2000)
- P. *Pārāyaṇa*^{C}: BL verse commentary 2 (BL 7, 9, 18, 13 → line 90,) ■ Baums 2009)
- P. *Udāna*^{C}: BL verse commentary 1 (BL 4/1, Salomon 1999: 27), BL verse commentary 2 (BL 7, 9, 18, 13 → line 90, ■ Baums 2009)

Unidentified Āgama type texts

- “Sūtra text concerning the four stages of meditative trance” (BL 26 + 29: Salomon 1999: 24)

- verses (mixed with prose?) resembling *Jātaka* no. 480 (IV 240.1–2) (RS 22.5, Allon 2007a: 16)

Both the Āgama sūtra and verse texts and the Vinaya texts represent literary genres which were created and developed outside Gandhāra — east and south of it. They are supplemented by a large number of texts which seem to have been created in Gandhāra itself.

3.2.1.3 Abhidharma literature

One of these autochthonous literary genres is the scholastic and commentarial literature (see the contribution by Cox in this volume) which is represented by a large number of texts in the British Library and the Bajaur Collections. The canonical status of the scholastic and commentarial literature of this period is disputed. Due to the fact that the Abhidharmapiṭakas of the various schools are rather diverse and contain heterogeneous material — including commentarial texts like the *Saṅgītiparyāya* or the *Dharmaskandha* of the Sarvāstivādins — it cannot be excluded that texts of this type are indeed part of a (proto-)Abhidharmapiṭaka.[15] On the other hand, the inclusion of these texts in the various Buddhist canons took place during a rather late phase in the history of Buddhist literature. There is strong evidence that the process of the formation of canonical Abhidharmapiṭakas was not yet completed at the time of our manuscripts.[16]

That this literary genre represents a quite recent development is also supported by the fact that the specimens of both collections display a distinctively different character. This clearly speaks in favour of considering them as products of local scholastic traditions which had not yet been subject to a process of harmonizing and standardization.

Due to this somehow transitional character which places these texts in between canonical and paracanonical literature we will subsume them under the category of "Paracanonical texts," while bearing in mind the fact that some of them might have formed part of an early, possibly proto-canonical Abhidharmapiṭaka-type collection.

3.2.2 Paracanonical texts

3.2.2.1 Scholastic texts and commentaries (Abhidharma)

In the BL Collection this category comprises a significant part of the classified texts. In general terms it can be divided into two major groups: independent scholastic treatises of various characters and commentarial texts. The actual state of research and the main features of the BL texts are covered by Collett Cox (*supra*).

These BL specimens of scholastic texts and commentaries are supplemented by altogether nine manuscripts from the Bajaur Collection which display, however, a distinctly different character, being mostly independent scholastic treatises rather than commentarial texts. Most of them are very fragmentary and short and hardly allow any far-reaching conclusions about their contents.

One of these manuscripts, however, is very well preserved (BajC 9 verso). It is composed in the style of a polemical scholastic treatise citing different authorities, who are introduced by phrases like *keci(d) aho / keyi aho* (Skt. *kecid āhuḥ*) "some say" or *apare aho* (Skt. *apara āhuḥ*) "others say" (Strauch 2008: 119).

The remaining scholastic texts of the Bajaur Collection are in a much worse state of preservation. According to some shared phrases and terminological expressions six of them

[15] Cf. the detailed discussion of the *Saṅgītisūtra* commentary in the contribution by Cox, pp. 36–39.

[16] A similar conclusion is also possible with regard to the Kuṣāṇa period Abhidharma-type texts from Turfan which can hardly be attributed to any of the Abhidharma works of the Sarvāstivādins known from later manuscripts or translations (Dietz 2007: 67, referring to Sander 1991: 133–134).

can be attributed to two different text groups. Group A consists of three fragments (BajC 4, 6, 11), of which two (BajC 4, 11) are possibly part of the same scroll. The text is mainly concerned with the discussion of different kinds of happiness (Gāndhārī *suha*, Skt. *sukha*). Expressions like *bodhimaṇḍa*, *gagaṇadivaliaṣamal(o)ǵadhadu* = Skt. *gaṅgānadīvāluka-sama-lokadhātu* and references to *prañaparamida* (4,2,v) (Skt. *prajñāpāramitā*) and the six *pāramitā*s (*edeṣa ṣahi paramidehi*) (11,2,r) might indicate the Mahāyāna character of this text group (Strauch 2008: 119).

The second group B (BajC 14, 16, 18) is even less well-preserved. Here only single phrases like *yadi jive bhaveadi* "if he is meditating upon life" and *yadi dhama bhaveadi* "if he is meditating upon the *dharma*" and few terminological parallels indicate their association with the same text or text tradition.

Due to their briefness and bad state of preservation it is at present difficult to give any reliable information about the contents of Bajaur fragments 12 and 19, which seem, however, to belong to the same genre of scholastic treatises.

Commentaries

- verse commentary 1 (BL 4/1, Salomon 1999: 27)
- verse commentary 2 (BL 7, 9, 18, 13 → line 90, ■ Baums 2009)
- verse commentary 3 (BL 13, line 91→, ■ Baums 2009: 606–608)
- *Saṅgītisūtra* commentary (BL 15, Salomon 1999: 24)
- "commentary on a text similar to the *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta* (MN III 237–47)" (UW, Glass 2004: 141f.)

Independent scholastic treatises

- Scholastic treatise (BL 10, Salomon 1999: 47)
- Scholastic treatise (BL 17, Salomon 1999: 49f.)
- Scholastic treatise (BL 20+23, Salomon 1999: 50f.)
- Scholastic treatise (BL 28, Salomon 1999: 30)
- Bajaur scholastic text 1 (BajC 9 verso, Strauch 2008: 119)
- Bajaur scholastic text 2 (BajC 12, Strauch 2008: 119)
- Bajaur scholastic text 3 (BajC 19, Strauch 2008: 119)
- Bajaur scholastic texts group A (BajC 4, 6, 11, Strauch 2008: 119)
- Bajaur scholastic texts group B (BajC 14, 16, 18, Strauch 2008: 119)

Unspecified scholastic texts

- text "from some more technical genre, whether Sūtra, Abhidharma, or commentary" (PC 8, ■ Salomon 1998: 147–150)
- "commentary on a sūtra or an abhidharma text that utilizes canonical quotes" (MS 2179/42 = MS 42, Allon *et al.* 2006: 288)

3.2.2.2 Avadāna/Pūrvayoga texts

Avadānas and Pūrvayogas seem to form another class of popular contemporary texts composed in Gāndhārī — in opposition to the canonical texts which must have been translated from a Middle Indian original. They are represented as well in the British Library as they are in the Split Collection, but are surprisingly absent from the otherwise rather comprehensive Bajaur Collection. In many cases the stories reported in these short texts are based on local traditions — containing local toponyms and personal names — with occasional parallels to Avadāna traditions from other parts of India. Timothy Lenz,

who recently published the second volume of his editions of the British Library Collection Avadāna texts, provides an excellent survey of Gāndhārī Avadāna literature which can be referred to here (2010: 3–17, especially tables 1+2, pp. 8–12). In describing the general features of this genre Lenz says:

> The Gāndhārī avadānas contain only a single story, either one concerning past actions (self-styled as *pūrvayoga*s) or one about present actions (self-styled as *avadāna*s). On the other hand, the avadāna texts are summaries, each giving the outline of a story that its author or compiler assumed would be recognized by the reader and would be expanded quite easily into a narrative by that same person (Lenz 2010: 6).

Lenz plausibly argues for the existence of a group of specialists — "avadānists" — who were responsible for the composition of these texts which differ considerably from what we know from later Avadāna traditions.

> A Gandhāran avadānist's palette was varied, including not only avadānas concerned with karmic inevitability (...) and giving (...), as one would expect, but also with impermanence (...), the Buddha's power beyond nirvāṇa (...), women in dharma (...), and the history of the First Council (...) that were presented in various forms, including but not limited to a standard avadāna format comprising a tale of the present, a tale of the past, and a conclusion identifying story characters (Lenz 2010: 14).

The evidence evaluated by Lenz — based on the texts of a single scribe (2010: 6) — can now be supplemented by an Avadāna compilation from the Split Collection which can therefore help to provide a more representative picture of this particular literary genre of Gandhāran literature.

The text (SplitC 4) consists of about 300 fragments, few of them larger than 6 cm, most of them much smaller. The genre is clearly discernible through phrases like "NN *avadano japati*." In short sentences several stories are outlined, covering just a few lines, ending in a glyph resembling a wheel. The writing is remarkably archaic, with preconsonantal *r* represented by a hook, not a backward loop. Despite this archaism it is difficult to fully accept the outcome of a ^{14}C check, which yielded a possible range from 184 to 46 BC, with a peak of about 70 BC.

With regard to the contents, it is interesting to read about Buddhist schools; the Dharmaguptakas and the Mahāsāṃghikas are no surprise in Gandhāra, but the Seriyaputras are, as are the Ājīvikas, who exercise a strong and negative influence in one story on one king. The topic of another story is the well-known thief Aṅgulimāla.

The phrases *avadano evo ṣuyadi* or *evo pariśravo* found in other Avadāna or Pūrvayoga texts (Lenz 2003: 83) are completely absent, pointing to a different branch of story developers, if there is not simply a break in time, with the BL pieces mentioning kings and dynasties active in the middle of the first century AD, and our collection being possibly somewhat older.

It is possible that three of the presumably narrative texts on some of the badly preserved fragments of the Pelliot Collection also belong to this genre (Salomon 1998, fragments PC 1, 2, 3+6).

The majority of the Buddhist "Mainstream" traditions include Avadānas in the list of *aṅga*s, or "constituents of the Buddha's words," and thus accord canonical status to them (Lamotte 1988: 143–147). Due to their explicit local character and the absence of direct parallels in other canonical traditions we nevertheless decided to group the preserved Gāndhārī examples under the category of paracanonical texts, again being aware — as in the case of the Abhidharma texts — that they might have enjoyed canonical status in a given community.

- Avadāna collection (BL 1/2, ■ Lenz 2010)
- Avadāna collection (BL 2, ■ Lenz 2010)
- Avadāna collection (BL 3A/2, ■ Lenz 2010)
- Avadāna collection (BL 4/2, Salomon 1999: 35f.)
- Avadāna collection (BL 12+14/2, Salomon 1999: 36f.)
- Pūrvayoga collection (BL 16+25/2, ■ Lenz 2003)
- Avadāna collection (BL 21/2, ■ Lenz 2010)
- Avadāna collection (SplitC 4, Falk 2011)
- 3 unspecified texts of Avadāna/Jātaka character (PC 1, 2, 3+6, ■ Salomon 1998: 124–145).

3.2.2.3 Rakṣāsūtras / Dhāraṇī

This literary genre, which gained quite a prominent status in the first centuries of our era, is represented by only two manuscripts from the Bajaur Collection. One of them (BajC 1v) is poorly preserved. It is written in large and carelessly outlined letters on the back side of fragment 1 which contains the Gāndhārī version of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* on its obverse (see above). Only some characteristic words and phrases — like *migili* ◦ *pitili* — and references to *yakṣa*s and *nāga*s allow this preliminary attribution.

More telling and much better preserved is the text of Bajaur fragment 3. It is composed in the conventional sūtra style and refers to the *nāgarāja* Manasvin, who is exclusively known from northern Buddhist sources. The mantra which this *nāga* king presents to the Buddha is called *maṇasvi-ṇagaraya-vija* (Skt. *manasvi-nāgarāja-vidyā*) and contains names of poisons. Nearly all of them are also part of a comprehensive list preserved in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (ed. Takubo 1972: 55, cf. ed. Oldenburg 1899: 257–258). Another close parallel to the mantra is provided by the short Tibetan text *'Phags pa klu'i rgyal po gzi can gyis žus pa žes bya ba'i gzuṅs* whose original Skt. title has to be restored as *Ārya-Manasvi-nāgarāja-paripṛcchā-nāma-dhāraṇī*.[17] According to its literary style and structure the Gāndhārī text displays significant parallels with other post-canonical works of this genre, like the Pañcarakṣā texts *Mahāmāyūrī* and *Mahāsāhasrapramardinī* or the appendix (*vyākaraṇa*) of the Central Asian versions of the *Nagaropamasūtra* (cf. ed. Bongard-Levin *et al*. 1996: 30–37). Summing up this evidence, the Gāndhārī **Manasvināgarāja-sūtra* can therefore be related to the post-canonical Pañcarakṣā collections, which according to Peter Skilling's classification form one of the four major groups of *rakṣā* literature (1992: 113). At the same time it is the oldest manuscript of any *rakṣā* text.

- Skt. **Manasvināgarāja-sūtra* (G. **Maṇasviṇagaraya-sutra*, BajC 3, Strauch 2008: 120f.; Strauch, forthcoming, c)
- unspecified *dhāraṇī*-like text (BajC 1verso, Strauch 2008: 120)

3.2.2.4 Buddha praises

One of the British Library fragments (BL 5C) contains verses praising the Buddha which resemble the *stotras* known from the Niya documents 510 and 511 (Boyer *et al.*, 2: 184–187). It is composed in various "poetic meters such as Vasantatilakā, describing him [the Buddha] with such epithets as *gunehi guna-parami-pratam̥*, 'who has attained through his virtues the perfection of virtue'; *soma-sadiśa-[va]dana*, 'whose face is like the moon', and *sarvasatvutamam̥*, 'supreme among all beings' " (Salomon 1999: 39).

Other representatives of this genre are part of the Bajaur Collection: fragment 8 contains four structurally parallel verses composed in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.

[17] For further details and references cf. Strauch 2008: 120f.

Bajaur fragment 10 is a non-metrical text about the "praiseworthy things" (Gāndhārī *praśaśaṭhana,* Skt. *prāśaṃsyasthāna*, P. *pāsaṃsaṭhāna*) of a Buddha (Strauch 2008: 121). The Buddha is praised here by conventional attributes like *nilinakileśa* (Skt. *nilīnakleśa*) "whose passions are destroyed," *viśudhiprato* (Skt. *viśuddhiprāpta)* "who has attained purity," or *svadiaṣivadeasabuda* (Skt. *smṛtyādhipateyasaṃvṛta)* "controlled through the power of mindfulness."

The Split Collection preserves one more text of this genre (SplitC 2). It is still 16 cm wide, having lost about 5 cm on the right side where most stanzas started. It seems that the text deals with particular prominent events in the life of the Buddha. Conspicuous is the metre, being predominantly Vegavatī, a subvariety of the Vaitālīya well-known from Pāli texts, but found here for the first time in Gandhāra.

- *stotra* in different metres (BL 5C, Salomon 1999: 39, 46)
- *stotra* of four verses in Śārdūlavikrīḍita (BajC 8, Strauch 2008: 121)
- non-metrical text praising the Buddha (BajC 10, Strauch 2008: 121)
- praise of the Buddha in Vegavatī verses (SplitC 2, Falk 2011)

3.2.2.5 Miscellaneous/not determined texts

There is a small number of texts which cannot be safely put in any of the abovementioned categories. British Library fragments BL 8, 11, 21/1, 22, 24, 27[18] as well as some of the very tiny Pelliot fragments resist identification or at least characterization, mainly due to their bad state of preservation or insufficient extent.

Other texts can be characterized but do not match any of the known or accepted literary categories. Four of them are paracanonical verse texts of different types. The short metrical text on BL 5A consists of "possibly didactic verses" (Salomon 1999: 45, ed. Salomon 2000: 218–222). Unclear is the character of the very poorly preserved verses of Bajaur fragment 17. This heavily damaged manuscript, which consists of only a few partially preserved lines of text, does not allow any reliable conclusions.

A much better preserved and particularly interesting and important text of this class is represented by Bajaur fragment 5, which contains a collection of Buddhist verses arranged according to the Arapacana alphabet. The right side of this scroll is almost completely preserved and thus allows for the first time the reconstruction of the entire inventory of the alphabet from its 2nd letter *ra* up to its last letter *ḍha* on the basis of a contemporary Kharoṣṭhī manuscript.[19]

Other texts of this category are composed in prose. The Library of Congress Scroll "appears to consist of formulaic accounts of the lives of fifteen Buddhas, from Dīpaṅkara to Maitreya, enumerating for each Buddha the *kalpa* in which he lived, his life-span, his class (*brāhmaṇa* or *kṣatriya*) the size of his assembly (*saṃnipāta*), the duration of his *dharma*, etc." (Salomon and Baums 2007: 202). According to Salomon and Baums, the text is particularly closely related to some portions of the *Bahubuddha-sūtra*, which is part of the *Mahāvastu* (2007: 202).

A further hitherto unidentified prose text is found on a single palm-leaf fragment collected by Sergey Oldenburg on his 1909–10 expedition to Eastern Turkestan and kept today in the collection of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences under the siglum SI O/10. Although it has been identified by Vorob'eva-Desi͡atovskai͡a (2006: 148) as part of the

[18] Of these manuscript fragments 11, 21 and 24 are possibly written by the same hand and contain the same text which is cautiously characterized by Salomon as "possibly a verse text" (1999: 47). Similarly, fragments 22 and 27 are perhaps part of the same scroll (Salomon 1999: 51f.). Its contents as well as that of fragment 8 are, however, undetermined.

[19] For further details and other sources for the sequence and contents of the Arapacana alphabet see Strauch 2008: 121–123 and particularly Strauch 2011.

Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, from the very same version as the text from the Schøyen Collection (Allon and Salomon 2000), there is no incontrovertible evidence to support this identification.[20] We would therefore suggest that this text be tentatively considered as another, as yet unidentified paracanonical Buddhist text.

Verse texts

- verse text arranged according to the Arapacana alphabet (Strauch 2008: 121–123, Strauch 2011)
- unidentified probably metrical text (BL 5A, ■ Salomon 2000: 218–222)
- unidentified possibly metrical text (BajC 17)

Prose texts

- unidentified text related to the *Bahubuddha-sūtra* of the *Mahāvastu* (LC, cf. Salomon and Baums 2007: 202)
- unidentified text (Oldenburg Collection fragment, ■ Vorob'eva-Desi͡atovskai͡a 2006)

Unspecified fragments

- undetermined texts (BL 8, 11, 21/1, 22, 24, 27, Salomon 1999: 39, 46–52)
- remnants of small portions of text or letters (PC 4, 5, 7, Salomon 1998: 145f.)

3.2.3 Mahāyāna literature

Only recently could a growing number of Mahāyāna texts be identified among the Gāndhārī manuscripts. Three of them belong to the Bamiyan fragments and can consequently be ascribed to a slightly later period than the birch-bark manuscripts contained in the British Library, Senior, Bajaur and Split Collections. Radiocarbon dating as well as the rather advanced stage of the Sanskritization of language and script suggest a date in the 3rd, perhaps even early 4th c. AD (Allon *et al.* 2006: 289f.). The Mahāyāna texts identified so far among the Bamiyan fragments can be attributed to Gāndhārī versions of the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*, the *Sarvapuṇyasamuccayasamādhi-sūtra* and the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka-sūtra* (Allon and Salomon 2010: 6–9).

While these manuscripts indicate the presence of Mahāyāna literature in the later phase of Gāndhārī, there is now clear evidence for the earlier period as well. Two of these "old" Mahāyāna texts are parts of the collections studied in Berlin.

The text easiest to evaluate calls itself *Prajñāpāramitā* in the colophon and has proved to be a version on which the classical *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (ASPP) is based. The manuscript is part of the Split Collection (SplitC 5, Falk 2011). It is preserved to a length of about 90 cm, both sides have suffered from wear to an equal extent (Figure 3).

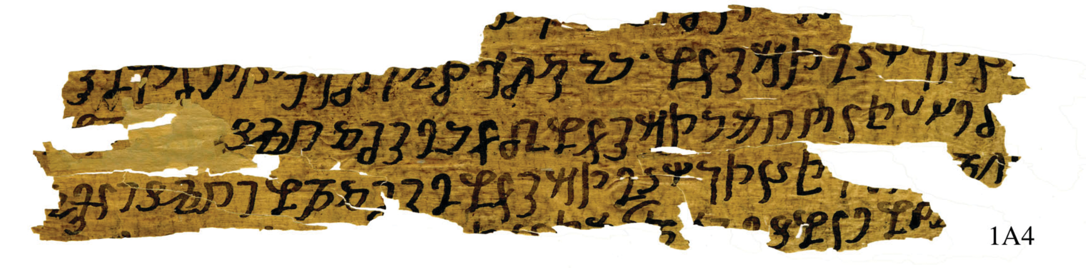


Figure 3: Fragment from the Prajñāpāramitā manuscript of the Split Collection (Photograph: Harry Falk)

[20] We would like to thank Klaus Wille, who took the trouble to search his database of Buddhist texts for possible parallels of this text and the unidentified new Kharoṣṭhī fragment from Peshawar presented above (p. 56).

The obverse contains the beginning and large parts of what is the first chapter of the ASPP, while the verso contains the parallels to the fifth chapter of the ASPP. The script is large and simple; the scribe mostly abstained from using footmarks. A ^{14}C test led to a central date around 74 AD, which is quite in line with the palaeography. This date antedates the first Chinese translation by Lokakṣema by about a century. A first comparison with Lokakṣema's text was presented at the Atlanta IABS conference in 2008. It was easy to demonstrate that the translator was working on a text which was slightly enlarged in comparison to the Gāndhārī text, but not yet as elaborate as the following Chinese translation of Kumārajīva or the classical Sanskrit version. This assessment derived from selected evidence was fully confirmed when in early 2010 the reassembly of the fragments was completed and a comparison of the fully transcribed text with Lokakṣema's Chinese version was made possible by a collaboration with S. Karashima at the IRIAB in Hachioji. The text of *parivarta*s 1 and 5 has been published by Falk and Karashima (2012 and 2013) in a synoptical arrangement together with the Sanskrit version and an English rendering of Lokakṣema's Chinese translation.

The second early Mahāyāna text is part of the Bajaur Collection. It is the most extensive of these newly discovered texts and comprises about 600 lines written on the obverse and reverse of a large composite scroll more than 2 metres in length (see above fig. 1). Despite the joint efforts of several colleagues — including Paul Harrison, Matsuda Kazunobu, and Jan Nattier — it has not been possible to identify a parallel to this text among the extant Mahāyāna literature in Sanskrit or in translation. It is therefore highly probable that this Gāndhārī text represents a hitherto unknown sūtra which was not translated into Sanskrit, Chinese or Tibetan — or at least not further transmitted in manuscript or canonical traditions.

The preliminary research done so far — including a complete transliteration and a partial digital reconstruction of the manuscript and the reconstruction of the main structure and contents of the text — showed that the central part of the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra is arranged according to the basic elements of a bodhisattva career including the "initial thought of awakening" (*bodhicittotpāda*), the "endurance towards the (non-originating) factors of existence" (*dharmakṣānti*), the "stage of non-retrogression" (*avaivartya*) and the prophecy of future buddhahood (*vyākaraṇa*). Especially this last feature is closely related to the Buddha Akṣobhya and his buddhaland Abhirati, which is conceived in this text as the paradigmatic *buddhakṣetra*. It serves not only as the model for the future buddhaland of the relevant bodhisattva, but is also the realm in which the adept is promised rebirth on his long way to buddhahood. This function of Abhirati recalls the position of Sukhāvatī in later Mahāyāna as described by Schopen in his important article on Sukhāvatī as a generalized religious goal (1977). Moreover, the prominent role of both Akṣobhya and Abhirati and the simultaneous silence about Amitābha and Sukhāvatī as found in the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra support Jan Nattier's assumption that the cult of Akṣobhya and his buddhaland represents a transitional stage in the development of Pure Land Buddhism and precedes the later prevailing Amitābha-Sukhāvatī cult (Nattier 2000, 2003). The Bajaur text would consequently illuminate a phase in the development of Mahāyāna literature which is only weakly represented in the preserved texts. Whether this phase is identical with what Paul Harrison would call "Early Mahāyāna" or already belongs to the "Early *Middle* Mahāyāna" cannot be decided here, but the importance of this newly discovered text for the history of early Mahāyāna can hardly be overestimated.[21]

The most recent discovery in the sphere of Gāndhārī Mahāyāna texts seems to represent a comparable case of a work which did not gain any particular prominence in the subse-

[21] A preliminary study of some of the features of this sūtra and its relation to Abhirati descriptions in other Mahāyāna texts is now available in Strauch 2010.

quent development of Mahāyāna. According to Mark Allon and Richard Salomon (2010: 11), this "very fragmentary Gāndhārī scroll in a private collection, as yet unpublished, contains fragments of a text corresponding to a Mahayana sutra preserved in three Chinese translations which describes the encounter between the Buddha and the young son of the famous layman Vimalakīrti." In the text this son is called *suciti* (Skt. Sucitti) which corresponds to the Chinese name Shansi which is found in the title of T 479 (Allon and Salomon 2010: 11). I will therefore tentatively refer to this text in the subsequent survey as **Sucitti-sūtra*. Despite certain coincidences the Gāndhārī text does not correspond to any of the Chinese translations (T 477, T 478, T 479) and seems to represent an independent version of this sūtra.

The assumed Mahāyāna character of the scholastic treatise(s) of Bajaur fragments 4, 6, and 11 remains to be investigated (see above).

- "Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra" (BajC 2, Strauch 2010)
- Skt. *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* (25 fragments, MS 116, Allon and Salomon 2010: 6f.)
- Skt. *Bodhisattvapiṭaka-sūtra* (MS 17, Allon and Salomon 2010: 8)
- Skt. *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (G. *prañaparamida*, SplitC 5, Falk 2011)
- Skt. *Sarvapuṇyasamuccayasamādhi-sūtra* (MS 89, Allon and Salomon 2010: 7f.)
- Skt. **Sucitti-sūtra* (unpublished private collection, Allon and Salomon 2010: 11)

3.2.4 Non-Buddhist texts

Only one of the Kharoṣṭhī collections — i.e. the Bajaur Collection — contains textual material which is not directly linked with Buddhism, but provides important data for the contexts of Gandhāran Buddhist literature and the intellectual and social environment of Gandhāran Buddhism. This non-Buddhist material is represented by one legal document written in Gāndhārī (BajC 15) and a metrical *Rājanīti*/*Arthaśāstra* text (BajC 9 recto) composed in Sanskrit.

Despite their unique character among the Gandhāran literature it is possible to connect both texts with parallel phenomena from Central Asia. While the legal text can be compared to the numerous documents on wood or leather discovered at the beginning of the 20th century along the southern branch of the East Turkestan Silk Road (Boyer *et al.* 1920–29), the *Rājanīti* text finds an interesting parallel in some passages of the so-called "Spitzer manuscript." Moreover, the later Mīmāṃsā text from the Schøyen Collection, which according to its palaeographical features was written in the 6th c. AD, indicates that the Buddhists continued to deal actively with non-Buddhist literary genres and to include such texts in their libraries (Franco 2002).

3.2.4.1 A Rājanīti/Arthaśāstra *text*

The text written on the obverse of Bajaur fragment 9 occupies an outstanding position from several points of view. First, it belongs to a literary genre which indicates the special interest of Buddhists in affairs of state. Examples for such an interest are particularly prominent in later Southeast Asian traditions, where Sanskrit *nīti* texts were translated into Pāli, and in Ceylon where such texts were adapted in their original Sanskrit form.[22] That this Buddhist attitude towards legal and political texts has much older roots and is not confined to these later Southern traditions can be shown by the famous "Spitzer manuscript" which not only refers to the *Mahābhārata*, but also to the *Arthaśāstra* and the

[22] For references for Pāli works see von Hinüber 1996: 195–96, §§420–23. A short survey of Sanskrit texts from Sri Lanka is given by Sternbach (1972). More comprehensive is Bechert 2005: 122–135.

juridical chapters of the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*.[23] A similar interest seems to underly some of Nāgārjuna's works, like e.g. the *Ratnāvalī* which is clearly based on topics from Artha- and Dharma-śāstra literature (Scherrer-Schaub 2007).

The second peculiarity of the text lies in its language. It belongs to the few instances of Sanskrit texts written in Kharoṣṭhī (Salomon 1998, 2001). The hitherto known examples demonstrate the process of Sanskritization of the formerly Middle Indian idiom of Buddhist texts and the introduction of graphical solutions which are based on the Brāhmī writing system. Generally they are to be dated into the late phase of Kharoṣṭhī, i.e. into the 3rd or even 4th c. AD, when Kharoṣṭhī was gradually replaced by Brāhmī and adapted new orthographical features which can only be explained by the growing influence of Sanskrit phonology and Brāhmī orthography.

The present text, however, clearly belongs to the mature phase of Kharoṣṭhī not yet influenced by the Brāhmī script. Instead, the scribe tried to use the orthographical capacities of the Kharoṣṭhī script to reproduce the phonological features of the Sanskrit text.[24]

The preserved text is a compilation of about 40 Āryā verses about diverse topics characteristic of the genre of *Rājanīti/Arthaśāstra* literature, such as the components of the state, the sources of income, the parts of the royal treasury, etc. (Strauch 2008: 125f.).

3.2.4.2 A legal document

The second non-Buddhist text from the Bajaur Collection (BajC 15) is a loan contract in Gāndhārī fixing the conditions of a transaction between a man called Bhudamitra (Skt. Bhūtamitra), son of Kaṭ́hea (Skt. Kāṣṭhaka) from Mitrasthāna, and another person named Saṃghaśrava. Due to its fragmentary state it is presently not possible to report the exact conditions of this loan business. However, characteristic technical terms like *hastalekha* "handwritten document," *samūlaka* "together with the capital" and *savaḍhika* (Skt. *savṛddhika*) "together with the interest" indicate that it followed the pattern of typical legal documents as described in the Indian Dharmaśāstras (cf. Strauch 2002: 19–52).

- Rājanīti/Arthaśāstra verse collection in Āryā metre (BajC 9 recto, Strauch 2008: 125f., Strauch 2011)
- loan contract (BajC 15, Strauch 2008: 127)

[23] These passages are dealt with by Schlingloff (1969a, 1969b). Cf. also the complete edition of this manuscript by Eli Franco (2004), and especially the introduction referring to Schlingloff's studies (8–10) where the current numbers of the respective manuscript fragments are given.

[24] This method can be called "internal Sanskritization" — the opposite of the later "external Sanskritization" on the basis of Brāhmī orthography. The particular features of this method as witnessed by Bajaur fragment 9 are described and evaluated in Strauch 2011.

4. Lists of the manuscripts of the Bajaur and Split Collections

4.1 The Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts

The size is estimated on the basis of the reconstructed scroll. Bold figures indicate a completely preserved width. The numbers of lines are still subject to change due to ongoing reconstruction.

Fragment	**Frame**	**Size**	**Format**		**Side**	**Content**	**Script**		
			Scroll type	Margin			Lines	Akṣaras per line	Scribe
1	1 16 12	17.5 × 70.5	long com-posite	sewn	r	G. **Dakṣiṇavibhaṃga-sutra* (Skt. *Dakṣiṇā-vibhaṅgasūtra*) (Sūtra from the *Madhyamāgama*)	80 +1v	42	1
					v	Dhāraṇī-type text	26	20	2
2	2–8 31 34 35	18 × 224	long com-posite	sewn	r	“Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra”	342	49	3
					v	=	246	39	3
3	17 9	**17** × 39	long com-posite	drawn	r	G. **Maṇasviṇagaraya-sutra* (Skt. **Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra*) (*rakṣā* text)	39	30	4
					v	=	12	30	4
4	10 18	*(25 × 36)	*wide single-sheet	not sewn	r	Unidentified scholastic text (Mahāyāna ?) (related to fragments 6 and 11)	*43	*60	5
					v	=	*22	*60	5
5	11	11 × 37	long single-sheet	drawn	r	Buddhist verse collection arranged according to the Arapacana syllabary	40	20	6
					v	=	41	20	6
6	29 30	30.5 × 9.5	wide single-sheet middle fold	not sewn	r	Unidentified scholastic text (Mahāyāna ?) (related to fragments 4 and 11)	11	64	14
					v	=	9	64	14
7	13	13 × 6	wide single-sheet middle fold	not sewn	r	*Karmavācanā* formula (*śayanāsanagrāhaka* appoint-ment)	7	37	7
					v	*Karmavācanā* formula (*varṣopagamana*)	5	37	7
8	14	**21.5** × 19	wide single-sheet middle fold	not sewn	r	Buddhastotra (metrical)	4	41	8
					v	∅	∅	∅	∅

9	15 24	**16** × 55	long com-posite	sewn	r	Nīti text (Sanskrit)	53	29	9
					v	Unidentified scholastic text	47	27	10
10	19	**16** × 23	long single-sheet	not sewn	r	Buddha praise (non-metrical)	17	32	11
					v	∅	∅	∅	∅
11	20 21	**15.5** × 37.5	long single-sheet?	not sewn	r	Unidentified scholastic text (Mahāyāna ?) (related to fragments 4 and 6)	61	40	5
					v	=	37	40	5
12	22	15.5 × 14	long single-sheet	not sewn	r	Unidentified scholastic text	16	29	12
					v	=	14	29	12
13	23	**16** × 23	long single-sheet	not sewn	r	*Prātimokṣasūtra* Naiḥsargika Pācittiya 1-9	25	34	13
					v	*Prātimokṣasūtra* Naiḥsargika Pācittiya 1-8	23	31	13
14	33	**10** × 7	*wide single-sheet	not sewn	r	Unidentified scholastic text (related to fragments 16 and 18)	10	28	18
					v	=	6	22	18
15	25 26	21 × 25	wide single-sheet	not sewn	r	Legal document (loan contract)	15	60	15
					v	∅	∅	∅	∅
16	27 28	24 × 10	wide single-sheet middle fold	not sewn	r	Unidentified scholastic text (related to fragments 14 and 18)	11	30	18
					v	=	11	30	18
17	25 26	**23** × 6	wide single-sheet middle fold	not sewn	r	Buddhist verses (?)	8	36	16
					v	Buddhist verses (?)	5	?	17
18	32	17 × 19	long single sheet	not sewn	r	Unidentified scholastic text (related to fragments 14 and 16)	20	40	5
					v	=	19	40	5
19	32	16.5 × 9.5	*wide single-sheet	not sewn	r	Unidentified text	8	38	14
					v	=	4	38	14

4.2 The Split Collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts

Fragment	**Frame**	**Size**	**Format**		**Side**	**Content**	**Script**		
			Scroll type	Margin			Lines	Akṣaras per line	Scribe
1	1	1.8 × 11	long	not sewn	r	*Arthapada*	4	45	1
					v	*Arthapada*	4	33	1
2	2	26 × 16	wide	drawn	r	Metrical praise of the Buddha	33	32	2
					v	=	34	32	2
3	3–4	54 × 14	long	not sewn	r	*Dharmapada*	73	38	3
					v	∅			∅
4	5–7	25+x × 15	long	not sewn	r	Avadāna collection	30	36	4
					v	=	29	36	4
5	8–12	90 × 15	long	not sewn	r	Prajñāpāramitā sūtra	80	30	5
		1.8 × 11	long	not sewn	v	=	40	30	5+6
					r	*Aṭṭhakavagga*	4	45	1

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The Gilgit Manuscripts
An Ancient Buddhist Library in Modern Research

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1. Introduction

It was about 30 years ago that the survey "Die Erforschung der Gilgithandschriften" was published.[1] In the meantime, considerable progress has been made in different areas of research on these manuscripts: not only have successful identifications been made, but editions have also been prepared. Moreover the cultural background against which these manuscripts were once produced has become much clearer. Of course, the manuscripts have also been much used in research on Buddhism. This, however, will not be investigated here, because the focus will be strictly on the manuscripts themselves and on the library in which they were kept.

The fact that we know that, with three exceptions,[2] the Gilgit manuscripts — actually found in Naupur near Gilgit — once belonged to one and the same library, and the most lucky circumstance that this library occasionally contained more than a single copy of one and the same text, e.g., four copies of the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra*,[3] about five copies of the *Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī*,[4] or ten copies and one small fragment of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra*, most of them showing different recensions,[5] allows unusual insights into the growth and development of Buddhist texts, particularly of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra*.

Consequently the Gilgit manuscripts are approached in this introduction in three steps: cultural history, the history of the text of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra*, and finally a brief look at some codicological issues. Editions and identifications[6] are listed in the following "Guide to the Gilgit Manuscripts," hereafter "Guide." Necessarily, many details which have to be recalled here have already been discussed in other contexts. Nevertheless it may be useful to bring together the *disiecta membra* in trying to round off the picture of this library and its content without, however, repeating all and everything that has been said previously in von Hinüber 1979 or in the keynote address during the German oriental conference held at Berlin in 1980, "Die Bedeutung des Handschriftenfundes bei Gilgit."[7]

A description of the circumstances under which the manuscripts were discovered, first by chance in 1931, again in 1938 during the brief excavations conducted by Madhu Sudan Kaul Shastri,[8] and once more by chance in 1998, perhaps near the Kargah Buddha,[9] is

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[1] O. von Hinüber: *Die Erforschung der Gilgit-Handschriften*. (Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handschriften, I). *NAWG*, Jg 1979, Nr. 12, 34 pp. [pp. 329–360]. S. Karashima drew my attention to a second survey which appeared in Taiwan: CAI Yaoming, "Jierjite (Gilgit) fanwen fodian xieben de chutu yu fojiao yanjiu (The Buddhist manuscripts found at Gilgit and the research on Buddhism)," in: *Foxue yanjiu zazhi* (*Journal of Buddhist Studies*; alternative English title: *Satyābhisamaya. A Buddhist Studies Quarterly*) 13. Taipei 2006, pp. 4–126.

[2] The *Dīrghāgama* and the two "Los Angeles" manuscripts, that is *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscript I, and the *Sarvagatipariśodhanoṣṇīṣavijayā̆*, cf. "Guide" IV. nos. 2K, 4K.

[3] Nos. 10b, 31, 32, 34 (no. 57 does not contain this text).

[4] Nos. 6, 15, 17, three folios from no. 14 and four folios from no. 56, besides fragments, cf. index.

[5] The provenance of manuscript I ("Los Angeles manuscript") and fragment K (folio 49) is doubtful, cf. "Guide," note to IV. Miscellaneous Manuscripts. Manuscript I represents at the same time a new recension sometimes near to B as can be seen right at the beginning: *bhaiṣajya**rājena** bodhisatvena*, Sgh §3 in ACDEF, but *bhaiṣajya**senena*** in BI. Concerning manuscript L (no. 5T) no information is available as yet.

[6] Less than 1% of the ca. 1760 folios still await identification and are listed in the index s. v. "Unidentified."

[7] von Hinüber 1983: 47–66 = *Kleine Schriften* 2009: 668–687.

[8] Koul 1935: 5–10; Kaul Shastri 1939: 1–12 and 15 plates. For further details see Fussman 2004 and on the find-spot of the manuscripts discovered in 1998 *ibidem*, 104 note 8.

provided in the rather recent and excellent article by Gérard Fussman "Dans quel type de bâtiment furent trouvés les manuscrits de Gilgit?" published in the *Journal Asiatique* 292 (Fussman 2004), which also contains a very detailed and careful evaluation of older literature. As Fussman convincingly argues, the building which once housed the manuscripts was neither a *stūpa*, as mostly assumed previously, nor a monastery, but some sort of tower. Buildings such as the one reconstructed by Fussman on the basis of archaeological remains and by comparison with recent traditional buildings in the area are indeed known from ancient Buddhist images, as pointed out by Fussman in an addendum to his article, where he included some images of buildings of the relevant type.

In all likelihood, however, there was not just one eremite living in that tower, as Fussman assumes, but perhaps a very small community of monks, who might have acted as some sort of priests to a local Buddhist community. If so, the Gilgit manuscripts from Naupur once formed the library[10] of this community.

Fussman further tried to characterize the library and to unite, if only in a preliminary fashion, books once comprising more than one text. It is indeed still one of the most urgent tasks to put together original collections of different texts which are now separated.[11] However, this is possible only with access to the originals. For besides pagination the size of the individual folios must be used as a guide, and that is mostly unknown, with the exception of the facsimile edition of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* manuscripts published recently by Soka University (Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 12), which indicates the measurements. However, even now the interesting observation can be made that there are indications that collections of texts might have been used for ritual purposes, such as a manuscript comprising, besides the *Ratnaketuparivarta*, also the *Dvādaśadaṇḍakanāmāṣṭaśatavimalīkaraṇā* and *Mekhalādhāraṇī* (no. 29), as pointed out by Fussman.[12] One might add at least one parallel, the manuscript A of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* (no. 2S), in which the text of the *sūtra* is followed by the *Ratnacandraparipṛcchā* and the *Hiraṇyavatīdhāraṇī*.

Particularly the *dhāraṇīs* point to a ritual use of these texts. Many of them contain names of persons who sought protection, among them the local rulers.[13] One single folio (folio no. 10) of a *dhāraṇī* was put into one *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscript by mistake. This is a text kept in reserve and not yet used in a ritual of protection, because there is a space left blank where a name would be filled in: ... *rakṣa rakṣa mama* – blank – *sarvasatvānāṃ* ... (see fig. 1).[14]

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[9] I.e. the manuscripts mentioned in note 2.

[10] A library is called *dhāraṇakoṣṭhikā*, GM III 2, 143.6, cf. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago by I-tsing*, translated by J. Takakusu. London 1896, p. 192. — Recently, G. Schopen (2009: 189–219 [Rev.: P. S. Filliozat, *CRAIBL* 2009 [2011]: 1754–1760; S. Pollock, *JAs* 299: 423–442; O. von Hinüber, *ZDMG* 162. 2012: 499–502]) argued in his article "On the Absence of Urtexts and Otiose Ācāryas: Buildings, Books, and Lay Buddhist Ritual at Gilgit" that the building in which the Gilgit manuscripts were found was a *scriptorium* rather than a place for ritual and healing. Although it is certainly true that books were copied by the monks living there, this does not at all exclude all other activities as described by G. Fussman; for details cf. the review in *ZDMG*. Unfortunately, G. Schopen's article came to my notice only after completing "The Gilgit Manuscripts."

[11] This is particularly true for the Avadāna collections despite the fact that some individual *avadānas* such as the *Sucandra-Avadāna* have been edited more than once, mostly in unpublished MA or PhD theses. Another desideratum is an edition of the complete Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya as preserved at Gilgit.

[12] This collection is described in detail by C.B. Tripathi, "Gilgit-Blätter der Mekhalā-dhāraṇī." *StII* 7. 1981, p. 161.

[13] These are collected and edited in von Hinüber 2004: 12–27 with additions in von Hinüber 2007: 39–43, plates 1–5; von Hinüber 2009a: 3–6, plates 1–6, and von Hinüber 2010: 3–8, plates 1, 2; von Hinüber 2011: 3–6, plate 1, von Hinüber 2012a: 11 f., plate 3 and von Hinüber 2012b: XXXV–LXVIII = von Hinüber 2012c: 186–166 (19–39). — The number of protective spells written for Navasurendrādityanandi is considerably higher than the figure given in von Hinüber 2004: 15, because C. B. Tripathi mentions another 34 (that is altogether 53) small scrolls in his unpublished report of 1987.

[14] The text is transcribed in the "Guide," no. 38b. — Similar blanks occur in inscriptions: R. Salomon:

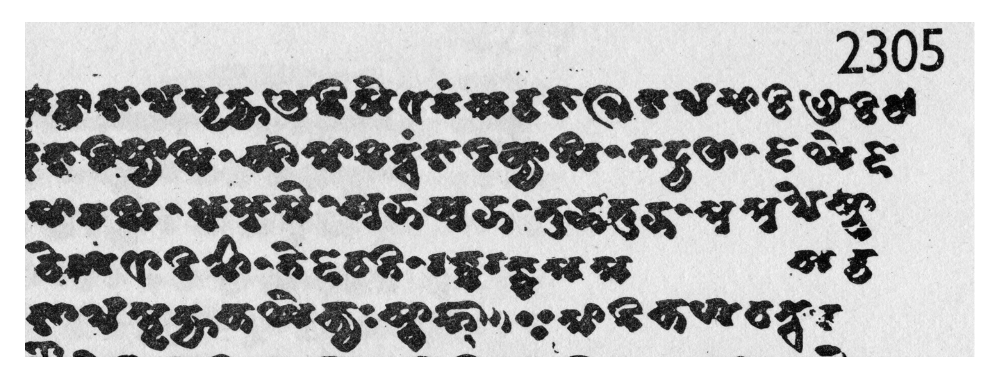


Figure 1: Dhāraṇī folio no. 10 (*Saṃghāṭasūtra* Manuscript G, no. 38): ... *rakṣa rakṣa mama — blank — sarvasatvānāṃ ...*

This again confirms Fussman's assumption. Moreover, in two of the *Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī* manuscripts (nos. 6 and 15) the names were filled in by a hand clearly different from that of the scribe of the manuscript.[15] Consequently, both these manuscripts were also prefabricated.

Furthermore, in the colophons of some texts, the long lists of names of persons living or dead may have served ritual purposes. It was good Mūlasarvāstivāda practice to recite the names of donors who had passed away, as it is said in the Śayanāsanavastu: *uktaṃ bhagavatā: abhyatītakālagatānāṃ dānapatīnāṃ nāmnā dakṣiṇā ādeṣṭavyā iti; saṃghasthaviro 'bhyatītakālagatānāṃ dānapatīnām arthāya gāthāṃ bhāṣate,* Śayanāsanavastu, p. 37.6–8 "The lord prescribed: The merit is to be ascribed by name to donors who have died and passed away. The eldest monk in the community recites a verse for the donors who have died and passed away."[16] Therefore, it is not impossible to imagine that the many names of persons alive or dead mentioned in colophons such as in the one found in the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscript D (Śrīnagar Collection no. 1S) or in the *Prajñāpāramitā* (nos. 24, 25, 28) were read out in this way.

The library was, however, not collected exclusively for ritual purposes. First, there is a once complete manuscript of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, and three different *Prātimokṣasūtra* manuscripts, one of them with an attached Karmavācanā collection (nos. 3a and 3b). Whether or not all three *Prātimokṣasūtras* once contained a Karmavācanā appendix is impossible to tell, because the ends of two manuscripts are lost. These texts clearly point to a monastic context and perhaps to the presence of three monks, who possessed one *Prātimokṣasūtra* each.[17]

On the other hand, one would certainly not expect a large community living in the reconstructed building, which was comparatively small. As no traces of a monastery have been found in the area around the tower, as Fussman emphasized,[18] it seems that perhaps up to three monks lived here. The space would allow that. The inner diameter of the

Indian Epigraphy. *A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Other Indo-Aryan Languages*. New York and Oxford 1998 [Rev.: H. Falk, Written Language and Literacy 4. 2001: 96–101; O. von Hinüber, *JAOS* 121. 2001: 517–519; Daud Ali, *BSOAS* 64. 2004: 278ff.], p. 117, cf. also *EI* 40. 1973/74: 131 (Kundeswar Copper Plate Grant, AD 1198, Madhyapradesh), where the names of the donees (lines 15 to 26) were most likely inserted into a space originally left blank, cf. p. 128.

[15] No. 6 *Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī*, page 1082 = folio no. 13a, lines 4ff.; No. 15 *Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī*, page 1141 = folio no. 5, line 3.

[16] *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu edited by* R. Gnoli. Serie Orientale Roma L. Rome 1978.

[17] If there were three monks, they could not perform the *uposatha* ceremony, for which at least four monks are needed: Hu-von Hinüber 1994: 385, §76.3ff., cf. Vin I 124.1–27.

[18] It should be kept in mind, however, that approximately three centuries later the Saka itinerary mentions no less than eight *saṃghārāma*s in Gilgit, cf. von Hinüber 2004: 75, n. 13.

circular room of the building is 5.18m according to Fussman, p. 116, which results in about 21m², on certainly one storey and a basement, perhaps on two stories.

Moreover, besides typical monastic literature, we find worldly books with no specific relation to Buddhism, as observed already by Kaul Shastri in his report of 1939. Books of this kind are, at least in the understanding of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, out of place in a monastic library and should be sold if inherited: *bahiḥśāstrapustakā bhikṣubhir vikrīya bhājetavyāḥ*, GM III 2, 143.6.

This is particularly true for the fragment of a narrative text that bears some similarities to *Pañcatantra*, Mitrabheda story 20, as recognized by Kaul Shastri. The verse quoted *upāyaṃ cintayet prājñaḥ* is indeed the first quarter of the introductory verse of that story, which is otherwise different from the Gilgit fragment.[19] This folio once belonged to a rather large collection of stories as the folio no. 236 (plate 1442) shows. The style of the fragment rules out the possibility that this is an *avadāna*.[20] The verse is introduced by *ato haṃ bravīmi upāyaṃ cintayet prājña iti* in the fragment, and by *ato vayaṃ brūmaḥ upāyaṃ cintayed iti* in the *Pañcatantra*.

Lastly, Kaul Shastri was able to identify fragments of two further texts, one grammatical and one medical. The medical text was easily identified, because by lucky circumstance a colophon is extant: *khāraṇādanyāso kuṇḍikāgarbhāvakrāntiṃ śārīraṃ samāptam*, plate 1442, line 1. The fragment was discussed by P. K. Gode within the context of medical literature as early as 1939, and it is of course duly mentioned in Meulenbeld's survey, where the name of the author is quoted in the form Kharanāda.[21] Moreover, there is a second medical fragment comprising only three folios from the beginning of the text or of one of its chapters. The *Annapānavidhi* (no. 20) has not attracted any attention so far. Luckily, the title is mentioned in the beginning: # *svasti* ‖ *athāto nnapānavidhim adhyāyaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* ‖. In spite of the fact that Meulenbeld mentions the *Annapānavidhi* by Suṣeṇa, which may be a separate text or part of the larger *Āyurvedamahodadhi*, he does not refer to the Gilgit text, which, however, is mentioned in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*.[22]

If both texts were identical, the dating given by Meulenbeld would need correction. Even though the beginning of the *Annapānavidhi* of Suṣeṇa is unfortunately lost, and the editors do not indicate whether it is possible to estimate the extent of the missing text, it is clear from the extant part of the *Annapānaviddhi* as edited by Venkatasubrahmanya Sastri (*Ayurveda Mahodadhi – Annapanavidhi*. Tanjore 1950)[23] that this text begins with a discourse on water, not on different kinds of grain, as the Gilgit text does. Moreover, the formulation of paragraphs on *śāli* and *māṃsa* is quite different in both texts. Therefore, these are two different treatises on medicine bearing the same title.

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[19] This narrative text from Gilgit cannot be traced by the quotations of this verse listed in L. Sternbach: *Mahāsubhāṣitasaṃgraha*. Hoshiarpur 1974, Vol. I.

[20] The text is transcribed by Kaul Shastri in his report of 1939. In a message of February 28 2013, J.-U. Hartmann drew my attention to the almost identical wording of this story as found in the *Tantrākhyāyika*, 48.6–22 (ed. Hertel 1915), the old Kashmirian version. Consequently, this seems to be the oldest trace of the *Pañcatantra* in an Indian manuscript.

[21] P. K. Gode: "Antiquity of the Lost Medical Treatise by Khāraṇādi in the Light of the Leaf of the Khāraṇāda-Nyāsa Newly Discovered at Gilgit." *ABORI* 20 (1939): 97–102 = *Studies in Indian Literary History* Vol. I . Bombay 1953: 126–131, where Kaul Shastri's transcript is reprinted. G. J. Meulenbeld: *A History of Indian Medical Literature*. Volume IA (Groningen Indological Studies Vol. XV). Groningen 1999: 695 [Rev.: R. P. Das, *Traditional South Indian Medicine* 6. 2001: 145–158; K. Zysk, *IIJ* 45. 2002: 358–361; K. Karttunen, *Studia Orientalia*. Societas Orientalis Fennica. 101. 2007: 531–536]. More manuscripts of medical texts, among a number of as yet unidentified texts, including the *Carakasaṃhitā* and *Siddhasāra*, were identified by K. Wille in the photo collection created by Ch. Tripathi (see the Additional Note on the Srinagar Collection by K. Wille, pp. 112–113 below).

[22] Meulenbeld, as previous note, Vol. IIA. 2000: 479ff.

[23] A xerox copy of this rare edition is kept in the "Emmerick Library" of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University, Hachioji.

This manuscript looks like an outsider in this collection: the opening *svasti* is rare, but occurs also at the beginning of manuscript D of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* (Śrīnagar Collection no. 1S), and moreover the script of the *Annapānavidhi*, although it is a Śāradā variant, looks quite different in style, if the script usually found in the Gilgit manuscripts is compared.

The grammatical fragment, which treats the derivation of descendants and seems to quote Pāṇini 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*, is as yet unidentified.[24] The script is the usual proto-Śāradā type. One might wish that this manuscript had been used more by the Buddhist community at Gilgit than it probably was, if one considers the bad Sanskrit in the inscriptions on the Gilgit bronzes, which throws a very unfavourable light on the grammatical knowledge of the local Buddhist paṇḍits.[25] Furthermore, the monk who prepared the version of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* preserved in manuscript F was some sort of grammatical adventurer, who did not shrink back from forms such as *prāduṣcakārṣīt*, Sgh §71.[26]

These precious fragments show that the library was not used only for religious purposes.[27] As Fussman points out, at least one text, Nāgārjuna's *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā* (no. 61a), demonstrates also some philosophical interest on the part of the owner(s) of the library. However, there is even more, such as a single folio of the *Abhidharmāvatāra* (no. 58), as well as fragments of the *Lokaprajñapti*, which itself is part of the *Prajñaptiśāstra*, and the *Dharmaskandha*, which are both parts of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma. Moreover, as the extant folio nos. indicate, the *Dharmaskandha* was originally part of a larger collection of texts, possibly even of the complete set of all canonical Abhidharma texts (cf. Ujjain Collection, nos. 1U, 3U).[28]

The grammatical text shows that the monks did not simply read, but really studied their texts, to which interlinear corrections and notes found here and there bear ample witness, as do, of course, the different versions of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* created at Naupur. Moreover, the monks might have practiced medicine, not only from books on Āyurveda, but also by the help of *dhāraṇī*s. Thus the library from Gilgit, the only one extant from ancient India, confirms what is known from very few references in literature and in inscriptions, that libraries were not limited to books of one particular religion or *śāstra*. For a broad knowledge was necessary, e.g., in debates with members of other, sometimes hostile communities. Therefore, Asaṅga recommends that the bodhisatva should study *hetuvidyā* and *śabdavidyā* to refute those who do not appreciate Buddhism.[29] Xuanzang clearly followed that advice and was well versed in different Brahmanical philosophies,[30] as, conversely, was a king of Bengal in Buddhist literature.[31] One of the prerequisites for acquiring that knowledge was obviously study in a good and comprehensive library.

Another singular feature of the Gilgit manuscripts is that they all come from one library and thus form some sort of a closed corpus. Before turning to the question where the books

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[24] There is no indication that this is a Buddhist grammar, contrary to what Kaul Shastri says (1939: 7), who transcribed these three texts badly illustrated on his plate 1442.

[25] von Hinüber 2004: 145.

[26] O. von Hinüber: *Origin and Varieties of Buddhist Sanskrit*, in: *Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes*, éd. par C. Caillat. Paris 1989: 358 = *Kleine Schriften*. Wiesbaden 2009: 572. The scribe of F also once writes *dharma-eṇa*, Sgh §103 for *dharmeṇa* as in formulas, cf. von Hinüber 2004: 145, n. 195.

[27] On libraries in Buddhist India cf. Fussman 2003–2004: 933–944; O. von Hinüber, *IIJ* 44. 2001: 359 and *WZKS* 50. 2006: 220 (review of H. Scharfe: *Ancient Indian Education*. 2002).

[28] Hardly any text from the Sūtrapiṭaka is preserved in this area, with the only exception of the *Ekottarikāgama* (nos. 4a, 2U) and the *Dīrghāgama* (no. 4K), but cf. also the index to the "Guide" s.v. *sūtra* for individual *sūtra* texts in different collections.

[29] Asaṅga: *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra. Exposé de la doctrine du grand véhicule selon le système Yogācāra édité et traduit par* S. Lévi. Paris 1907: 70.15ff. (after XI 60).

[30] On Xuanzang's knowledge of Brahmanical philosophical systems cf. von Hinüber 2009b: 158.

[31] King Śatrubhañja (6th century) boasts that he read *bhārata-purāṇetihāsa-vyākaraṇa-samīkṣā-mīmāṃsā-cchandaḥ-śruti-**bauddhaprakaraṇa**-sāṅkhya*, *EI* 40. 1973/4 (1986): 126, lines 11f.

in the library came from, it should be kept in mind that the library grew over a long period of perhaps about a century. This is easy to see: the colophons and the protective spells mention four of the Palola Ṣāhis: Vajrādityanandi (*585–*605), Vikramādityanandi (*605–*625), Surendravikramādityanandi (*625–*644/*655), Navasurendrādityanandi (*644/*655– died before 706/7). Although the dates inserted here tentatively are more or less fictitious and serve only to give a rough idea of a possible chronology, we do know that Navasurendrādityanandi was alive in 671, when the Hatūn inscription was written, but was dead in 706/7, because he is mentioned as *kālagata* in the long inscription on the bronze of Jayamaṅgalavikramādityanandi.[32] Moreover, we can place the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscript "D," which is dated "in the third year" (*saṃvatsare tṛitīye 3*), in the year 627/8.[33]

It is of some importance that these kings are connected in one way or another to the Gilgit manuscripts. Navasurendrādityanandi in particular sought the protection of the monks, as the *Mahāmāyūrī* and many short spells written for him demonstrate.[34] The last four of the nine Palola Ṣāhis, however, beginning with Jayamaṅgalavikramādityanandi (*685–710*), are known only from inscriptions on bronzes or from the annals of the Tang dynasty.

Consequently, the library had a long history before it finally came into the possession of those three monks who are presumed to have lived in that tower, or, what is more likely, it was used by more than one generation of monks. This is confirmed by a visible development of the palaeography.

These chronological considerations immediately raise a second question: where did these manuscripts come from? Or: are there indications as to the place where they were copied? Here, of course, the few extant colophons can help again. As pointed out by Fussman, the *Ratnaketuparivarta* and *Mekhalādhāraṇī* (nos. 7 and 29abc) united in one manuscript were copied for the protection of Metala Gorṇikṣiṇa, most likely a native of the Gilgit area as his name seems to indicate. Others, among them one copy of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra*, are connected to local nobles and mention clearly local names in the colophons. This shows that at least some of the manuscripts were most likely of local production, though perhaps not all. For, as pointed out long ago, one of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscripts (A = no. 2S), the master copy from which all other manuscripts are derived to a large extent, was most likely imported to the Gilgit area.

This is indicated first of all by a frequently quoted word, discovered by Sir Harold Bailey, which occurs in Sanskrit only in the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* and is found only in the modern Indo-Aryan languages of that area, the Dardic languages: *cīmarakāra* "blacksmith," thus clearly pointing to the northwest.[35] This word is found in all but one manuscript: only A has *ayaskāra*, the standard Sanskrit word in the context:

> *yan mānuṣyakam ātmabhāvaṃ pratigṛhṇanti tan na rupyakāreṇa kṛtaṃ. na* ***cīmarakareṇa*** (A: *ayaskāreṇa*) *kṛtaṃ. na kāṣṭhakāreṇa kṛtaṃ. na* ***kulālena*** (A: *kumbhakāreṇa*) *kṛtaṃ. na rājabhayenopadyate. strīpuruṣasamyogāt pāpena karmaṇā saṃyuktaṃ saṃbhavati*, Sgh §227.

Here, manuscripts ABCDEI are extant.[36] Besides *cīmarakāreṇa*, *kumbhakāreṇa* is also

[32] von Hinüber 2004: 31, 36, Inscription no. 12.

[33] von Hinüber 2004: 25, Colophon no. 10.

[34] See also index to the "Guide" s.v. *dhāraṇī*.

[35] Turner 1966: no. 14496 †*cīmara*-.

[36] There is a gap in manuscript I and exactly the word *cīmara* is destroyed: ... *kṛtaṃ [...]kareṇa kṛtaṃ kāṣṭha*°. Strangely, slight traces visible in the gap on folio 28b3 at the very end seem to indicate a word different from both *cīmarakāra* and *ayaskāra*. However, in the verse *bhuṃjante cīmaraṃ taptaṃ*, Sgh §242, verse 132c, where manuscript I is extant, all three manuscripts (BDI) preserving this verse read so. — It would be very interesting to compare the inaccessible manuscript L (no. 5T), the only one not from the northwest and written in Proto-Bengali script, which should read *ayaskāra*, of course. This

replaced, because *kulālena* is the northwestern, and *kumbhakāreṇa* the central Indian word, as the modern languages show.[37] However, manuscript A was not brought from afar as it is written on birch bark, and as the northwestern form *śravaṇo gotamaḥ* for *śramaṇo gotamaḥ*, Sgh §182, seems to indicate.

A closer look also reveals traces of northwestern phonetics in many places, particularly in manuscript B, where the scribe occasionally writes *bh* for *v* and vice versa: *mṛṣāvādāt prativiratā* (B: *pratibhiratā*), Sgh §34, or: *na bhūyo vayaṃ* (B: *bhayaṃ*) *bhagavann utsahāmahe jātiduḥkhaṃ anubhavituṃ*, Sgh §52.[38] To guarantee the correct pronunciation the scribe of B writes twice *dharma**bbh**āṇakaḥ sarvaśūra tathāgatasamo jñātavyaḥ ... katamo bhagavan dharma**bbh**āṇakaḥ*, Sgh §45. Similarly, manuscript D writes *roṣā**vi**bhūtaḥ*, Sgh §211, for *roṣā**bh**ibhūtaḥ* and *brajen* (1. pers. sing.) *nirvāṇa**sātau** hi*, Sgh §213 (verse 67c), instead of °*dhātau*.

This evidence is matched by similar ways of writing found in the inscriptions along the Upper Indus,[39] e.g.: Thalpan II no. 195:367: *namo buddhāya namo **ddh**armāya*, or Chilās Bridge 55:3 *deva**ddh**armo yaṃ vu + halasya*[40], cf. ... *sanniṣaṇṇā **ddh**armaśravaṇāya*, Sgh §10 manuscript E.

Another northwestern feature of B is the frequent use of forms like *śruṇoti* for *śṛṇoti* (*śruṇu* : *śṛṇu*, Sgh §91, etc.). That this is really a peculiarity showing northwestern influence is underlined by manuscript D *riddhibalenūrdhvād avatūrya*, Sgh §237 instead of *avatīrya* in manuscripts ABF.[41] Here too *mṛhūrtaṃ*, Sgh §99, verse 36d, for *muhūrtaṃ* or rather **murhūrtaṃ* / **mruhūrtaṃ* in manuscript F, pointing at the same time to a Dardic metathesis, can be mentioned.

Only manuscript D has the enigmatic *trevayaṃti*, *trevayitvā*, Sgh §185, for *vardhayati*, *vardhayitvā*.[42]

After recalling this evidence, there can be hardly any doubt that at least some manuscripts were copied locally, that is in the northwest. Moreover, this evidence also shows that they were not simply copied. The text underwent consciously introduced changes, which is very obvious again in the case of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra*. As already stated, the starting point is manuscript A, most likely supplemented by an unknown manuscript. This is particularly evident where very corrupt verses in A were restored or where the wording was subject to alterations introduced purposely by one or more redactors.

Beginning from the text of the following verse in A: *rājyaiśvāryeṇa me nārtho* it is easy to see that this was corrupted in B to: *rājyabhogaiśvarya me nārtho*, but restored in CF:

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manuscript in particular points to a wide circulation of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* also in India: *saṃghāṭo ... jambudvīpe pracariṣyati*, Sgh 14 (ABCD, not in F), cf. Skilling 2004: 73[198]–87[184]. The wide circulation of this text is confirmed by the fact that even the Muslim author Rashīd ad-Dīn (died 1318) seems to have known the title *Saṃghāṭa(sūtra)*, cf. O. von Hinüber, *WZKS* 31. 1987: 209 = *Kleine Schriften* 2009: 1038. Two further texts mentioned by Rashīd ad-Dīn and preserved in the Gilgit library were identified in Schopen 1982: 225–235 as *Devatāsūtra* (no. 13d,1) and *Maitreyavyākaraṇa* (no. 13c). Furthermore, there are references to the *Aparimitāyuḥsūtra* (no. 61b), to the *Pañcarakṣā* (cf. "Guide" index s. v. Vidyā) and to the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (no. 12) in Jahn 1980: 102ff. Thus these altogether six texts in the list of books which Rashīd ad-Dīn received from his Kashmiri informant Kamālaśrī may have been standard in Buddhist libraries in greater Kashmir for several centuries.

[37] Turner 1966: no. 3310 *kuṃbhakāra-* and no. 3341 *kúlāla-*. Manuscript I has also *kulālena*.

[38] von Hinüber 2001: §§173, 191; von Hinüber 1989c: 358 = *Kleine Schriften* 2009: 571.

[39] The material is published in the respective volumes of "Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans": Bandini-König 2003 and 2005.

[40] Cf. also: Hodar 32:4, Shatial 39:16, Gichi Nala 132.– Chilas V 80:1 *namo sarvavu**dh**avo**ddh**isatvebhya* clearly is a writing mistake. The Indian loanword written in Bactrian as δδηβδαρμο, Tang-i-Safedak inscription, line 6, cf. Sims-Williams/Lee 2003: 164, is, however, to be interpreted in a different way: Sims-Williams 1997/98: 197.

[41] Cf. Khowār *tūrth* < skt. *tīrtha*, von Hinüber 2001: §10 and perhaps AV(P) V 31,3c *aturṣṭa* for *atṛṣṭa*, IIJ 47. 2004: 60.

[42] von Hinüber 1989c: 358 = *Kleine Schriften* 2009: 571.

rājyabhogaiś ca me nārtho na dhānyena dhanena ca, Sgh §213, verse 66cd. Similarly, *brajen nirvāṇadhātau hi śānte yatra tathāgataḥ*, Sgh §213, verse 67bc, starts from A: *śāntaṃ vrajeya nirvāṇaṃ yatra ya(d)ā tathāgatā* and underwent obvious redactional changes. The end of the following verse *pūrvaṃ mayā kṛtaṃ karma*, Sgh §213, verse 69a of A is changed to *kṛtaṃ pāpaṃ* in BCDF, and consequently, *karma* disappears completely from the text here.

The same development can be observed in prose passages:

A: *paṃcemāṃ sarvaśūra mahānadyāḥ ākāśe* ***pracaranti*** *ye prajāṃ* ***prahlādayanti***
F: *paṃcemāḥ sarvaśūra mahānadyaḥ ākāśe* ***pracaranti*** *yāḥ prajāṃ* ***pālayanti***
I: *paṃcemā sarvaśūra mahānadya ākāśe* ***pracaraṃti*** *yāḥ prajāṃ* ***plāvaya[ṃ]ti***
BCDE: *sarvaśūra paṃcemā mahānadyaḥ ākāśe* ***pravahanti*** *yā satatasamitam udakavindubhiḥ prajāṃ* ***plāvayanti***, Sgh §113

It seems that the comparatively rare word *prahlādayati* was alien to the vocabulary of the Gilgit monks, who replaced it in different ways. The redactor of F did not have a lucky hand, because *pālayanti* does not make much sense. The vulgate chose *plāvayanti* and inserted "drops of water" to get a better text.

In rare cases it seems possible to guess the motives behind an alteration of the text.[43] Once we find in manuscript A a wording that is kept unchanged also in F:

yena sa rājā vimalacandras tenopasaṃkrāntā ***upasaṃkramya*** *taṃ ... evam āhuḥ*, Sgh §104

However, the vulgate BCD (and most likely also I) has: *yena sa rājā tenopasaṃkrāntā* ***upetya*** ... The reason could be that this particular way of phrasing the description of the approach to a person, which was most likely used predominantly by Sarvāstivādins, was more familiar to the scribes or redactors in Gilgit.[44] Similar reasons could be assumed when the common formula: *ekāṃsam* ***uttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā*** *... tenāñjaliṃ praṇāmya*, Sgh § 216 in manuscript A is changed into a wording which seems to be rare:[45] BCDFI: *ekāṃsaṃ* ***cīvaraṃ prāvṛtya*** *... tenāñjaliṃ praṇamayya*, correspondingly Sgh §171.

In these and numerous other instances, it would be impossible to retrieve the original text of A or even to suspect any alteration of the transmitted text. Consequently we are able to perceive in Gilgit much more clearly than anywhere else that what we have in front of us are only particular phases in the developments of non-canonical texts, developments whose beginning and end we are unable to determine. Worse, in most other cases only the end of a long history of a Buddhist text is visible in just one or two surviving and often rather late manuscripts. In earlier times it is either a translation into Chinese or Tibetan which freezes a certain recension. Therefore it is by no means surprising if translations of

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[43] For a similar instance see O. von Hinüber, review of R. Salomon: *Two Gāndhārī Manuscripts of the Songs of Lake Anavatapta (Anavataptagāthā)*. 2008. *JAOS* 130 (2010): 90–94.

[44] Further examples are discussed in von Hinüber 1989c: 356ff. = *Kleine Schriften* 2009: 559ff.

[45] Although this non-canonical wording is listed neither in SWTF nor in BHSD, which has no entry *uttarāsaṅga*, it does occur occasionally at the beginning of a *parivarta* in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* (ed. J. Nobel, 1937), e.g., *mahādevī ekāṃśaṃ cīvaraṃ prāvṛtya*, 102.13 = beginning of VII. Sarasvatīparivarta, and altogether six times in this text; further: *Ratnaketuparivarta* (ed. Y. Kurumiya 1978) 12.4, cf. 137.10; *Samādhirājasūtra* (ed. P. L. Vaidya 1961) 237.10, cf. *ekāṃsaṃ cīvaram āvṛtya*, 239.21 (cf. *ekāṃsaṃ cīvaraṃ prāpayitvā*, Mvu II 293.18); different Prajñāpāramitā texts: 5 references; *Gaṇḍavyūha* (ed. D. T. Suzuki and H. Idzumi, 1949) 345.25; *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra* (ed. I. Yamada, 1968) 219.18 besides *ekāṃsam uttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā*, *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra* 54.9ff. Similar expressions are: *... na paryastikāya, parimaṇḍalaṃ cīvaraṃ prāvṛtya ... na nāgaphaṇakaṃ ... cīvaraṃ prāvṛtya*, *Śrāvakabhūmi* (ed. K. Shukla 1973) 124.13 in a context referring to the Śaikṣa rules, and *tathāgatacīvaraṃ prāvṛtya,* 234.5 and *caukṣaṃ ... cīvara prāvaritvā*, 283.8* in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (H. Kern 1908–1912). — Similarly, *tenopasaṃkrāmad upasaṃkramya*, 180.10 is used side by side with *tenopajagāma upetya*, 70.4 = 84.4 = 103.1 also in the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra*. — I am obliged to H. Krasser, Vienna, for providing these references.

non-canonical texts are often made from a wording more or less different from what we read in a manuscript extant in the original language.

This seems to be the most interesting and of course deeply worrying conclusion from the fact that it is possible to perceive in only one of the innumerable libraries of Buddhist monasteries that once existed — and during a comparatively short period of perhaps a hundred years or even less — how the wording of a non-canonical text is constantly reshaped in such a way that the usual procedures of textual criticism cannot be applied. Of course similar observations can be and have been made elsewhere, e.g., by comparing different versions of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. However, here we usually have manuscripts or fragments from different places and periods, while only in Gilgit the time and place of the work on the text can be defined almost exactly.[46]

Therefore, manuscript A is, as it were, our "original" text ("Urtext") only by chance. For even this text is based on older versions. This can be observed easily as, e.g., in *katamo dvitīyaḥ puruṣaḥ yasya vṛkṣaṃ na rūhati*, Sgh §214, verse 74ab, where all manuscripts (ABCDF) have the unmetrical form *puruṣaḥ*, which can be easily emended to an original reading *poṣo*. Similarly, the verse in manuscript A *bhaiṣajyasena sthavira tvam*, Sgh §253, verse 222a scans only if *bhaiṣajyasena thera tvam* is read.[47]

Therefore, the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* is a precious example of the mechanisms of conscious and unconscious modification of a text. While the conscious changes are reflected in different wordings in different manuscripts or groups of manuscripts as demonstrated, the unconscious changes happened during the process of copying. This, of course, also shapes the text and ultimately results in a new wording. Certainly, there is no very clear-cut border line between these two ways of developing a text, consciously or unconsciously.

Strong indications of an unconscious change are the so-called *sandhi* consonants. For *buddhajñānasyāntarāyaṃ kuryāt*, Sgh §96 manuscript A has *buddhajñānasya-m-antarāyaṃ kāraye*[. Here the *sandhi* consonant points to an older and original syntactical construction *buddhajñānam antarāyaṃ kārayati*, where a compound verb was used,[48] which disappeared once a scribe copied carelessly and inserted the *akṣara sya*. Here, A is "modernized" by accident.

The metrically correct verse in manuscripts BD:

bhaiṣajyasena sthavira m asmākaṃ vacanaṃ śṛṇu, Sgh §253, verse 222ab,

is based on a corrected, unmetrical version in manuscript A:

bhaiṣajyasena sthavira tvam asmākar vacana śṛṇu.

Clearly, the verse in A is also metrically correct, if *bhaiṣajyasena* **thera tvam* is read as mentioned above. On the other hand, the vulgate, of which only BD are extant here, corrects the metre by dropping the akṣara *tva*, thus creating a *sandhi* consonant and moving the text farther away from the older, "original" version.

The accidental loss of the word *bhagavantam*, preserved in ABCF but missing in manuscript D, results in a *sandhi* consonant: *bhaiṣajyaseno bodhisatvo mahasatvo-**m**-etad avocat*, Sgh §178.

A simple mistake of the scribe omitting the akṣaras *teṣā* created a *sandhi* consonant only in C: *tena samayena-m-anyatīrthikānāṃ*, where AF have the intended text*: tena samayena **teṣām** anyatīrthikānāṃ,* Sgh §57, while BD, possibly correcting C, have *tena samayena anya-°*.

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[46] von Hinüber 2000: 17–36 = *Kleine Schriften* 2009: 431–450, on the *Saṃghāṭasūtra*, p. 34 = 448 with n. 68 for pertinent examples; Schopen (2009) investigates the textual history of the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* along similar lines.

[47] On this verse see also below.

[48] von Hinüber 1968: §59, p. 72: *cīvaralābhaṃ antarāyaṃ kareyya*, Vin IV 283.27** "should prevent from getting a robe."

In BCD *caturṣu***r** *dvīpakṣetreṣu*, Sgh §72 which is based on A: *caturdvīpeṣu sarveṣu*, the scribe of the vulgate inserts the *akṣara rṣu*, but again keeps *rdvī* unchanged. Only F emends the text to *caturṣu dvīpakṣetreṣu*.

Similarly, the strange *asmākar vacana* in A in the verse discussed earlier seems to point to an original dual form: *āvayor vacanaṃ*. Whether or not this type of mistake ultimately is one of the roots of the much later predilection of Nepalese scribes of Buddhist manuscripts to use the superscript *r* as "a mere ornament of handwriting"[49] cannot be determined.

All these examples point to scribes who, at least from time to time, mechanically copied their originals *akṣara* by *akṣara* without giving any thought to the meaning of their texts.

Occasionally, mistakes are corrected and *sandhi* consonants disappear as in A: *nāsti-d-iha trāṇaṃ,* Sgh §51, verse 16a, which is easily restored as BCDF: *nāsti kaścid iha trāṇaṃ*.

There is almost no end of examples.

The *sandhi* consonants bring us to the scribes and their way of writing, that is to palaeography and corrections. Again the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscripts provide a rewarding field of research in this respect also, primarily because the extant manuscripts are written in two different scripts. The older round "Gilgit script," which is also called "Gilgit/ Bamiyan type I" or "local calligraphic ornate script" and perhaps best renamed[50] "Gandhāran Brāhmī," was replaced by the younger proto-Śāradā. This change, which also affected the use of numerals,[51] occurred in the Gilgit region approximately during the reign of the earlier Palola Ṣāhis.

In manuscript D, the first nine pages are numbered in "modern" numerals. At the same time this system also introduces, along with new shapes for the numerals, decimal numbering, which supersedes the old way of writing, e.g. 10+1. However, from folio 10 onward the scribe of manuscript D, which was obviously written at a time when script and numbering were just at the point of changing, relapses into the old system, which was most likely still used in the manuscript from which he copied. In the still later manuscript E the scribe used only the "modern" numerals.

Moreover, even within the proto-Śāradā script a certain development can be observed, because the tripartite akṣara *ya* was slowly replaced by the younger form of this *akṣara* as was the older form of the *akṣara ha*.[52]

It is evident and well known, of course, that the manuscripts written in proto-Śāradā are younger. This can also be deduced from corrections: in manuscripts BCG the text in "Gandhāran Brāhmī" is occasionally corrected in proto-Śāradā. There is no example of a correction in the opposite direction. These corrections show that manuscripts in the older variant of the script continued to be read, because these mistakes were obviously detected only by later readers, not by the scribe himself, and, consequently, they also show that the readers were still familiar with both scripts.

Of course corrections by the scribes themselves also occur. In these instances the scribes left some space in the next line down in which they inserted missing *akṣaras* or forgotten words,[53] and they also cancelled dittographies.[54]

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[49] Brough 1954 (Collected Papers. London 1996: 133), cf. also von Hinüber 1989c: 360 = 573 and the review of Salomon: *Songs*, as given in note 43.

[50] The problems and pitfalls in naming ancient Indian scripts are discussed in Sander 2007: 121–139.

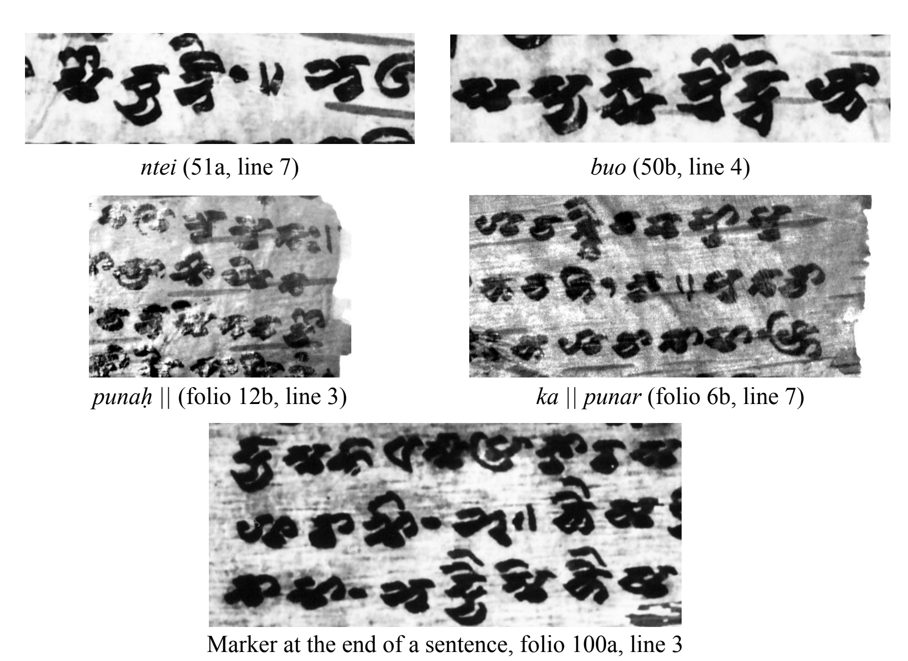
[51] Frentz 1987: 127.

[52] von Hinüber 2004: 30. — Examples for the older and younger *ha* and *ya* can be found, e.g., in manuscript E, folio 31a lines 1 and 2 and folio 31b, lines 4 and 5 respectively = FE pages 2308 and 2309.

[53] An example is manuscript C, where *adyaiva bhagavann ime satvā utpannāḥ* is added in small characters on folio 63b, under line 5 = FE page 2231.

[54] An example is manuscript C, where a dittography is put into parentheses on folio 22a, lines 3 and 4 = FE page 2149.

Lastly, manuscript B, written in the older "Gandhāran Brāhmī," deserves special attention. Here we occasionally find unusual ways of writing *akṣara*s, such as varying forms of *prā, jñā* or *ji*, *akṣara*s bearing two vowel signs such as *buoddheś*, peculiar writing of the *visarga* in the form of a double *daṇḍa*, or unusual markers of the end of a sentence (fig. 2).



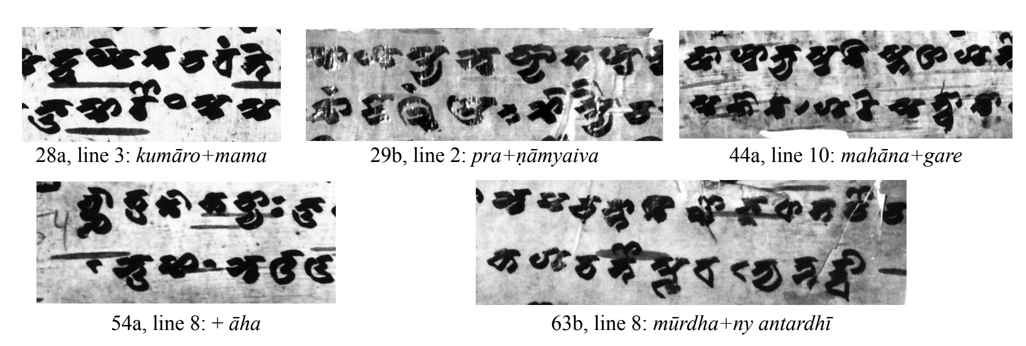
ntei (51a, line 7) *buo* (50b, line 4)

punaḥ || (folio 12b, line 3) *ka* || *punar* (folio 6b, line 7)

Marker at the end of a sentence, folio 100a, line 3

Figure 2: Unusual forms in Manuscript B

Furthermore, what seems to be really unique are small "characters" of varying shapes irregularly inserted here and there in approximately fifty instances in B, often in the middle of a word, and of unknown meaning (fig. 3).[55]



28a, line 3: *kumāro+mama* 29b, line 2: *pra+ṇāmyaiva* 44a, line 10: *mahāna+gare*

54a, line 8: + *āha* 63b, line 8: *mūrdha+ny antardhī*

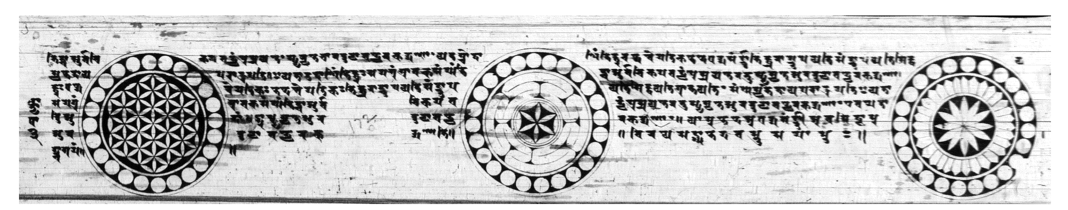
Figure 3: Unusual small characters in Manuscript B

Finally, a scribe drew a small flower in C folio 89a3 (= FE page 2286), when he had almost reached the end of the text. Other drawings are found at the end of texts such as the *Vinayavastu* or others.[56] These disks bear some similarity to drawings on the rocks in the Chilās area but are also found in much later manuscripts (fig. 4).[57]

[55] Similar small characters seem to be found in Jaina manuscripts occasionally, cf. Weber 1883: 2; 31 note 1 and for signs and abbreviations used in manuscripts cf. Einecke 2009 [Rev.: O. von Hinüber, *IIJ* (in press)].

[56] On FE pages 580, 1050, 1452, 1567, 1706.

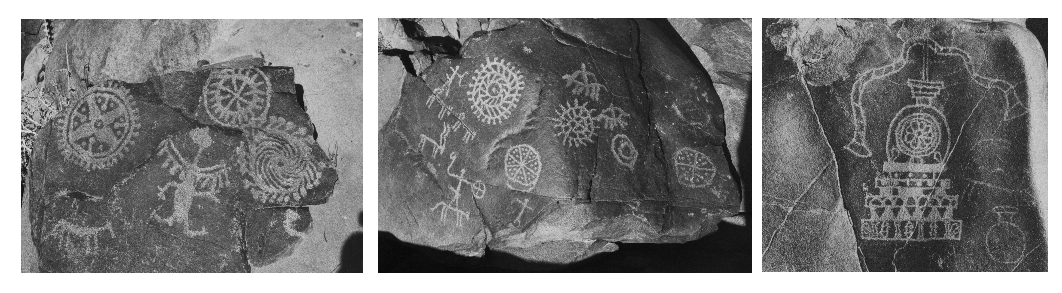
[57] Bandini-König 1999: Tafeln Ib, IIab, V, XIa, XII, and the decorated *stūpa* Tafel Vb, cf. also the undated fragmentary manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, Cambridge Add 1682, folio 41b, at the end of the *Adhimuktiparivarta*, which is reproduced in Lotus-Sutra Manuscript Series 4. Sanskrit



Disks from the end of the *Vinayavastu*, folio 523 (cf. FE, p. 1050)



Disks from no. 19: *Āyuḥparyantasūtra* (cf. FE, p. 1706)



Disks from D. Bandini, *Die Felsbildstation Hodar*. Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans, Band 3. Mainz, 1999, Tafeln Ib, IIa, Vb

Figure 4: Disks in the Gilgit manuscripts and in rock drawings

Lotus Sutra Manuscripts from Cambridge University Library (Add. 1682 and Add. 1683). Facsimile Edition, Soka Gakkai. Hachioji 2002.

2. Bibliographical Guide to Identifications and Editions of the Gilgit Manuscripts

The texts called "the Gilgit Manuscripts" were actually found in Naupur near Gilgit and split up into three collections named after the places where the manuscripts are kept: I. The Delhi Collection (quoted by number), II. The Srinagar Collection (quoted by number+S), and III. The Ujjain Collection (quoted by number+U). Moreover, there are supposedly three manuscripts assumed to have been found near the Kargah Buddha, which are dealt with in IV. Miscellaneous Manuscripts (quoted by number+K). There are no fragments in Poona as erroneously surmised in von Hinüber 1979: 334[8], note 31, cf. Wille 1990: 25ff, where the relevant information also on the collections in the British Museum (cf. L. D. Barnett, "Manuscripts from India and Burma," *The British Museum Quarterly* 16. 1951, p. 68f.), the "Shah Collection," etc. is discussed ("Erforschung," pp. 332[6]–336 [10]).

The "Tucci Collection" of photographs of Gilgit manuscripts, among them the *Saṃghabhedavastu*, is catalogued now in F. Sferra, *Sanskrit Texts from Giuseppe Tucci's Collection Part I*. Manuscripta Buddhica I. Rome 2008 [2010] (cf. §3.2.1, p. 48; §3.3.1, p. 52; §3.4B "Rawalpindi," p. 53; §3.5.2, p. 54; *Saṃghabhedavastu*: MT 33, MT 34, p. 73).

The texts of various Gilgit manuscripts are available electronically in the "Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages" (GRETIL); the relevant URL is www.sub.uni-goettingen.de/ebene_1/fiindolo/gret_utf.htm.

Almost all manuscripts are written on birch bark,[58] only a single manuscript (no. 4S) on palm leaf. At least three manuscripts (nos. 36, 38b, 48) contain also folios written on "clay-coated paper," which was described and chemically analysed in Kishore 1963/64: 1–3.

The following survey tries to collect research done on the identification and editing of the Gilgit manuscripts as completely as possible. It is, however, not intended to provide a bibliography of research on the contents of these texts.

The survey is based on the following previous publications: von Hinüber 1979 together with two supplements: "Die Erforschung der Gilgit-Handschriften (Nachtrag)." *ZDMG* 130. 1980, *25*ff. and: "Die Erforschung der Gilgit-Handschriften. Neue Ergebnisse." *ZDMG* 131. 1981, *9*–*11*. Furthermore, the Chinese survey by Yaoming Cai (Cai 2006) is taken into account.

Lastly, many personal communications received over many years from different colleagues have been extremely helpful. They are mostly mentioned under the respective manuscript. I am particularly obliged to K. Wille, Göttingen, for providing his own checklist of publications of the Gilgit manuscripts, which proved useful in detecting omissions and errors, and to O. von Criegern, Munich, who carefully read the manuscript and detected a couple of inaccuracies.

I. The Delhi Collection

The collection kept at the National Archives in Delhi is arranged here, as it was in the previous survey of 1979, according to the numbers introduced by Lokesh Chandra in his hand-list, which appeared as an appendix to his article "Unpublished Gilgit Fragment of

[58] Birch bark is used as a writing material also in other cultures: Elisabetta Chiodo, *The Mongolian Manuscripts on Birch Bark from Xarbuxyn Balgas in the Collection of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences*. Part I, II. Asiatische Forschungen 137, 1.2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2000, 2008; Mongolian letters on birch bark were unearthed in Novgorod in 2004 according to "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" 25th/26th September 2004: 49. Birch bark was used for writing even during the First World War, cf. Per Hoffmann, "Wie sind sie zu entrollen?," *RESTAUROforum: Zeitschrift für Kunsttechniken, Restaurierung und Museumsfragen* 1998.4: 246–247.— On writing material in India cf. von Hinüber 1989a [Rev.: R. Schmitt, *Die Sprache* 34. 1988–1990: 408ff.; F. Schwarz, *OLZ* 88. 1993: 559–563; K. R. Norman, *JRAS* NS 3. 1993: 277–281; P. Kieffer-Pülz, *GGA* 246. 1994: 207–224; M. Hara, *IIJ* 38.1995: 71–76], p. 9 note 8 and Tripathi 1975 [Rev.: J. C. Wright, *BSOAS* 40. 1977: 219f.; O. von Hinüber, *ZDMG* 127. 1977: 220f.; E. Bender, *JAOS* 98. 1978: 199; C. Caillat, *OLZ* 75. 1980: 71–73], p. 15 note 2.

the *Prātimokṣasūtra*" (Lokesh Chandra 1960: 1–13). Although this numbering is rather erratic, it is kept here, because it was and is widely used as a reference system, e.g., in FE. Introducing a new, more systematic numbering would only have resulted in increased confusion.

The facsimile edition of the manuscripts (FE[1]) arranged by Lokesh Chandra, *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts (Facsimile Edition)*. Śata-Piṭaka Series Volume 10, 1–10. Delhi 1959–1974 was reprinted as: *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts, revised and enlarged compact facsimile edition.* Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica Series 150, 151, 152, Delhi 1995 in three parts (FE[2]). An introduction to this reprint by Lokesh Chandra (pp. 1–53) in part 1 (dated to the year 1974 in spite of the fact that books published up to 1985 are included in the brief bibliography [p. 53]), gives a survey of the contents of manuscripts nos. 2–62, which was partly outdated already at the time of publication. Moreover, the reprint contains a supplement not mentioned in the introduction. The facsimiles in FE[2] are sometimes more and sometimes less readable than in FE[1].

The numbers introduced in FE on the right margin (1–3368 + 3369–3514 in the supplement of 1995) are quoted here as "page" in contrast to the pagination on the original manuscripts quoted here as "folio no." The "folio nos. extant" are counted by texts, e.g. "text A folio nos. 1–3(line 3)," "text B folio nos. 3(line 4)–5": 3 folios extant of both texts.

The individual volumes of FE comprise the following pages:

1 (1959):	1–92	**6** (1974):	676–1234
2 (1960):	93–174	**7** (1974):	1235–1775
3 (1966):	175–254	**8** (1974):	1776–2325
4 (1966):	255–336	**9** (1974):	2326–2908
5 (1970):	337–675	**10** (1974):	2909–3368

Reprint:

1 (1995) 1–675 **2** (1995) 676–2812 **3** (1995) 2813–3368 + 3369–3514

In addition, copies of a microfilm produced by the National Archives in Delhi are available in different places. The quality of these photos is occasionally superior to the plates in FE. The original photos from which FE was printed were generously donated by Lokesh Chandra to Soka Unversity in Hachioji, where they are preserved at present in The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology. They are accompanied by a brief (28 pages) unpublished manuscript entitled "Gilgit Script written by Raghu Vira in 1950," which contains samples of the various *akṣara*s and of the ligatures of "Gandhāran Brāhmī."

A set of four CD-ROMs prepared in 2003 under the title "*Database of Valuable Lotus Sūtra Manuscripts. Microfilm Materials held in the Institute for Comprehensive Study of the Lotus Sutra, Rissho University*" also contains the Gilgit manuscripts of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (nos. 44, 45, 47 only, but these nos. twice from two different microfilms) on CD-ROM Vol. II, nos. 9 and 10. Moreover, a small and unsystematic selection of Gilgit manuscripts which have no relation to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* are included in CD-ROM Vol. III no. 21 more or less at random, it seems. I am obliged to K. Wille and S. Karashima, Hachioji, who drew my attention to this material, and to Professor Mitomo, who through the good offices of S. Karashima kindly presented me with a set of these CD-ROMs. This material is referred to by "Rissho, vol. and no." in manuscripts of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. Recently, yet another facsimile edition of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* manuscripts was published: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtram*. Gilgit Lotus Sutra Manuscripts from the National Archives of India. Facsimile Edition. Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 12. National Archives of India, Soka Gakkai, Institute for Oriental Philosophy. Hachioji 2012. All manuscripts are reproduced as coloured photos and accom-

panied by the measurements of the respective folios. This facsimile is referred to as "Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 12." A new facsimile edition of the complete Delhi collection following a similar pattern is planned by The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University.

A first edition of a large part of the Gilgit manuscripts was provided by Nalinaksha Dutt (1893–1973) in: *Gilgit Manuscripts* (quoted as GM). Vol. I Srinagar 1939; Vol. II (.1) Srinagar 1941; Vol. II.2 Calcutta 1953; Vol. II.3 Calcutta 1954; Vol. III.1 Srinagar 1947; Vol. III.2 Srinagar 1942; Vol. III.3 Srinagar 1943; Vol. III.4 Calcutta 1950; Vol. IV Calcutta 1959 (all reprinted in three volumes and six parts as Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica Series no. 14, Delhi 1984). The references to Dutt's edition are repeated only for the sake of convenience.

No. 1: Vinayavastu-āgama

Pages 676–1050 and, without serial no., *pages 1051–1079*. — Remark: pages 686–707 are omitted in FE[2] (information provided by Klaus Wille).

This text is edited in GM III and again in Bagchi 1967–1970.

The Vinaya texts are listed in A. Yuyama, *Vinaya-Texte. Systematische Übersicht über die buddhistische Sanskrit-Literatur. A Systematical Survey of Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*. Erster Teil. Wiesbaden 1979 [Rev.: G. Buddruss, *ZDMG* 131. 1981: 216f.; O. von Hinüber, *WZKS* 26. 1982: 208].

A detailed and careful survey of the *Vinayavastu-āgama* is provided in Wille 1990 [Rev.: A. Degener, *JAOS* 111. 1991: 588f.; E. Nolot, *BSOAS* 54. 1991: 381f.; J. W. de Jong, *IIJ* 36. 1993: 142f.; R. Gombrich, *JRAS* 3. 1993: 142f.; H. Hu-von Hinüber, *ZDMG* 145. 1995: 197f.; O. von Hinüber, *WZKS* 39. 1995: 247f.]. This book supersedes all previous literature on the arrangement of the *Vinayavastu-āgama*. Furthermore, Wille lists the individual Vastus of the Vinaya and their editions up to 1990 on pp. 27–34. The identification of pages 1051–1079 is found on pp. 22ff. and a concordance between GM and FE on pp. 154–165. Consequently, the following list could be limited to *a supplement* to Wille 1990, and the reader is referred to Wille's survey for all editions prior to 1990.

No. 1.1. Pravrajyāvastu: Ed.: GM III.4, pp. 3–68. — Re-ed.: Vogel/Wille 1992: 65–109; Näther/Vogel/Wille 1996: 241–296 (on the *Saṃgharakaṣitāvadāna*); Vogel/Wille 2002: 11–76. — Cf. no. 4d; 51f.

No. 1.2. Poṣadhavastu: Ed.: GM III.4, pp. 71–116. — Re-ed.: Hu-von Hinüber 1994 [Rev.: C. Caillat, *BEI* 13–14. 1995–1996: 536–538; J. W. de Jong, in: *Dharmadūta. Mélanges offerts au Vénerable Thích Huyên-Vi à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire*. Paris 1997: 163–167; L. Rocher, *JAOS* 123. 2003: 262]. — *Remark*: Cai 2006 refers to: Muwagama Gnanaseeha, "Poṣadha: A Study Based on the Vinayavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins," in: *Ānanda: Papers on Buddhism and Indology* (A. W. P. Guruge Felicitation Volume). Colombo 1990, pp. 172–176.

No. 1.3. Pravāraṇāvastu: Ed.: GM III.4, pp. 119–130. — Re-ed.: Chung 1998 [Rev.: A. Heirman, *BStR* 16.2. 1999: 235–237; H. Eimer, *ZAS* 29. 1999: 216–218; J. W. de Jong, *IIJ* 43. 2000: 63–66; W. Thomas, *IF* 106. 2001: 301–306; O. von Hinüber, *JAOS* 124. 2004: 806–810].

No. 1.4. Varṣāvastu. Ed.: GM III.4, pp. 133–155. — Re-ed.: M. Shono, *Bukkyō ni okeru uki no toryuseikatsu ni kansuru kisoteki kenkyū – Varṣāvastu no saikotei, oyobi dokkai kenkyū* (A critical study on the rain retreat in Buddhism – A re-edition of the *Varṣāvastu* and an annotated translation). This Japanese thesis submitted to the University of Osaka in 2007 is published as Shono 2010: 1–128. I am obliged to M. Shono for this information and for a copy of his thesis.

No. 1.5. Carmavastu: Ed.: GM III.4, pp. 159–210. — Re-ed.: —. The re-edition announced in von Hinüber 1979: 27 did not materialize.

No. 1.6. Bhaiṣajyavastu: Ed.: GM III.1, pp. I–XIV, 5–288, cf. FE² 1, pp. 18–23 transcript of pages 1051–1056. — *Remark*: Cf. Fumi Yao: *"Konponsetsuissaiuburitsu 'Yakuji' no kenkyū: Kyōten 'inyō' wo chūshin ni* (*A Study on the Bhaiṣajyavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya with special reference to the "quotation" of sūtras*). PhD thesis, University of Tokyo 2011; Fumi Yao: "Sūtras quoted in the Bhaiṣajyavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya." *Buddhist Studies / Bukkyō Kenkyū* 38. 2010: 251–279, continued in 39. 2011: 179–199 and 40. 2012: 291–318 (all in Japanese); Fumi Yao: *Konponsetsuissaiuburitsu 'Yakuji': An Annotated Translation*. Tokyo 2013.

No. 1.7. Cīvaravastu: Ed.: GM III.2, pp. 3–148. — Re-ed.: —.

No. 1.8. Kaṭhinavastu: Ed.: GM III.2, pp. 151–170. Re-ed.: Matsumura 1996: 145–239.

No. 1.9. Kośāmbakavastu: Ed.: GM III.2, pp. 173–196. — Re-ed.: —.

No. 1.10. Karmavastu: Ed.: GM III.2, pp. 119–211. — Re-ed.: —.

No. 1.11. Pāṇḍulohitakavastu: Ed.: GM III.3, pp. 5–58. Re-ed.: Yamagiwa 2001 [Rev.: P. Kieffer-Pülz, *OLZ* 103. 2008, columns 106–113].

No. 1.12. Pudgalavastu: Ed.: GM III.3, pp. 61–88. — Re-ed.: —.

No. 1.13. Pārivāsikavastu: Ed.: GM III.3, pp. 93–103. — Re-ed.: —.

No. 1.14. Poṣadhasthāpanavastu: Ed.: GM III.3, pp. 107–117. — Re-ed.: —.

No. 1.15. Śayanāsanavastu: Ed.: GM III.3, pp. 121–144; **16. Adhikaraṇavastu**; **17. Saṃghabhedavastu**: nos. 15 and 16 re-edited in Gnoli 1978; no. 17 in Gnoli 1977/8 as indicated by Wille 1990.

Remark: The text of the *Vinayavastu-āgama* ends on folio 523 (= page 1050; FE "423" by mistake, cf. Wille 1990: 34) with a simple colophon: *vinaye saṅghabhedavastu samāptaṃ* : || (*vinayava*)*stvāgamaṃ* (Wille 1990: 17). Moreover, there are three decorative disks drawn within the text of the last page and similar disks on page 1706 (no. 19) and page 1452 (no. 13), cf. the disks found in petroglyphs along the Upper Indus, cf. Bandini-König 1999: Tafeln Ib, IIab, IIIb, XIa and the decorated *stūpa* Tafel Vb and see fig. 4, p. 90 above.

Fragmentary folios from different parts of the Vinaya are (re-)edited in Wille 1990: 38–132. On the "Postscriptum of November 1989" by H. Bechert to this volume (pp. 173ff.) cf. Matsumura 1989–90 [1991]: 247 "Postscript 2." — Matsumura 1992: 169–189 repeats Wille 1990: 19ff.

Jinānanda Bhikkhu, *A Study of the Pāli Vinaya Mahāvagga in comparison with the Corresponding Sections of the Gilgit manuscripts* (PhD thesis London 1953, SOAS Thesis 192-94845) is inaccessible to me.

No. 2: Prātimokṣa

Pages 1–16; 8 folios; folio nos. extant: 17, 20, 22, 23; incomplete. — Ed.: Lokesh Chandra 1960: 1–13. Description of the manuscript: von Hinüber 1969: 102 = *Kleine Schriften* 2009: 1. — *Remark*: On this manuscript: Matsumura 1987/88: 147ff.

No. 3a: Prātimokṣa

Pages 17–60; 22 folios of two different manuscripts; folios extant: I. first ms. (pages 17–54): folio nos. extant: [1], 2, 3a (= page 21), 4–7, 8a (= page 22), 12–23a (= page 53; page 54 is blank, text lost); II. second ms. (pages 55–60): folio nos. extant: 36–38; both manuscripts are incomplete. End of the text on folio 38b at the end: *prātimokṣas samāptaḥ*; folio no. 39 is the first folio of no. 3b). — Ed.: Banerjee 1953: 169–174, 266–275, 363–377; again separately Banerjee 1954 and in a slightly revised reprint Banerjee 1977; translation based on the text as given by Banerjee without checking the manuscripts in

Prebish 1975 (reprinted Delhi 1996) [Rev.: H. Bechert, *JAOS* 98. 1978: 203ff.; J. W. de Jong, *IIJ* 19. 1977: 127–130 = *Buddhist Studies*. Berkeley 1979: 305–308].

Banerjee filled the gaps in the manuscripts by supplying the respective texts from Finot 1913: 455–537 without clearly marking where the Gilgit text ends and the Sarvāstivāda text begins. The *uddāna*s of the Gilgit manuscripts are omitted in Banerjee's edition. It is not really clear which manuscript(s) were utilized by Banerjee, cf. Matsumura 1987/88: 147ff.

No. 3b: Karmavācanā

Pages 61–92; 16 folios, folio nos. extant: 39–54; complete; the *Prātimokṣa* and the *Karmavācanā* are copied together in one manuscript, cf. no. 3a. — Ed.: von Hinüber 1969: 102–132 = *Kleine Schriften* 2009: 1–31 (edition of folios 39–42); Banerjee 1949: 19–30 (edition of folios 43–54), reprinted together with no. 3a, q.v. Description of the manuscript: von Hinüber 1969: 103 = *Kleine Schriften* 2009: 2.

No. 4a: Ekottarikāgama

Pages 93–128; 18 folios; folio nos. lost; incomplete. — Ed.: Tripathi 1995. The correct sequence of the folios is given by Tripathi on p. 46. This edition also comprises nine *Ekottarikāgama* folios extant in the Ujjain collection, cf. III. Ujjain Collection, no. 2U. A transcript of the fragments was published in Ōkubo 1982: 120–91 without any reference to the work of Tripathi. — *Remark*: The manuscript of a second volume planned by Tripathi to contain facsimiles, etc. (cf. vol. I, p. 12, note 8) was irretrievably lost in the publisher's office.

No. 4b: Prātimokṣa

Pages 141/142, 139/140, 143/144, 137/138, 149/150, 131/132, 133/134 (thus according to the correct sequence); 7 folios; folio nos. extant: 26 (= page 131), 28 (= page 133); incomplete. In FE[2] the folios were rearranged and renumbered according to the correct sequence: FE[2] 129/130 (= FE[1] 141/142); 131/132 (= 139/140); 134/133 (*sic*) (= 144/143); 136/135 (*sic*) (= 138/137); 137/138 (= 149/150); 139/140 (= 131/132); 141/142 (= 133/134). — *Remark*: This manuscript is different from nos. 2 and 3a. It contains the text of Pāyantika IV to the Śaikṣā Dharmāḥ, cf. also Matsumura 1987/88: 147ff. Information on the rearrangement in FE[2] was provided by K. Wille.

No. 4c: Prātimokṣa

Pages 135/136 (renumbered in FE[2] 143/144); 1 folio; folio no. extant: 26; incomplete. — *Remark*: This is folio no. 27 of manuscript no. 4b numbered as 26[bis] by a mistake of the scribe, cf. also Matsumura 1987/88: 147ff. Information on the renumbering of Nos. 4c and 4d in FE[2] was provided by K. Wille.

No. 4d: Karmavācanā

Pages 145/146, 148/147, 129/130 (renumbered in FE[2] 149/150) (thus according to the correct sequence); 3 folios; folio no. extant: 25 (= page 129). — *Remark*: These folios are identified as Karmavācanā (less likely Pravrajyāvastu) in Wille 1990: 129ff. and are edited *ibidem* as "Anhang 6," 148–153. — Manuscripts 4a–4d are described in von Hinüber 1969: 103 = *Kleine Schriften* 2009: 2.

No. 5: Dharmaskandha

Pages 152/151, 154/153, 156/155 (thus according to the correct sequence); 3 folios; folio nos. extant: 21:269, 22:270, 27:275 (the folios are numbered on recto and verso). — Ed.: Matsuda 1986 and again in Sankaranarayan/Matsuda/Yoritomi 2002 (communication by K.

Wille). — *Remark*: K. Matsuda identified the text and recognized the correct numbering and sequence of the folios, which are part of Ujjain Collection no. 1U.

No. 6: Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī

Pages 1080–1129; 50 fragmentary folios; folio nos. extant: 11–18 (= pages 1080–1087), 9 (= page 1088), 10–11 (= pages 1089–1090), 10–17 [sic] (= pages 1091–1098). — Ed.: Hidas 2012, cf. Hidas 2003. — *Remark* : In spite of the strange numbering, the folios are arranged in the correct sequence according to the concordance in FE 6, p. 11 (repeated in the reprint FE[2] 1, p. 24). — The Pañcarakṣā is mentioned by Rashīd ad-Dīn, cf. n. 36 above.

No. 7: Miscellaneous texts

Pages 1166–1297; 66 folios:

No. 7a: Ratnaketuparivarta

Pages 1166–1283; 58 folios; folio nos. extant: 5–19, 22–43, 47, 48, 65–68, 70, 71, 88–93, 98. Ed.: GM IV 1–138; — Re-ed.: Kurumiya 1978. — *Remark*: There are only 7 folios of a different text listed under this no., not 8 as erroneously indicated in Kurumiya 1978: xv, note 1. These seven folios are part of texts nos. 7b–d, cf. Schopen 1978b: 319; cf. nos. 14, 29.

No 7b: Sumāgadhā-Avadāna

Pages 1285, 1284 (thus according to the correct sequence); 1 folio; identification: Ch. Tripathi, cf. no. 10c.

No. 7c: Sucandra-Avadāna (Vasudhārādhāraṇī)

Pages 1286, 1287; 1 folio; identification: Ch. Tripathi and Hiroshi Itoh (letter dated 22 July 1982), cf. no. 10d. — Ed.: A transliteration by K. Wille is found on the GRETIL website (see p. 91 above).

No. 7d: Buddhabalādhānaprātihāryavikurvāṇanirdeśasūtra

Pages 1288–1297; 5 folios. — Ed.: GM IV 171–183. — Re-ed.: Schopen 1978b: 319–336.

No. 8: Viśvantara-Avadāna

Pages 157–174, 1332–1349, 3314/3315; 11 folios; folio nos. extant: 5 (= pages 157 = 1347), 6 (= pages 159 = 1334), 7 (= pages 161 = 1336), 8 (= pages 163 = 1338) 10 (= pages 165 = 1340), 11 (= pages 167 = 1342), 12 (= pages 169 = 1344), 13 (= pages 171 = 1346), 14 (= pages 173 = 1348). — Ed.: Das Gupta 1978. — Re-ed.: H. Matsumura 1980, cf. no. 52f. — *Remark*: The *Viśvantara-Avadāna*, which is reproduced twice in FE, begins on folio 5 (= page 157 = 1347), line 1. The preceding text ends:]*samāptaṃ kṛtir ācārya-śūrasya*. It is not impossible that this name refers to Āryaśūra, cf. Stchoupak/Renou 1946: 161 and Sternbach 1980: 542, no. 1672 Śūra I, and Sternbach 1985: 288, no. 1634 Śūra I on Śūra = Āryaśūra. — The *Viśvantara-Avadāna* ends on folio 14 (173 = 1348), line 3: *viśvantarāvadānaṃ samāptaṃ*, cf. 52f. The following text is the beginning of the *Kapphiṇa-Avadāna*.

No. 9: Avadāna Collection

Pages 1350–1379; 15 folios; folio nos. extant: 80, 81, 86–89, 99, 119(?), 235(?),]9. — According to a letter by H. Matsumura dated 21st January 1981 this collection comprises the following Avadānas:

No. 9a: Māndhātā-Avadāna

Page 1374 (text ends in line 11); 1 folio; folio no. extant:]9; incomplete. — Ed.: Matsumura 1980.

No. 9b: Dharmaruci-Avadāna

Pages 1374/1375, 1350(= folio 80)/1351, 1352(= folio 81)/1353, 1377/1376, 1354(= folio 86)/1355, 1356(= folio 87)/1357, 1358(= folio 88); 7 folios, incomplete. Beginning of *Dharmaruci-Avadāna*: page 1374, line 11; end of *Dharmaruci-Avadāna*: page 1358 = folio 88, line 8 *dharmarucyavadānaṃ samāptaṃ*. — Ed.: Unpublished transliteration by Kabita Das Gupta (1984), cf. 13a.3.

No. 9c: Sahasodgata-Avadāna

Pages 1358(= folio 88)/1359, 1360(= folio 89)/1361, 1372/73; 3 folios; incomplete. Beginning of *Sahasodgata-Avadāna*: page 1358(= folio 88), line 8. — Ed.: –, cf. no. 13a.5.

No. 9d: Candraprabha-Avadāna

Page 1362(= folio 99)/1363; 1 folio; incomplete. — Ed. A. Mette, Appendix: Das Fragment des Candraprabha-Avadāna, in Mette 1985: 235–238.

No. 9e: Svāgata-Avadāna

Pages 1366/1367, 1378/1379; 2 folios; incomplete. — Ed.: –.

No. 9f: Meṇḍaka-Avadāna

Pages 1368/1369; 1 folio; incomplete. — Ed.: –.

No. 9g: Nagarāvalambikā-Avadāna

Page 1370(= folio 235)/1371; 1 folio, incomplete. — Ed.: –.

No. 9h: Padmāvatī-Avadāna

Page 1364(= folio 119)/1365; 1 folio; incomplete. — Ed.: Mette 1985: 225–235.

No. 10a: Vajracchedikā

Pages 1380–1393; 7 folios, folio nos. extant: 5, 7–12. — Ed.: GM IV 11–170. — Re-ed.: Chakravarti 1956 and Schopen 1989: 89–139. — *Remark*: The manuscript was also used, if only unsystematically and indirectly from Chakravarti's edition (communication by G. Schopen dated 26 February 1980) in Conze 1957 and in Vaidya 1961: text no. 2. A new edition of the *Vajracchedikā* is planned by P. Harrison, electronic message of 9 November 2006. For his translation of No. 10a see Jens Braarvig *et al.*, eds., *Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection* III. Oslo, 2006, 133–159, esp. 148ff. These editions are also used in Shōgo Watanabe, *A Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts of the* Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā. Tokyo 2009.

No. 10b: Bhaiṣajyaguru(vaiḍūryaprabhārāja)sūtra

Pages 1394–1413; 10 folios; folio nos. extant: 13, 15–23. — Ed.: GM I 1–32 (manuscript C), reprinted in Vaidya 1961 as no. 10a, text no. 16.; Hassnain/Sumi 1995 (the text is a reprint of GM); Schopen 1978a. Ed. of page 1404 lines 1–4 and (from serial no. 31) pages 1851 line 5–1852 line 5 and (from serial no. 34) pages 1911 line 2–1913 line 3: Matsumura 1984: 215–217; Matsumura 1985: 142. — *Remark*: The manuscripts of this text are described in Schopen 1977: 177–210: Appendix I (pp. 205–207), Appendix III (pp. 208–210) = *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India. More Collected Papers*. Honolulu 2005: 154–189 (without the appendices), and in *Buddhist Text Information*, ed. by R. A. Gard, No. 12 (September 1977): 1–4 (on the title of the text, *ibidem* p. 1); No. 14 (March 1978): 1–3; cf. nos. 31, 32, 34, 51a, 57, cf. also G. Schopen 2009: 189–219. Fussman (2004: 132) notes that Nos. 10a and 10b belong to the same manuscript.

No. 10c: Sumāgadhā-Avadāna

Pages 1414–1425; 6 folios; folio nos. extant: 28, 30–34. — Ed.: Groth 1981 (unpublished MA thesis), partly published as Groth 1989: 84–91. Based on the work by U. Groth, the *Sumāgadhā-Avadāna* was re-edited in Görtz 1993 (unpublished MA thesis) (information

by M. Hahn). — *Remark*: Additional copies of this text are nos. 51c, 52c, 60c; cf. no. 7b, cf. also Handurukande 1972: 79–89, no. 14.

No. 10d: Sucandra-Avadāna (Vasudhārādhāraṇī)

Pages 1426–1431; 3 folios; folio nos. extant: 35, 37, 38. — Ed.: A transliteration by K. Wille is found on the GRETIL website (see p. 91 above); cf. no. 10c. — *Remark*: According to a letter by P. Harrison dated 13 November 2006, this text is identical with the *Vasudhārādhāraṇī* (called occasionally *Sucandra-Avadāna*), which was studied and edited in Jaini 1968: 30–45, reprinted without the text in *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies*. Delhi 2001: 527–533. P. S. Jaini does not refer to the Gilgit manuscript. The Sanskrit text is also edited in slightly different wordings in *Āryavasudhārādhāraṇīsūtra*, *Dhīḥ. Journal of Rare Buddhist Texts Research Unit 44* (2007): 129–147, and by Ratna Handurukande: *Vasudhārādhāraṇī*(*kathā*), in: K. L. Dhammajoti, Y. Karunadasa (eds.): *Buddhist and Pali Studies in Honour of The Venerable Professor Kakkapalliye Anuruddha*. Hong Kong 2009: 53–64. The last two references were provided by P. Skilling, Bangkok. — Cf. no. 7c.

No. 11a: Adbhutadharmaparyāya [Kūṭāgārasūtra]

Pages 1588–1592; 3 folios; folio nos. extant: 3–5. — Ed.: Bentor 1988: 21–52 (manuscript B), cf. no. 13d4, 18. Ed. of page 1588 line 5–1589 line 2: Matsumura 1985: 136. — *Remark*: The title *Kūṭāgārasūtra*, which is mentioned in the colophon (*kūṭāgārasūttras samāptaṃ*, folio 5a4) is a misnomer according to Bentor 1988: 22, cf. Matsumura 1985: Appendix. A parallel text from the Potala in Lhasa is edited in Vinītā 2010: 11–95 (No. 2) with a discussion of the problematic title, 13–19. The sūtra itself gives its own title within and at the end of the text as *Adbhutadharmaparyāya* (or: *Amṛtadundubhi*), while the colophon is persistently *Kūṭāgārasūtra*.

No. 11b: Kṣāntivādi-Avadāna

Pages 1592–1593; 1 folio; folio no. extant: 5. — Ed.: Matsumura 1989–90 [1991]: 238ff. — *Remark*: Page 1592, lines 1–4 contain the end of no. 11a *Adbhutadharmaparyāya*.

No. 12: Kāraṇḍavyūha

Pages 1594–1667; 50 folios; folio nos. extant: 38–45, 47–53, 68–82. — Ed.: Mette 1997a [Rev.: J. W. de Jong, *IIJ* 42, 1999: 164–166; H. V. Guenther, *JAOS* 120. 2000: 153], cf. Mette 1997b: 145–169, cf. no. 36 (Remark), cf. 51b.1. — The *Kāraṇḍavyūha* is mentioned by Rashīd ad-Dīn, cf. n. 36 above.

No. 13a: Avadāna Collection

Pages 1432–1517; 43 folios. — The table of contents follows Hartmann 1977 (unpublished MA thesis), cf. FE² 1, pp. 28–31.

No. 13a.1: Māndhātā-Avadāna

Pages 1432–1451; 10 folios; incomplete. End of *Māndhātā-Avadāna*: page 1451 line 8; the following text is the *Mahāsudarśana-Avadāna*, cf. no. 13d,3. — Ed.: Matsumura 1980.

No. 13a.2: Aśoka-Avadāna

Page 1452, line 1–5; identification: Matsumura 1993: 141ff.

No. 13a.3: Dharmaruci-Avadāna

Pages 1452–1483; 16 folios; incomplete. — Ed.: Cf. Kabita Das Gupta, as no. 9b.

No. 13a.4: Jyotiṣka-Avadāna

Page 1484/1485; 1 folio; incomplete. — Ed.: –.

No. 13a.5: Sahasodgata-Avadāna

Pages 1486/1487; 1 folio; incomplete. Text ends on page 1487, line 4. — Ed.: –, cf. no. 9c.

No. 13a.6: Candraprabha-Avadāna

Pages 1487–1507; 11 folios; complete. Text begins on page 1487, line 4. — Ed.: There are two unpublished editions: Hartmann 1977, see above no. 13a, Matsumura 1980. — *Remark*: The *Adbhutadharmaparyāya*, no. 13d4, begins at the end of page 1507 line 8, cf. Hartmann 1980: 251–266 and Matsumura 1980: 146. This *avadāna* is also known from the *Avadānasārasamuccaya*, cf. Handurukande 1972: 83 no. 7.

No. 13a.7: Pāṃśupradāna-Avadāna

Pages 1508–1517; 5 folios; incomplete. — Ed.: a transliteration by K. Wille is found on the GRETIL website (see p. 91 above).

No. 13b: Miscellaneous Fragments

Pages 1518–1535; 9 folios; folio nos. extant: 108, 290, 291, 284–289. — *Remark*: In von Hinüber 1979 the folio nos. are erroneously given as 110, etc. following FE instead of 290, etc. The correct sequence of the folios in no. 13b was recognized in Matsumura 1987/88: 146. The reading of the folio nos. follows Frentz 1987: 100ff.

No. 13b.1: (Ekottarikāgama?)

Pages: 1518/1519; 1 folio; folio no. extant: 108. — Ed.: –. — *Remark*: The text runs parallel to AN III 227–229. Identification and information provided by G. Melzer.

No. 13b.2: (Ekottarikāgama?)

Pages: 1520–1523, 1533–1535; 4 folios; sequence of folios pages 1533 (folio no. 288b6), 1534/1535 (folio no. 289), folio 1520/1521 (folio no. 290), 1522/1523 (folio no. 291). — Ed.: –. — *Remark*: The text runs parallel to AN I 205–212. Identification and information provided by G. Melzer.

No. 13b.3: Pradakṣiṇagāthā

Pages: *1524 (= folio 284)/1525, 1526 (= folio 285)*. End of text: page 1526, line 7 (*pradakṣiṇagāthā [sa]māptā*). — Ed.: J. Matsumura 1980 (unpublished MA thesis, University of Tokyo) after: *Buddhist Text Informatio*n ed. by R. A. Gard. 31 (March 1982), No. 9e, p. 2; Matsumura 1985: Appendix and Melzer 2010: 62–68. — Cf. nos. 13d.6; 59b; 60b. — *Remark*: The correct order of folios is pages 1585 (= folio 283b [cf. no.13d.6]), 1524 (= folio 284a), 1525 (= folio 284b), 1526 (= folio 285a) after J. Matsumura in Matsumura 1985 where the folio nos. are erroneously given as 184 etc.; cf. also Matsumura 1987/88: 146; no. 13d.6.

No. 13b.4: Caityagāthā

Pages 1527/1528; 1. folio; folio no. extant: 286. — *Remark*: End of text 1528 (= folio 286a) line 3. Identification and suggestion of title: Matsumura 1987/88: 146 and Matsumura 1985: Appendix.

No. 13b.5: (Ekottarikāgama?)

Pages 1528–1533; 3 folios; folio nos. extant: 286–288. — Ed.: Matsumura 1989c: 368–371. — *Remark*: Beginning of text page 1528 (= folio 286a) line 3; end of text page 1533 (= folio 288b) line 6. The text deals with the conversion of the seven sons of Anāthapiṇḍada ("Anāthapiṇḍadasūtra").

No. 13c: Maitreyavyākaraṇa

Pages 1536–1542; 4 folios; folio nos. extant: 306–309. End of text: page 1542 (= folio 309) line 5 (*maitreyavyākaraṇaṃ samāptaṃ̱*). — Ed.: GM IV 187–214, reprinted in Majumder 1955 (letter by G. Schopen dated 26 February 1980); re-edition of page 1539 lines 2–6: Matsumura 1985: 134. The edition planned by G. Schopen, cf. *ZDMG* 130. 1980, p. *25*, will not appear. — *Remark*: Continuation of text in 13d.1. The reading of the folio nos. follows Frentz 1987: 102. — The *Maitreyavyākaraṇa* is mentioned by Rashīd ad-Dīn, cf. n. 36 above.

No. 13d: Miscellaneous fragments

Pages 1543–1587; 23 folios; folio nos. extant: 283 (= page 1584), 309, 310 (= page 1544). The reading of the folio nos. follows Frentz 1987: 102.

No. 13d.1: Devatāsūtra

Pages 1542–1545; complete. — Ed.: Mette 1981: 139–151, cf. H. Matsumura, "Devatāsūtra to Alpadevatāsūtra," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū / Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*. XXX no. 2 [No. 59], 1981: 988–982 (= 54–60). On studies of these texts cf. Matsumura 1985: Appendix. — *Remark*: The *Devatāsūtra* is mentioned by Rashīd ad-Dīn, cf. n. 36 above. A parallel text from the Potala in Lhasa is edited in Vinītā 2010: 259–303 (No. 7).

No. 13d.2: Alpadevatāsūtra

Page 1545; complete. — Ed.: see no. 13d.1.

No. 13d.3: Mahāsudarśana-Avadāna

Pages 1550–1567 line 8; complete. End of text: page 1567 line 8 (*mahāsudarśanāvadānaḥ samāptaḥ*) — Identification: A. Mette. — Ed.: Matsumura 1988. — *Remark*: The text begins on page 1451, cf. no. 13a.1.

No. 13d.4: Adbhutadharmaparyāya

Pages 1576–1581; 3 folios. Beginning of text: Page 1507, line 8 at the end, cf. no 13a.6; end of text: Page 1581 line 4. — Identification: G. Schopen, cf. Matsumura 1987/88: 146. — Ed: Y. Bentor 1988, cf. no. 11a (manuscript A) and no. 18. Edition of page 1578, lines 5–8: Matsumura 1985: 135.

No. 13d.5: Prasenajigāthā (sic!)

Pages 1581, 1582/1583, 1584(= folio [28]3)/1585; Beginning of text page 1581 line 4; end of text: 1585, line 1 (*prasenajigāthā samāptā*). — Identification: G. Schopen, cf. Matsumura 1987/88: 146. — Ed.: –. — *Remark*: A parallel text from the Potala in Lhasa is edited in Vinītā 2010: 207–258 (No. 6): *Prasenajitparipṛcchāsūtra*; cf. nos. 21, 59c.

No. 13d.6: Pradakṣiṇagāthā

Page 1585, lines 1–8. — Ed. cf. no. 13b.2. — *Remark*: The text of the *Pradakṣiṇagāthā* is completely preserved in nos. 13b and 13d.6: page 1585(= folio 183b), 1524/1525(= folio 184), page 1526(= folio 185a). For a second manuscript of this text cf. no. 59b. Identification: A. Mette, cf. Matsumura 1987/88: 146.

No. 13d.7: Haribhaṭṭa: Jātakamālā

Pages 1586–1587. — Ed.: An edition by M. Hahn is under preparation. — *Remark*: This folio corresponds to Haribhaṭṭa: *Jātakamālā* XXXII 79–91 (information provided by M. Hahn). Identification: G. Melzer.

No. 13d.8: (Ekottarikāgama?)

Pages 1546/1547. — *Remark*: The text runs parallel to AN IV 43–45. Identification and information provided by G. Melzer.

No. 13d.9: (Dīrghāgama?)

Pages 1548–1549. — Remark: The text runs parallel to *Dīrghāgama* no. 44 *Mahallasūtra*. Identification and information provided by G. Melzer.

No. 13d.10: Unidentified

1568–1575. — *Remark*: This seems to be part of a collection of Avadānas. Page 1568 is erroneously identified as a non-existing "Puṇyamaheśa-avadāna" in FE[1] 7, p. 5. The text mentions a *dārakaḥ puṇyamaheśākhyaḥ*, "the boy Puṇyamaheśākhya (Distinguished by Merit)," whose mother died on the day of his birth, and who is able to frighten even *piśāca*s, whereupon the gods recite the verse: *viparīto hy ayaṃ loko, nāyaṃ loko yathā purā, yat piśācena karttavyaṃ, taṅ karotīha dārakaḥ*.

No. 14: Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī

Pages 1130–1138; fragments of 9 folios. — Ed.: Cf. no. 6. — *Remark*: Y. Kurumiya 1978: xv, note 1 erroneously indicates that 6 folios corresponding to folio nos. 57–62 contain the text of the *Ratnaketuparivarta*. However, his transcript of folios 57–62 does not correspond to this facsimile, but to no. 23. Moreover, as the concordance to the Nepalese version in FE² 1, no. 14, p. 25 confirms, the text is the *Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī*. — The Pañcarakṣā is mentioned by Rashīd ad-Dīn, cf. n. 36 above.

No. 15: Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī

Pages 1139–1156; 9 fragmentary folios; folio nos. extant: 4–12; incomplete. — Ed.: Cf. no. 6. — *Remark*: Concordance to the Nepalese version in FE² 1, no. 15, p. 25.

No. 16: Avikalpapraveśasūtra

Pages 1670/1671, 1668/1669, 1672–1683; 8 folios; folio nos. extant: 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18; incomplete. End of text: page 1681(= folio 16b) line 7 (*avikalpapraveśaṃ nāma mahāyānasūtra*). — Ed.: Matsuda 1996a: 89–113, cf. Matsuda 1996b: 363–369. — *Remark*: The title is also *Nirvikalpapraveśadhāraṇī*. Folio no. 7 was recognized by K. Matsuda, cf. Matsumura 1985: Appendix. Folio no. 18 (pages 1682/1683) belongs to no. 36: *Saṃghāṭasūtra*, identification by Hiroshi Itoh, letter dated 22 July 1982.

No. 17: Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī

Pages 1157–1165; 9 fragmentary folios; incomplete. — Ed.: Cf. no. 6. — *Remark*: Concordance to the Nepalese version in FE² 1, no. 17, p. 25.

No. 18: Tathāgatabimbakārāpaṇasūtra

Pages 1684–1691; 4 folios; folio nos. extant: 2–5. — Ed.: Mette 1981: 133–138. — *Remark*: Page 1691(= folio 4b), line 2f. contains the colophon *tathāgatabimbakārāpaṇaṃ sūtraṃ samāpta[ṃ]* and the beginning of the *Adbhutadharmaparyāya* (manuscript C), cf. no. 13d.4.

No. 19: Āyuḥparyantasūtra

Pages 1692–1707; 8 folios; folio no. extant: 100+X (= page 1706); incomplete. Beginning of text: page 1706 line 7. — Ed.: Matsumura 1989a: 69–100 (on the correct sequence of the folios see p. 74) and again as: Matsumura 1989b: 61–77. — *Remark*: The text found on page 1706, lines 1–6 is unidentified. There are two disks painted on page 1706, cf. p. 89 and Fig. 4 above. — On a possible affiliation of this text to the Mūlasārvāstivāda school cf. Peter Skilling: "Scriptural Authenticity and the Śrāvaka Schools: An Essay towards an Indian Perspective." *The Eastern Buddhist* NS 41, No. 2 (2010): 1–47, particularly p. 34, n. 111.

No. 20: Annapānavidhi

Pages 1708–1713; 3 folios; folio no. extant: 1(= page 1708); incomplete. Beginning of text: page 1708 line 1 (# *svasti* || *athāto nnapānavidhim adhyāyaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*). — Ed.: –. — *Remark*: See above, p. 82, for remarks on this text.

No. 21: (Prātihāryasūtra?)

Pages 1714–1723; 5 folios; folio nos. extant: 3(6), 37, 39, 41, 46; incomplete. — Ed.: –. — *Remark*: The text was erroneously called *Pradakṣiṇagāthā* previously. Identification and information provided by G. Melzer. The first line on page 1721, added by a different hand in very small *akṣara*s, is illegible in the facsimile and on the microfilm of the Gilgit manuscripts.

No. 22: Āryamahāmaṇivipulavimānaviśvasupratiṣṭhitaguhyaparamarahasyakalparājadhāraṇī

Pages 1724–1733; 5 folios; folio nos. extant: 53–57; incomplete. — Ed.: H. Matsumura, "A Text of Esoteric Iconography from the Gilgit Manuscripts." *Mikkyō Zuzō* (Journal of Buddhist Iconography) 2 (1983): 71–79. Information provided by K. Wille. — *Remark*: The text was identified by H. Matsumura (letter dated 18 September 1982), cf. also Matsumura 1985: Appendix.

No. 23: Ratnaketuparivarta

Pages 1734–1745; 6 folios; incomplete. — Ed.: Kurumiya 1978. — *Remark*: Kurumiya 1978: XV, note 1, erroneously refers to this manuscript as "no. 14."

No. 24, 25, 28: Prajñāpāramitā

The folios originally distributed in three serial nos. comprise one large manuscript of the Prajñāpāramitā. The original attribution to the serial nos. 24, 25, 28 was lost when the manuscript was rearranged.

Pages 175–254 (= Volume 3 in FE); 40 folios; folio nos. 1–40 (folios without number: 1, 3, 4, 5).

Pages 255–336 (= Volume 4 in FE); 41 folios; folio nos. 41–84; (folios 54, 75, 76 are lost; folios without number: 72–74).

Pages 337–675 (= Volume 5 in FE); 170 folios; folio nos. 85–308 (folios 208, 211–263 [on folios 218–263 see below "Remark"], 300 are missing; folios without numbers: 105, 195, 206, 207, 267). — *Remark*: The position of pages 587/588 (without folio no.) is unclear. End of text: page 675 (= folio 308a) line 9 (*prajñāpāramitāyām akopyadharmatānirdeśaparivartaḥ dvyāśītimaḥ samāptaḥ*). — Ed.: Zacchetti 2005: 366–400 (folios 1–27); Choong 2006: 109–133 (folios 202–205 [pages 571.5–577.12]); Conze 1962 (folios 218–263; the text of folios 215–217 is supplied from other sources); Conze 1974 (folios 265–308).

Remark: Folios 28–201 and 206–17 still await edition. — According to E. Conze, folios 1–187 (= pages 175–542; presumed end of the text folio 187b line 6 *buddhadharmāṇāṃ tathatā* ||*37*||) contain the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* followed by folios 187b–308 (= pages 542–675) containing the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. This, however, has to be corrected following Zacchetti 2005: 19–26, who aptly calls the complete Gilgit text "Larger Prajñāpāramitā."

Folios 218–263 were in the possession of Agah Mohammad Ali Shah and handed over to Giuseppe Tucci. They have been edited by E. Conze (1962) together with some unspecified fragments. The left part of folio 245, which was not accessible to E. Conze, was edited in Bapat 1949: 241–253, plate IV (R), (S), cf. also no. 48. The text is translated in Conze 1975 [Rev.: G. Schopen, *IIJ* 19. 1977: 135–152]. — The colophon (page 675 = folio 308b line 10–13) is edited in von Hinüber 2004: 17–21, no. 6.

Concordances of this manuscript are given in FE^2 1, nos. 24, 25, 28, pp. 10–15; cf. E. Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*. Tokyo ^{2}1978 [Rev.: *ZDMG* 130. 1980: 622; *IIJ* 23. 1981: 73f.; *OLZ* 80. 1985, column 594ff.], pp. 34, 40.

No. 25: Prajñāpāramitā

see no. 24.

No. 26, 27, 50: Prajñāpāramitā

No. 26, 27: *Pages 3369–3494*; 63 folios; folio nos. extant: 119 (= page 3369), 164 (= page 3375), 13[1] (= page 3377), 13x (= page 3381).

No. 50: *Pages 3495–3514*; 10 folios; folio nos. extant: 173–177 (= pages 3399–3408), 180 (= p. 3411) 180bis (= page 3413), 181–183 (= pages 3415–3420), 1xx (= page 3431), 1xx (= page 3433), 2[4]x (= page 3437), 241 (= page 3439), 24x (= page 3441), 240 (= p. 3443), 244–246 (= pages 3445–3450), [249?]–253 (= pages 3455–3464), 25[4] (= page 3467), 255 (= page 3469), 256 (= page 3471), 2[57?] (= page 3473), 258 (= page 3475), 276–279 (= pages 3481–3488), 270 (= page 3489); 272 (= page 3491), 274 (= page 3493), 27x (= page 3503); incomplete. — Ed.: ?. — *Remark*: The fragments on pages 3369–3514, which were omitted from FE[1], are added to FE[2] 3 at the end. They are not mentioned in the introduction to FE[2] 1. It seems that they are mostly unedited, but cf. no. 50. According to K. Wille the pages included in nos. 26, 27, 50 are part of two different manuscripts as indicated: the contents of pages 3501/3505; 3502/3506–3512 (correct sequence: 3505/3501, 3506/3502, 3512, 3511, 3510, 3509, 3508, 3507) correspond to Zacchetti 2005: 376 (folio 8v6)–385 (folio 15v5); pages 3503/3504; 3513/3514 correspond to Conze 1975: 105, 108, 181ff., 178–180 respectively (Chapters 55 to 70). Pages 3496/3495 and 3499/3500 are part of a *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* manuscript, see no. 50.

No. 28: Prajñāpāramitā

See no. 24.

No. 29: Collection of texts

Pages 1298–1331; nos. 29a–c belong to one manuscript, cf. Fussman 2004: 132. A similar collection of texts is found in the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscript A, no. 2S.

No. 29a: Ratnaketuparivarta

Pages 1298–1315; 9 folios; folio nos. extant: 100–108. — Ed.: Kurumiya 1978. — *Remark*: The colophon on folio 108 (= page 1315) lines 4–6 is edited in von Hinüber 2004: 21ff., no. 7, cf. no. 29c and Fussman 2004: 132.

No. 29b: Dvādaśadaṇḍakanāmāṣṭaśatavimalīkaraṇāsūtra

Pages 1316–1327; 6 folios; folio nos. extant: 109–114; complete. End of text folio 114a6 (= page 1326) line 6 (*dvādaśa[da]ṇḍakanāmāṣṭaśatavimalīkaraṇā nāma mahāyānasūtraṃ samāptaṃ*). — Ed.: GM I 93–100 under the title *Āryaśrīdevīvyākaraṇa*. The colophon on folio 114b (= page 1327), line 6 is edited in von Hinüber 2004: 77, Nr. 37B. — *Remark*: no. 29c *Mekhalādhāraṇī* begins on folio 114b (= page 1327) line 2.

No. 29c: Mekhalādhāraṇī

Pages 1327–1331; 3 folios; folio nos. extant: 114–116; incomplete. — Ed.: Tripathi 1980: 153–161, cf. no. 54.

No. 30: Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānasatvālokanabuddhakṣetrasandarśanavyūha

Pages 1746–1815; 35 folios; folio nos. extant: 124–158; complete. — Ed.: GM I 49–89; Cohen 2010: 199–251, cf. no. 35. Ed. of pages 1760 line 1 to 1761 line 5 (from serial no. 35), 1822a line 7–1823b line 3 and pages 1780 line 2–1782 line 1 (from serial no. 35), 1833b line 1–1834b line 5: Matsumura 1985: 139 and 141 respectively; on this manuscript: Dutt 1933: 227–236, 567–576. — On the names on pages 1759, 1764, 1787 (= folio 130b, 133a, 144b): von Hinüber 1980a: 167 = *Kleine Schriften* 2009: 726.

No. 31: Bhaiṣajyaguru(vaiḍūryaprabhārāja)sūtra

Pages 1838–1865; 13 (14?) folios; folio nos. extant: 4, 8–11, 13–15, 17–19, 22. — Ed.: GM I 1–32 (manuscript A), cf. nos. 10b, 51a. — *Remark*: The colophon on page 1864 (folio no. lost) lines 1–3 is edited in von Hinüber 2004: 77, Nr. 38B. — It is uncertain whether or not page 1864 belongs to this manuscript.

No. 32: Bhaiṣajyaguru(vaiḍūryaprabhārāja)sūtra

Pages 1866/1867; 1 folio; folio no. extant: 5. — Ed. GM I 1–32, cf. no. 10b.

No. 33a: Ekādaśamukhahṛdaya

Pages 2417–2444; 14 folios; folio nos. extant: 1–14. End of text: page 2444 (= folio 14) line 3. — Ed.: GM I 35–40, preprint in Dutt 1936: 109–120 (together with no. 33b). — *Remark*: Nos. 33a and 33b belong to one manuscript.

No. 33b: Hayagrīvavidyā

Pages 2444–2460; 8 folios; folio nos. extant: 15–22. Beginning of text: page 2444 (= folio 14) line 4. — Ed.: GM I 43–46, preprint in Dutt 1936: 109–120 (together with no. 33a); facsimile from FE and transcript in Cai 2006: 108–126. — *Remark*: Nos. 33a and 33b belong to one manuscript. Pages 2459/2460 (= folio 22) contain a short *dhāraṇī* text in 6 lines called *mahārakṣā* and written by a different hand in a different script to fill the empty space of the folio. This text is not edited in GM: *namo ratnatrāyāya: namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasenāpaye (!). tadyathā ugrāya svāhā || atiügrāya. svāhā || ugrapriyāya svāhā || [ati]ügrapriyāya svāhā || ugrakrodhanāya svāhā || atyugra[k]r[odhanāya svā]h[ā] || caṇḍaroṣaṇāya: svāhā || roṣaṇapraśamanāya svāhā || praharaṇi vajrapraharaṇi. aṭye vaṭye maṇḍe. nihāse svāhā || mahārakṣā samāp[tā].*

No. 34: Bhaiṣajyaguru(vaiḍūryaprabhārāja)sūtra

Pages 1868–1948; 41 folios; folio nos. extant: 1–20, 22–40. — Ed. GM I 1–32, cf. no. 10b. — *Remark*: The colophon on page 1948 (folio no. lost) lines 1–2 is edited in von Hinüber 2004: 23, no. 8.

No. 35: Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānasatvālokanabuddhakṣetrasandarśanavyūha

Pages 1816–1837; 22 folios; sequence of folios (according to G. Schopen: l = left part, r = right part of a folio): 1819l, 1819r, 1820l, 1820r, 1821l, 1821r, 1822l, 1822r, 1823l, 1823r, 1824l, 1824r, 1826l, 1826r, 1827l, 1827r, 1828l, 1828r, 1829l, 1829r, 1816l, 1816r, 1817r, 1817l, 1818r, 1818l, 1830l, 1830r, 1831l, 1831r, 1832l, 1832r, 1825l, 1825r, 1833r, 1833l, 1834l, 1834r, 1835l, 1835r, 1836l, 1836r, 1837l, 1837r. — Ed.: GM I 49–89, where this manuscript was not used, cf. no. 30, and Matsumura 1985: 139–141.

No. 36: Saṃghāṭasūtra

Pages 1949–2107; 79 folios and one blank cover folio; 7 to 8 lines per folio, "Gandhāran Brāhmī" script; folio nos. extant: 2–83; missing folios 1, 51, 55, 59, 66, 84ff.; folio no. 9 occurs twice by mistake; for folio no. 18 (= page 1682/3) see no. 16: *Avikalpapraveśasūtra*. — Measurements: 5.8 × 22.8 cm and 7.5 × 20.5 cm. — Ed.: (together with nos. 37, 38, 39) Gunatilaka 1967 (unpublished PhD thesis); von Hinüber 1973 (unpublished thesis: "Habilitationsschrift" based on manuscripts ABCDEFGH) (no. 36 is manuscript F); Canevascini 1993. The Sanskrit text included in this book is based on the revised critical edition by O. von Hinüber (cf. Canevascini 1993: 1) without the critical apparatus; an electronic edition can be found on the GRETIL website (see p. 91 above).

An electronic version in Devanāgarī is available under www.sanghatasutra.net. and an English translation from the Tibetan version under: www.sanghatasutra.net/english_translation_final.pdf.

On the manuscripts cf. also Gunatilaka 1972: 71–77, cf. Srinagar Collection nos. 1S, 2S, 3S. The *Saṃghāṭasūtra* is mentioned by Rashīd ad-Dīn, cf. n. 36 above. — *Remark*: Altogether 15 folios (nos. 38, 39, 43, 45, 47, 49, 53, 57, 61, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73) are written on "clay-coated paper," see Kishore 1963, and p. 91 above. The format is slightly smaller than that of the birch-bark folios. It is not impossible that no. 56f contains the colophon to this manuscript. — *Pages 2105/2106*; extant folio no. 81 belongs to the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, cf. Mette 1997a: 11 "G2."

No. 37: Saṃghāṭasūtra

Pages 2108–2289; 91 folios; 7 lines per folio, "Gandhāran Brāhmī" script; folio nos. extant: 1–89 (= pages 2286/2287); missing folio no. 6; the folio nos. 72 and 75 occur twice by mistake; pages 2288/2289 correspond approximately to folio no. 100. Measurements: 7.3 × 24.5 cm. — Ed.: see no. 36; manuscript C in von Hinüber 1973. — *Remark*: The facsimile of folio 39a is misplaced in FE and found on page 2144, and the right half of folio 26 (= pages 2157/2158) on page 3323, cf. no. 52g.

No. 38a: Saṃghāṭasūtra

Pages 2290–2303; 7 folios; 9 lines per folio, "Gandhāran Brāhmī" script; folio nos. extant: 29–35. Measurement 10.0 × 26.0 cm. — Ed.: see no. 36; manuscript G in von Hinüber 1973.

No. 38b: Dhāraṇī

Pages 2304/2305 (= folio no. 10) contains the fragmentary text of a *dhāraṇī*: ***/a1/**]taiṣiṇāṃ. turume. mumule. vajrapradīpanim acale phaḥ svāhā || āyupāl[i]ni cucu/2/re svāhā || jaye jaye jayasaṃbhave svāhā || jayottame svāhā || jayavarade svā/3/hā || jayamānasi svāhā || jayavajrāya svāhā || ajitavajrāya svāhā || /4/ mahāvajrahutāśanāya svāhā || amoghavajrahastāya svāhā || atha vaiśra/5/vaṇ(o) mahārājā yena bhagavāṃs tenopasaṃkramya bhagavataḥ pādau śirasābhivandya bhaga/6/vantam etad avocaṯ aham (api) bhagavan tasmin dharmaparyāye rakṣāṃ dāsyāmi. paritraṃ pa/7/rigrahaṃ paripālanaṃ śāntisvastyayanaṃ daṇḍaparihāraṃ śatruparihāraṃ viṣadūṣa**/b1/**ṇaviṣastaṃbhanaṃ amitrapratiṣedhane sarvākālamṛtyupratiṣedhanaṃ sarvakalikalahavigraviṣa/2/dayuddhaḍamarasarvabhayapratiṣedhanaṃ kariṣyāmi. sīmābaddhaṃ kariṣyāmi. tadyathā. jaye ja/3/ye jaye. mahājaye mili mānasi. pupume. suru suru. turu turu. mumule svā/4/hā || mārgavatī dhudhume. vege vegadhāriṇi. tejavati. rakṣa rakṣa mama* [**blank space for a name**] *sarva/5/satvānāṃ sarvabhayopadraveṣu sarvākālamṛtyubhayebhyaḥ svāhā || imāni bhagavan dhāra/6/ṇīmantrapadāni navānavatibhir buddhakoṭībhir bhāṣitāni cādhiṣṭhitāni ca. tadyathā buddhe /7/ buddhe. buddhavati. buddhāvabhāsani. dharmāvati. samāhite. samādhigarbhe. buddhādi[* — *Remark*: Cf. Fig. 1, p. 81 above. This manuscript is written on clay-coated paper, cf. no. 36: Remark, and p. 91 above.

No. 39: Saṃghāṭasūtra

Pages 2306–2335; 15 folios; 7 lines per folio, Proto-Śāradā script; folio nos. extant: 2, 31–38, 40, 41, 44, 72, 75, 87. Measurement: 6.5 cm × 27.2 cm. — Ed.: see no. 36; manuscript E in von Hinüber 1973.

No. 40: Ajitasenavyākaraṇa

Pages 2336–2416; 41 folios, folio nos. extant: 1–40. — Ed.: GM: I 103–136; re-edition: Rasmussen 1995 (unpublished MA thesis); an electronic version of the Gilgit manuscript is available on the GRETIL website (see p. 91 above). — *Remark*: On this manuscript: Dutt 1932: 93–110. The colophon (page 675 = folio 308b line 10–13) is edited in von Hinüber 2004: 78–80, No. 39B.

No. 41: Tantrasadbhāvasāra

Pages 3221–3222: 1 folio; folio no. extant: 1. — Ed.: FE[2] 1, p. 52: transcript of the first four lines; Sanderson 2009: 50, note 22 (oral communication by H. Isaacson, Hamburg, 16 June 2009), cf. 56g.

No. 42: Unidentified

Pages 3223–3224: 1 folio; folio no. extant: 1 (? on the right margin!); beginning of a text. — Ed.: –.

No. 43: Praṇāmastava

Pages 3227/3228, 3225/3226 (this is the correct sequence): 2 folios; folio nos. extant: 17, 18. — Ed.: Hartmann 1997a: 285–296.

No. 44: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra

Pages 2785–2812; 14 folios; folio nos. extant: 65, 91–95, 103; cf. no. 47a, 48 and 49. — Ed.: Watanabe 1972–1975. — *Remark*: This is "Group B" in Watanabe (cf. no. 47); on the correct sequence of the folios cf. Watanabe 1975: xiiff., cf. no. 52a and Matsumura 1993: 131–134; for fragments of folios 65 and 98 cf. no. 50; for the left part of fols. 71 and 72 cf. no. 52d.2. — *Facsimile*: Rissho CD-ROM Vol. II no. 9/1 and 10/1 and in Saddharma-puṇḍarīkasūtra 2012: Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 12.

No. 45: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra

Pages 2813–3052; 120 folios; for extant folio nos. and for the correct sequence of the folios see the excellent facsimile in Watanabe's edition; FE is largely unreadable. — Ed.: Watanabe 1972–1975. — *Remark*: This is "Group A" in Watanabe. *Facsimile*: Rissho CD-ROM Vol. II no. 9/2 and 10/2 and in Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra 2012: Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 12. The colophon page 3051 (= Watanabe 1975: 294) is edited in von Hinüber 2004: 80ff., No. 40B.

No. 46: Samādhirājasūtra

Pages 2461–2783; 162 folios (according to A. Skilton); folio nos. extant:]7 (= page 2565), 58 (= page 2567),]2 (= page 2575), 65–152 (folio 76r is missing in FE), 156–170. — Ed.: GM II 1–3 and Vaidya 1961. — *Remark*: The manuscript of this text is described in Schopen 1977: Appendix II, pp. 207ff. The total number of folios originally was 177 according to Skilton 2000: 67–86, cf. no. 50, FE[2] 1, pp. 34–37. The sequence of folio 72 (pages 2593/2594) and folio 73 (pages 2595/2596) is correct in FE in spite of the concordance given by Skilton (information provided by O. von Criegern). For the last folio see no. 50, cf. 56j.

No. 47a: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra

Pages 3053–3118; 33 folios; folio nos. extant: 5, 11, 14–23, 27–35. — Ed.: Watanabe 1972–1975. — *Remark*: These folios belong to the manuscript no. 44, S. Watanabe's "Group B." A concordance to the edition by N. Dutt (1953, cf. no. 48) is given in FE[2] 1, pp. 346–51. — *Facsimile*: Rissho CD-ROM Vol. II no. 9/24 and no. 10/3; Saddharmapuṇḍa-rīkasūtra 2012: Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 12.

No. 47b: Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī

Pages 3119(verso)/*3120*(recto); 1 folio; folio no. extant: 114; — Ed.: Transcribed in FE[2] 1, pp. 45ff. — *Remark*: Identification: K. Wille. This fragment is not used by G. Hidas, cf. no. 6.

No. 48: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra

Pages 3121–3216; 48 folios; folio nos. extant: 35, 36, 116–120, 124. — Ed.: Toda 1979: 249–300. This transcript also contains the folio (folio no. 171) published in facsimile in Bapat 1949: 241–253, plate IIIA (between p. 250/251), cf. furthermore Yuyama/Toda 1999: 8–10, where pages 3181/3182 are transcribed. — Additional folios of this manuscript are edited in Toda 1988. This transcript, which again also contains Bapat's plate IIIA, is based on photographs preserved in Rome published in Gnoli 1987: 533 and plates I–XX. — *Remark*: The description of this manuscript in N. Dutt, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtram*, Calcutta 1953 is confused, cf. also on this manuscript Dutt 1953: 136ff. The folios

of this manuscript were not used by S. Watanabe for his edition, cf. no. 44. — *Facsimile*: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra 2012: Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 12.

No. 49: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra

Pages 3217–3220; 2 folios. — Ed.: H. Toda 1979: 300–303. — *Remark*: As recognized already in FE 10, p. 7, these folios belong to no. 44, S. Watanabe's "Group B," cf. no. 44. This is the missing folio no. 99, cf. Watanabe 1975: 276, note 20. Pages 3219/3220 is the only fragment of this manuscript containing a text from the XXth *parivarta*. These folios were not used by S. Watanabe. — *Facsimile*: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra 2012: Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 12.

No. 50: Prajñāpāramitā

Pages 3495–3514; 10 folios. — Ed.: Pages 3496/3495; 3499/3500: Matsumura 1993: 131–134. — *Remark*: On the Prajñāpāramitā fragments see no. 26, 27, 50. Pages 3496/3495 and 3499/3500 are fragments of SP folios 65 and 98 respectively of S. Watanabe's "Group B" as recognized by E. Kurumiya, cf. Toda 1979: 249. These fragments are unedited. — *Facsimile*: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra 2012: Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 12. Pages 3497/3498 were identified as the last folio of the *Samādhirājasūtra* in Matsumura 1993: 134–137. The fragmentary colophon is edited in Skilton 2000: 78: 3498 line 6:]*ṃ vilekhyedaṃ / yan mayā puṇyuparjita / tenāhaṃ kuśa*[*lena* …] || O: ||

No. 51: Miscellaneous fragments

Pages 3261–3301; fragments of approximately 28 folios; folio nos. extant: 1 (= page 3265); 6x (= page 3262), 63 (= page 3263), 21 (= page 3279), [76?] (= page 3283), 8 (= page 3291), 17 (= page 3297).

No. 51a: Bhaiṣajyaguru(vaiḍūryaprabhārāja)sūtra

Page 3261; 1 folio. — *Remark*: The text of this fragment continues page 1863 (= folio 22) in no. 31 and consequently belongs to folio 23, according to Matsumura 1983 [1984]: 193, note 2 ("[32] f. 1963" is a misprint for "[31] f. 1863"). The information given in Matsumura 1985: Appendix is confused: For "No. 52 f. 3306" read "No. 51 f. 3261."

No. 51b: Miscellaneous Fragments

Pages 3262–3267; 3269; 3276; 8 folios; folio no. extant: 63 (= page 3263).

No. 51b.1: Kāraṇḍavyūha

Pages 3262–3263; 2 folios; folio nos. extant: 62, 63. — Ed.: cf. no. 12. — *Remark*: These folios, which belong to manuscript no. 12, were not used in Mette 1997a. Folio 62b is not reproduced in FE; identification and information provided by K. Wille.

No. 51b.2: Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī

Page 3264; 1 folio. — *Remark*: Identification and information provided by K. Wille. This fragment was not used by G. Hidas, cf. no. 6.

No. 51b.3: Mahāvairocanasūtra(?)

Page 3265; 1 folio. — *Remark*: The manuscript contains verses in the Vasantatilakā and Sragdharā metres. Verses 4–11 are parallel to verses reconstructed from a phonetic Chinese transcript found in a commentary on the *Mahāvairocanasūtra*, cf. Ashikaga 1955: 106–121. Identification and information provided by K. Wille.

No. 51b.4: Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī

Pages 3266–3267; 2 folios. — *Remark*: The fragmentary folios were identified by K. Wille. This fragment was not used by G. Hidas, cf. no. 6.

No. 51c: Sumāgadhā-Avadāna

Pages: 3268, 3270–3275, 3277/3278; 5 folios. — Ed.: see no. 10c. — *Remark*: This manuscript, which was identified by C. B. Tripathi, Berlin, also comprises folios listed

under nos. 52c and 60c. The correct sequence is: pages 3268 (right half), 3268 (left half), 3271, 3270, 3272/3273, 3274/3275, 3277/3278, 3303/3304, 3305 (verso missing in FE, but photographed by Tripathi), 3310 (= folio 162; left side), 3310 (= folio 162; right side), 3358/3359 (= folio 163). This manuscript is different from the one listed as no. 10c.

No. 51d: Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī

Pages 3279/3280 (= folio 21). — *Remark*: This fragment was not used by G. Hidas, cf. no. 6. The title occurs in the manuscript: *mahādhāraṇī vidyārājñī mahāpratisarā nāma*, 21b5.

No. 51e: Unidentified

Pages 3269, 3276, 3281–3295, 3297–3301; 12 folios; folio nos. extant: + + (= page 3283), 8 (= page 3291), 17 (= page 3297). — *Remark*: Pages 3285/3286 contain *dhāraṇī*s, among them one from the *Sarvadharmaguṇavyūharājasūtra*. Identification and information provided by O. von Criegern.

No. 51f: Vinayavastu-āgama: Pravrajyāvastu

Page 3296. — Ed.: Vogel/Wille 1984: 308[12]ff.

No. 52: Miscellaneous fragments

Pages 3302–3325; 20 folios; folio nos. extant: 162 (= page 3310), 71 (= page 3311), 72 (= page 3312).

No. 52a: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra

Page 3306; 1 folio. — Ed.: – . — *Remark*: This is the right half of folio 102a,b of S. Watanabe's "Group B," cf. no. 44. — *Facsimile*: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra 2012: Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 12.

No. 52b: Saṃghāṭasūtra

Pages: 3302, 3319, 3313b, 3313a; 1 folio. — Ed.: –. — *Remark*: These two fragments of one folio belong to an eighth manuscript (manuscript H) of this text, which is otherwise lost. The text corresponds to verses 129–135 = Canevascini 1993: 103, §243, verse 44–§244 verse 4.

No. 52c: Sumāgadhā-Avadāna

Pages 3303/3304, 3305, 3310; 3 folios; identification: C. B. Tripathi, Berlin, cf. no 10c. — Ed.: –.

52d: *Pages 3307, 3311–3312, 3316–3318, 3320–3322, 3324–3325*; 15 folios.

No. 52d.1: Unidentified

Page 3307; 1 folio**.**

No. 52d.2: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra

Pages 3311–3312; 2 folios; folio nos. extant: 71, 72. — Ed. –. — *Remark*: These fragments, which are part of group B in Watanabe, as no. 44, are not included in his edition. The text corresponds to *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (ed. Kern 1908–1912) pp. 263.4–265.11. Identification and information provided by K. Wille. — *Facsimile*: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra 2012: Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 12.

No. 52d.3: Prajñāpāramitā

Pages 3316–3317, 3324; 3 folios. — Ed. –. — *Remark*: The text is similar to *Pañcaviṃśatikā Prajñāpāramitā* (ed. T. Kimura 1990), Part IV, pp. 187.15–189.25, 192.28–195.18, 190.3–192.13 respectively. Identification and information provided by K. Wille.

No. 52d.4: Prajñāpāramitā

Pages 3318, 3325; 2 folios; — Ed. –. — *Remark*: The identification of page 3318 is, however, uncertain. Page 3325 is identical with Zacchetti 2005: 277 (folio 9r6–9v7). Identification and information provided by K. Wille.

No. 52d.5: Unidentified

Pages 3320–3322; 3 folios.

52e: Mekhalādhāraṇī (?)

Pages 3308–3309; 2 folios. — Ed.: –.

52f: Viśvantara-Avadāna

Pages 3314/3315; 1 folio; identification: K. Das Gupta. — Ed.: K. Das Gupta, as no. 8.

52g: Saṃghāṭasūtra

Page 3323; 1 folio; see no. 37.

No. 53: Dārikāgāthā

Pages 3229–3236; 4 folios; folio nos. extant: 5 (= page 3229), 10 (= page 3231), 11 (= page 3233), 13 (= page 3235). — Ed.: –.

No. 54: Mekhalādhāraṇī

Pages 3253/3254, 3255/3256; 2 folios. — Ed.: no. 29c.

No. 55: Miscellaneous fragments

No. 55a: Unidentified

Pages 3237/3238; 1 folio; folio no. extant: 51 (?). — Ed.: –. — *Remark*: The text of this folio is parallel to DN III 60ff., according to a communication by A. Mette.

No. 55b: Arthavistaradharmaparyāya

Pages 3239/3240; 1 folio. — Ed.: –. — *Remark*: The text on this folio corresponds to Kanjur (Peking ed.) no. 984, vol. 39, p. 83 (= folio 202v1–203r5) and to Taishō 97, Vol. I, p. 921c–922a11 (letter by J.-U. Hartmann dated 4 May 1988). This text forms part of the *Dīrghāgama* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins, cf. Hartmann 1989: 41ff.

No. 56: Miscellaneous fragments

Pages 3326–3351; 13 folios; folio nos. extant: 30 (= page 3326), 11 (= page 3328), 12 (= page 3330), 13 (= page 3332), 14 (= page 3334), 5 (= page 3336), 62 (= page 3338), 2 (= page 3340), 143 (= page 3342).

No. 56a: Mahāmāyūrīvidyārajñī

Pages 3326/3327; 1 folio; folio no. extant: 30. — Ed.: von Hinüber 1980a: 166 = *Kleine Schriften* 2009: 725. — *Remark*: This manuscript is different from the one published in Kaul Shastri 1939: 2–12, particularly pp. 11ff., cf. von Hinüber 1980a: 165 = 724.

No. 56b: Mahāpratisarāvidyārajñī

Pages 3328–3335; 4 folios; folio nos. extant: 11–14; identification in von Hinüber 1980a: 163 = 722.

No. 56c: Ekottarikāgama: Sambādhāvakāśasūtra

Pages 3336–3337 ; 1folio; folio no. extant: 5. — Ed.: –. — *Remark*: The text corresponds to a fragment in the Schøyen Collection edited in Harrison 2006: 201–211. Although the Gilgit text contains the paragraph on *śīla* (cf. AN III 316.3–14), it allows us to close the gap in the parallel paragraph on the Tathāgata published by Harrison p. 204, line 2: *samprajānavihā*[*rī ṛjumārganyāya sa*]*mārūḍho*, page 3336, line 1 (at the very end). It seems that the Gilgit and the Schøyen texts are not identical in wording. According to Jin-il Chung, Göttingen, the text on pages 3336–3337 corresponds to Taishō 99, page 144a2–11. — Identification and information provided by K. Wille.

No. 56d: Daśabhūmikasūtra

Pages 3338–3339; 1 folio; folio no. extant: 62. — Ed.: –. — *Remark*: The text corresponds to *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (ed. R. Kondo 1936/repr. 1983) p. 41.1–41.12 = (ed. P. L. Vaidya 1967), pp. 16.28–17.4. The preserved folio number indicates that the manuscript started with the beginning of the text. Consequently, the reading of the pagination as in FE is also confirmed by the length of the text, against Frentz 1987: 149, who reads erroneously “32.” Identification and information provided by K. Wille.

No. 56e: Vinayavastu-āgama: Saṅghabhedavastu

Page 3349/3348; 1 folio; identification: C. B. Tripathi, Berlin. — Ed.: Wille 1990: 131ff. — *Remark*: The text corresponds to Gnoli 1978: Vol. I, pp. 61.18–63.3.

No. 56f: Colophon

Page 3346; 1 folio. — Ed.: von Hinüber 2004: 24ff., No. 9; re-edited in von Hinüber 2011: 3ff., Plate 1. — *Remark*: It is not impossible that this folio contains the colophon to *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscript F, no. 36.

No. 56g: Tantrasadbhāvasāra:

Pages 3340/3341. — Ed.: Sanderson 2009, as no. 41.

No. 56h: Prātihāryasūtra (?)

Pages 3342–3343; 1 folio; folio no. extant: 143. — Ed.: –. — *Remark*: The fragment is tentatively identified by K. Wille, who refers to *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 154f. However, except for the occurrence of the name Kāla there is hardly any parallelism between the two texts.

No. 56i: Unidentified

Page 3344, 1 folio.

No. 56j: Samādhirājasūtra

Pages 3350/3351. — Ed.: –. — *Remark*: Identification communicated by K. Wille, cf. 46.

No. 57: Pāramitāsamāsa: Dānapāramitāsamāsa

Pages 3257/3258; 1 folio; folio no. extant: 2, according to FE[2] 1, p. 52; the number is recognizable neither in FE[1] nor in FE[2], but clearly visible on the photograph taken by Soka University. — Ed.: Kudo 2013. — *Remark*: As suspected by G. Schopen already in 1978, this folio does not contain the text of the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra*, as wrongly restated in FE[2] 1995, but as recognized correctly by C. B. Tripathi, Berlin, a text on giving. — The text corresponds to Carol Meadows, *Ārya-Śūra's Compendium of the Perfections: Text, translation and analysis of the Pāramitāsamāsa*. Indica et Tibetica 8. Bonn 1986: 3258 (a): p. 158, verse 6–p. 162, verse 24a; 3257: p. 162, verse 24b–p. 168, verse 46c.

No. 58: Abhidharmāvatāra

Pages 3259/3260; 1 folio; folio no. extant: 56. — Ed.: Matsuda 1996c: 35–42.

No. 59: Miscellaneous fragments

Pages 3241–3252; 6 folios.

No. 59a: Sumāgadhā-Avadāna

Pages 3241–3248; 4 folios; folio nos. extant: 164–167. — Ed.: –. — *Remark*: Identification by N. Kudo. According to G. Melzer page 3244 contains verses, e.g. in the Vasantatilakā metre, and a list of words similar to those found in Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* (ed. R. P. Kangle 1960) 1.12.6 or 6.2.18.

No. 59b: Nandikasūtra

Page 3249.1–3; 1 folio. — *Remark*: Identification and information provided by G. Melzer. A parallel text from the Potala in Lhasa is edited in Vinīta 2010: 100–140, especially 138–140.

No. 59c: Pradakṣiṇagāthā

Page 3249.3–3250; 1 folio; folio no. extant: 243; identification: A. Mette. Beginning of the text, cf. nos. 13b2; 13d.6; 60b. — Ed.: cf. no. 13b.3. — *Remark*: The reading of the folio no. follows Frentz 1987: 151.

No. 59c: Prasenajidgāthā

Pages 3251/3252; 1 folio; folio no. extant: 25 (?). End of text: page 3252 (= folio 25?), line 3 (*prasenajidgāthās samāptāḥ*). — Ed.: Vinītā 2010: 209–258.

No. 60: Miscellaneous fragments

Pages 3352–3359; 4 folios.

No. 60a: Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī

Pages 3352–3355; 2 folios; folio nos. extant: 18 (= page 3352), 56 (= page 3354). — *Remark*: Identification and information provided by K. Wille. This fragment was not used by G. Hidas, cf. no. 6.

No. 60b: Pradakṣiṇagāthā

Pages 3356/3357; folio no. extant: 19 (= page 3356), cf. nos. 13b; 13d.6; 59b. — Ed.: cf. no. 13b.2.

No. 60c: Sumāgadhā-Avadāna

Pages 3358/3359; 1 folio; folio no. extant: 163 (= page 3358); identification: C. B. Tripathi, Berlin. — Ed.: see no. 10c.

No. 61: Miscellaneous fragments

Pages 3360–3366; 4 folios.

No. 61a: Nāgārjuna: Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā

Pages 3365, 3364, 3360–3363; 3 folios; folio nos. extant: 2 (= page 3360), 3 (= page 3362); incomplete. — Ed.: Gokhale/Dhadphale 1978: 62–68 with a facsimile, cf. Scherrer-Schaub 1987: 103–111, on the Gilgit manuscript pp. 108ff.

No. 61b: (Aparimitāyuḥsūtra?)

Page 3366: 1 fragmentary folio contains a text partly similar to the *Aparimitāyuḥsūtra*: */1/]+ jñāya tathāgatāya || tadyathā oṃ sarvasaṃskārapariśuddhadharma/2/[te gagaṇa-samudga](te) abhāvasamudgate mahādharmahetunayasupratiṣṭhite /3/ [+ + + + apari]mitāyuṣe svā{hā}|| atha bhagavāṃs tasyāṃ velāyāṃ /4/ [imāṃ gāthām abhāṣa]ta• || dānavalena samudgatu vuddho dānavalā/5/[dhigatā narasiṃhāḥ d](ā)navalasya ca śruyati śavdo kāruṇikasya pure pravi/6/[śantaṃ || śīlavalena samudgata vuddhaḥ śīlavalādh]i[gatā nara](s)iṃ[hā] śīlavala[.* — *Remark*: The reverse is blank, most likely because the upper layer of the birch bark peeled off. Obvious mistakes are *abhāva*° instead of *subhāva*° (line 2) and *svā* instead of *svā{hā}* (line 2). The gaps are filled according to the text provided in Duan 1992: §11; 76–78. — O. von Criegern and G. Melzer drew attention to the similarity of this text to the *Aparimitāyuḥsūtra*. However, the text of the *dhāraṇī* differs, and much text is missing between the *dhāraṇī* and the verses. — The *Aparimitāyuḥsūtra* is mentioned by Rashīd ad-Dīn, cf. n. 36 above.

No. 62: Miscellaneous fragments

Pages 3367–3368; minute unidentified fragments.

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II. The Srinagar Collection

The exact location of this collection is unknown at present. In 1982 two of the *Saṃghāṭa-sūtra* manuscripts and the only palm-leaf manuscript in the Gilgit collection (no. 4S) were transferred from the S.P.S. Museum to the Central Asian Museum, University of Srinagar, according to unpublished reports on researches in Srinagar during 1982 and 1987 by C. B. Tripathi, Berlin (cf. also J.-U. Hartmann on no. 4S). C. B. Tripathi visited Srinagar in 1980, and again in 1982 and in 1987, and took photographs of the complete Srinagar collection. These photos have been in the possession of K. Wille, Göttingen, since the death of C. B. Tripathi on 4 May 1996 [Obituary by K. Bruhn, *ZDMG* 147. 1997: 1–6] (see the Additional Note by Klaus Wille below, which contains a survey of this collection). Two

fragments, Tripathi no. A 102 and C 265, which are perhaps part of a *Saṃghabhedavastu* manuscript, are edited in Wille 1990: 127–130. Some *dhārāṇī*s of this collection are edited in von Hinüber 1980a and in von Hinüber 2004: 12–16, Nos. 1–4c. Copies of the photos of *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscripts B and D which duplicate photos of manuscripts A, B and D taken earlier are in the possession of the author. Moreover, K. Wille had the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* A, B, and D photographed in Srinagar in 1978. These copies are deposited in the Seminar für Indologie und Tibetologie in Göttingen.
Manuscripts in this collection are numbered by adding "S" (Srinagar, i. e. Śrīnagar).

Additional Note on the Srinagar Collection by Klaus Wille

The photographs of the Srinagar Collection taken by C. B. Tripathi in 1982 were divided into series A, B und C and then numbered within the series. In his report on his visit in 1987 Tripathi observed that about 30 fragments of series A could no longer be found in the museum and therefore had to be considered lost. The fragments of series A were photographed again, and the fragments not recorded in 1982 were also photographed and numbered as "D-Serie." The negatives of the photographs taken in 1987 have been in my possession since the death of C. B. Tripathi in 1996. In summer 2011 I obtained by chance the photographs taken in 1982, with the exception of the first file, the contents of which therefore remain unknown — the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscripts are most probably part of it; they are now in the possession of Oskar von Hinüber (personal communication). I am working on this collection and am presently transliterating the fragments on the basis of the photographs taken in 1982. So far, the fragments of series A (1–144) and B16–24 have been transliterated. Transliterations of B1–15 have been prepared by G. Melzer. Once series B and C of 1982 are finished, the fragments of series D of 1987 will be worked on and the photographs of 1987 will be compared with the photographs taken in 1982. Even a preliminary comparison demonstrates that several fragments photographed in 1982 were broken into two pieces on the photographs in 1987 or revealed a loss of text in the margins.

In 2011 K. Matsuda drew attention to the collection of the Japanese monk Yada in Tokyo (cf. below, No. 8S: *Udānavarga*). In 1986 this monk had bought 22 larger fragments and many smaller fragments, most of them in Leh, the others in Srinagar. Moreover he took photographs of about 200 fragments in the museum in Srinagar. The recto side of the Uv fragment (below, No. 8S) is in the Yada Collection, and the verso was identified by Matsuda on the basis of the photographs taken by Yada in the museum. I identified both sides as "series" B48 of the photographs taken by Tripathi in 1982; in other words, the Yada collection consists of fragments which originally were kept in the museum in Srinagar. Apart from one piece I could show on the basis of the photographs taken in 1982 that all the major fragments (except fragment 22, which is in Śāradā script) in the Yada Collection belonged to the museum, and it is very likely that the remaining piece will also be found. This agrees with Tripathi's observation in 1987 that about 30 fragments were missing.

Additionally, K. Matsuda reports that in 1979 the fragments in Srinagar were photographed by "researchers" from Ryukoku University. The negatives are apparently lost, but positive copies are preserved. Matsuda put copies of them and of the photographs taken by Yada at my disposal, and as a last step the transliterations will be compared with those copies.

Microfilms of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscripts A, B, D and of the *Sarvadharmaguṇavyūharājasūtra* were acquired by me in 1978 in Srinagar (cf. K. Wille, "Die Sanskrit-Fragmente der Crosby-Sammlung (Washington D.C.)," *Jaina-itihāsa-ratna, Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag*, ed. U. Hüsken, P. Kieffer-Pülz und A. Peters, Marburg

2006 [Indica et Tibetica, 47]: 483). Copies of them are available in the Seminar für Indologie und Tibetologie at the University of Göttingen.

Besides the larger manuscripts, the following texts have been identified so far among the fragments of the Srinagar Collection: CT = Chandrabhal Tripathi; KM = Kazunobu Matsuda; KW = Klaus Wille; the identifications of Tripathi in B und C still have to be checked, and this may result in some changes.

Abhidharma: A16 (CT), A96 (CT), 123 (CT), 124 (CT), 127 (? CT)

Arthavistaradharmaparyāya (*Dīrghāgama*): A2, A20, A31a, b, A64 (all frgs. KW)

Carakasaṃhitā of Agniveśa: A59 (KW), A63 (? KW)

Dhāraṇī: A112 (KW), B23 (CT), B25 (CT), C192 (CT)

Divyabhojana-avadāna(?)/*Candana-avadāna*: A61 (KW)

Hetubindu of Dharmakīrti: A16 (KW)

Khāraṇādanyāsa: A67 (? CT), 85 (CT; khāraṇādinyāse kāsacikitsitaṃ (sa)[māpta]ṃ)

Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*: A142f (KW)

Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī: A3 (CT), A4 (KW), A6 (CT), A8 (CT), A36 (KW), A68 (CT), A138 (CT), A139.b (KW), B30 (CT), C5 (CT), C8 (CT), C9 (CT), C16 (CT), C23 (CT), C24 (CT), C34 (CT), C42 (? CT), C60 (CT), C61 (CT), C72 (CT), C95 (CT), C134/1–10 (CT), C147 (CT), C189 (CT), C212 (CT), C268 (CT), C274 (CT), C283 (CT)

Mahāmeghasūtra: A107 (KW)

Mahāpratisarāvidyā: A55 (? CT)

medical text: A5 (CT), A29 (CT), A37 (KW), A41 (KW), A43 (CT), A46 (CT), A47 (CT), A51 (CT), A53 (CT), A60 (KW), A72 (CT), A76 (CT), A108 (CT), A109 (CT), A115 (CT), A119 (CT), A126 (CT), A129.1, 2, 3, 4 (CT), A130 (CT), A132a, b (KW), A141e (KW), A142j (KW), A144b (KW), B18 (CT = A29), B21 (CT), B26 (CT), B28 (KW), B34 (CT), B38 (CT), B43 (CT), B44 (CT), C18 (CT), C30 (CT), C33 (CT), C35 (CT), C41 (CT), C58 (CT), C77 (CT), C92 (CT), C116 (CT), C155 (CT), C215 (CT), C218 (CT), C222 (CT), C245 (CT), C246 (CT), C247 (CT)

Prātimokṣasūtra: C131 (? CT)

Saṃghabhedavastu: A102 (CT; ed. Wille 1990: 128f.), C265 (KW; ed. Wille 1990: 129)

Siddhasāra of Ravigupta: A13 (KW)

Stotra: C2 (CT)

Sumāgadhā-avadāna: A86.1, 2, 3 (CT), C25 (CT), C152 (CT)

Udānavarga: A90+C202 (CT), B48 (KM; ed. Matsuda 2011)

Viśvantarāvadāna: A133.a, b, c (KW)

(Klaus Wille)

No. 1S: Saṃghāṭasūtra

All *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscripts are quoted by the *sigla* used in the edition indicated under no. 36, which supersede those used in "Erforschung."

Manuscript A in von Hinüber 1979: New *siglum* D: 121 folios with folio no. 82 missing, because folio no. 81 occurs twice, complete text. — Measurements: 26.5 × 6.5/7.5 cm; hole for the thread holding the manuscript together: 9 cm from the left margin; 6 to 8 lines of writing per page, Proto-Śāradā script. — *Remark*: The manuscripts 1S–4S were found between the book covers, and even the thread holding book covers and folios together was preserved, cf. Kaul Shastri 1939: 2–12, particularly p. 3 ("manuscript No. 2") and plate 1424A (manuscript no. 3S). — Folios 1a, 119b, 120a, 121a are reproduced together with

the book covers in Kaul Shastri 1939: plates nos. 1433 and 1436, cf. p. 6.; these book covers are discussed in Klimburg-Salter 1992: 395–402, where older literature on the book covers is listed, and von Hinüber 1989b: 88 with plate 160 (coloured photo showing the book cover with two devotees and two *bodhisatva*s). Excellent reproductions of the other painted book covers found in Gilgit (cf. no. 4S) are available on the internet: Pratapaditya Pal, *A Painted Book Cover from Ancient Kashmir*, figures 8 and 9.[59] The colophon (folios nos. 119b, 120a, 121a) is edited in von Hinüber 2004: 25 –27, no. 10.

No. 2S: Saṃghāṭasūtra

Manuscript B in von Hinüber 1979: New *siglum* A: 63 folios: 2–4, 6, 7, 9–18, 20, 22–25, 27–30, 33–35, 38–40, 43–45, 48, 50–56, 58, 61, 63–67, 70, 72, 74, 84, 85, (86–88, pagination lost), 89–93, 96, 105. — Measurements: 28.5 × 7.5 cm; hole for the thread holding the manuscript together: 8 cm from the left margin; normally 6 or 7 lines of writing on a page, "Gandhāran Brahmī" script. Folios 30a and 39b are reproduced in Kaul Shastri 1939: plate no. 1439. — Folio 96 contains the *Ratnacandraparipṛcchā* and folio 105 the *Hiraṇyavatīdhāraṇī*, cf. nos. 6S, 7S. Consequently, this is a collection of different texts similar to the *Ratnaketuparivarta*, no. 29, cf. p. 80 above.

No. 3S: Saṃghāṭasūtra

Manuscript C in von Hinüber 1979: New *siglum* B: 92 folios, folio nos. 1–102; folio 80 is also numbered as 79(bis) by mistake, further the scribe jumps by mistake from 85 to 96; folio no. 101 is also numbered as folio 91; the pagination of folio 92 [102] is lost; complete text. — Measurements: 23.0 × 8.5 cm; hole for the thread holding the manuscript together: 7.0 to 7.5 cm from the left margin; 8 to 10 lines of writing on a page. — *Remark*: Matsumura 1985: Appendix, 150, draws attention to an (unfinished) transcript of manuscript D published in Japan.

Consequently, the following manuscripts are available now and, with the exception of the Los Angeles manuscript I, K and L, were used to constitute the text as printed in Canevascini 1993 without accompanying critical apparatus:

A: Srinagar Collection, no. 2S (lacunae)
B: Srinagar Collection, no. 3S (complete)
C: Delhi Collection, no. 37 (end of text lost)
D: Srinagar Collection, no. 1S (complete)
E: Delhi Collection, no. 39 (fragment)
F: Delhi Collection, no. 36 (lacunae, end of text lost)
G: Delhi Collection, no. 38a (fragment)
H: Delhi Collection, no. 52b (fragment, 1 folio)
I: Miscellaneous Manuscripts, no. 1K ("Los Angeles manuscript") (complete)
K: Miscellaneous Manuscripts, no. 4K (complete?)
L: Miscellaneous Manuscripts, no. 5T (incomplete)

No. 4S: Sarvadharmaguṇavyūharājasūtra

45 palm-leaf folios according to the report by C. B. Tripathi in J.-U. Hartmann (see below). Previously, 55 folios were counted. According to O. von Criegern, 50 of originally 51 folios survive. Measurements: 20 cm × 4.5 cm; hole for the thread holding the manuscript together: 7.0 cm and a second hole 15.5 cm from the left margin; 5 lines of writing on a page. — Ed.: von Criegern 2008 (upublished PhD thesis). — *Remark*: On this text, which was erroneously called "Āryadharma" by Kaul Shastri, cf. Hartmann 1997b: 135–140. Some folios with two holes; on the reproduction of the book covers cf. Kaul Shastri 1939:

[59] See http://www.asianart.com/articles/kashmir/index.html.

plate no. 1438 (together with folios 22a, 41a, 2b) and P. Pal (see above, under 1S). — A *dhāraṇī* from this text is found in no. 51e.

No. 5S: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra

Fragments of 30 folios. Description and edition including a facsimile of all fragments: von Hinüber 1982 [Rev.: H. Bechert, *Journal of Religious Studies (Patiala)* 11 (1983): 118–120; G. Fussman, *BEFEO* 73 (1984): 384ff.; H.-O. Feistel, *ZDMG* 134 (1984): 387; P. Williams, *JRAS* (1984): 156ff.; D. Seyfort-Ruegg, *JAOS* 106 (1986): 879; H. Eimer, *OLZ* 81 (1986): columns 393ff.].

No. 6S: Ratnacandraparipṛcchā

1 folio from no. 2S: *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscript A; extant folio no. 96. — Measurements as for *Saṃghāṭasūtra* A, 6 or 7 lines of writing on a page, "Gandhāran Brāhmī" script; identification: P. Harrison, 16 June 2009. — The text runs as follows:

96a:

1. ntiḥ pratilabdhāḥ || asti kumāra dakṣiṇe digbhāge gaṅganadīvālukāsamāni buddhakṣetrakoṭīniyuta(śatasahasr)[āṇ]y at[i]-
2. kramya śamā nāma lokadhātuḥ tatrāntandaprabhāso nāma tathāgato rhā samyaksaṃbuddhas tiṣṭhati dhriyate yāpayati dharmañ ca deśa-
3. yati. śuddhānāṃ bodhisatvānāṃ || asti kumāra paścime digbhāge gaṅganadīvālukāsamāni buddhakṣetrakoṭīnayutaśatasa-
4. hasrāṇy atikramya nandā nāma lokadhātuḥ tatra (canda)naśrī nāma tathāgato rhā samyaksaṃbuddhas tiṣṭhati. dhriyate yā-
5. payati. dharmañ ca deśayati. sarvā sā kumāra lokadhātuś candanakūṭāgaraparisphuṭṭā || asti kumāra u-
6. ttare digbhāge gaṃganadīvālukāsamāni buddhakṣetrakoṭīnayutaśatasahasrāṇy atikramy(a) akṣubhitā nā-

96b:

1. ma lokadhā = = tuḥ tatra ketuśrī = = nāma tathāgato rhā saṃyaksaṃbuddhaḥ tiṣṭhati dhriyat[e] yāpayati:
2. dharmañ ca deśayati. || asti kumārā pūrvadakṣiṇe digbhāge gaṅganadīvālukāsamāni buddhakṣetrakoṭīnayutaśa-
3. tasahasrāṇy atikramya caritravatī nāma lokadhātuḥ tatrāśokaśrī nāma tathāgato rhā samyaksaṃbuddhaḥs(!) tiṣṭhati:
4. dhriyate yāpayati. dharmañ ca deśayati. || asti kumāra. dakṣiṇapaścime digbhāge gaṃganadīvālukāsa-
5. māni buddhakṣetrakoṭīnayutaśatasahasrāṇy atikramya ketuśrī nāma lokadhātuḥ tatra ratnayaṣṭi(r) nāma tathāgato
6. rhā samyaksaṃbuddhas tiṣṭhati. dhriyate yāpayati dharmañ ca deśayati: || asti kumārā paścimottare digbhāge gaṃgā[nadī]

No. 7S: Hiraṇyavatīdhāraṇī

1 folio no. 96 from no. 2S: *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscript A.; extant folio no. 105 (not 65 as in von Hinüber 1979). — Measurements as for *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscript A, 6 lines of writing on a page. The text runs as follows:

105a:

1. ca puṇyaṃ prasūtaṃ bhavati yaścemāṃ hiraṇyavatī[ṃ] dhāraṇī[ṃ] y[e]na cittena dhārayiṣyati. (tasya) + + [bha](v)[iṣ]y[a]
2. ti prajñayā prajñārthina. dhāraṇyā dhāraṇyārthinaḥ hiraṇyena hiraṇyārthinaḥ śrutena śrutārthinaḥ || asyā

3. upacāraḥ śuklapakṣaṃ ś(ā)[l]yodana anudita āditye kireṇa bhoktavyaṃ. imāni ca buddhavaṃśīyāni buddhānāṃ
4. bhagavatāṃ vidyāntaranāmāni maṃtrapadāni abhīkṣṇa manasi kartavyāni. tataḥ eṣāṃ maṃtrapadānāṃ anu-
5. bhāvena ye gaṃgānadīvālukopamāsu lokadhātuṣu. asurā vā. garuḍā vā. kinnarā vā. mahoragā vā.
6. yakṣā vā. pretā vā. piśācā vā. kum[bh]āṇ[ḍ]ā vā, te na praduṣṭacittā bhavaṃti. nāntarāyakarā bhavaṃti. nityaṃ

105b:
1. [parigṛhī]t[ā]ś ca bhava[ṃ]ti. priyabhadr[e]ṇa bodhisatvena mahāsatvena. mahāviśālena. vajrapāṇinā saṃ(bhū)ṣi-
2. tena sāttāgiriṇā haimavatena nityam aparigṛhītaś ca bhavati. yāvad akaniṣṭhair bodhisatvais ta enaṃ bhaye kāntāre
3. vā adhitiṣṭhaṃti. abhaya(m a)syānuprayacchanti. yad uta hiraṇyavatīṃ dharaṇīṃ dhārayamānaṃ̱. idam avocad bha-
4. gavāṃs tuṣiteṣu viharamāṇa pāṇḍukambalaśilāyāṃ̱ āttamamanāḥ supratiṣṭho bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ tā-
5. [n]i [c]ā[n]e[kā]ni sarvabodhisatvasahasrāṇi bhagavato bhaṣitam abhyanandaṉ || o || hiraṇyavatī dhāraṇī sa-
6. māptaṃ̱ || o ||

No. 8S: Udānavarga

1 folio (verso); extant folio no.: 177. — Ed.: Kazunobu Matsuda: Udānabaruga no Girugitto-shahon (A Gilgit fragment of the Udānavarga). *Bukkyōgakubu Ronshu* (Journal of School of Buddhist Studies, Bukkyo University) 95. March 2011: 17–32. — *Remark*: This folio from the collection of unspecified fragments in the Sri Pratap Singh Museum was identified by K. Matsuda. The corresponding folio (recto) was acquired by the Ven. Yada, a Japanese monk who visited Leh and Srinagar in 1986 (see Additional Note by K. Wille above). — The text corresponds to Uv XXVI 20–XXVI 28 in the Mūlasarvāstivāda recension (recension 2) of the text. This is one of the prose paragraphs characteristic for recension 2, cf. Schmithausen 1970: 47–124, on the prose corresponding to verses XXVI 20ff. p. 76 §I.7.1.

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III. The Ujjain Collection

This collection comprises 34 folios of the manuscripts found at Gilgit in 1931, which are preserved as “Bauddhāgama no. 4737” in the Scindia Oriental Museum (Scindia Oriental Research Institute, Vikram University) in Ujjain. They were published for the first time in a rather inadequate form in Sengupta 1975: 137–208, cf. also von Hinüber 1979: 331[5]ff.

No. 1U: Dharmaskandha

19 folios; identification J. Takasaki in 1965. — Re-ed.: Dietz 1984 [Rev.: *ZDMG* 136. 1986: 221; *Mundus* 22. 1986: 273ff.; H. Sakurabe in Matsuda 1986: 37–43 [in Japanese]; *OLZ* 83. 1988: columns 466–468]. — *Remark*: A second fragment of this manuscript is no. 5 of the Delhi Collection. Altogether there are now 22 extant folios of the *Dharmaskandha*: 3, 4, 5–20, (21, 22 Delhi Collection), 26, (27 Delhi Collection) [folios 14–18 are not listed in the survey of the manuscript by Dietz (p. 11), but used for her edition]. All folios are numbered in two different ways: recto “3” corresponds to verso “251” and “27” to “275.” According to Dietz, p. 10, the higher numbers are probably original. Consequent-

ly, this text was separated from a once larger collection of perhaps even all seven Abhidharma works of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (?); on the school affiliation of all three manuscripts from Ujjain: Dietz 1985: 163–179.

No. 2U: Ekottarikāgama

9 folios. Re-ed.: C. B. Tripathi, see Delhi Collection no. 4a.

No. 3U: Lokaprajñapti

6 folios; folio nos. extant: 10, 18, 34, 35, 5[1], 52. — Ed.: S. Sengupta 1975: 195ff. (wrong sequence of folios). An unpublished (?) re-transcript was presented to the Regular Meeting of the Society of Buddhist Studies, Otani University, 29 June 1982 by Y. Okudo, A study of the Sanskrit fragments deposited with the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain. A re-edition is planned by S. Dietz. — *Remark*: The text is described in Dietz 1989 and Dietz 2003: 207–225.

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IV. Miscellaneous Manuscripts

(supposed to be found near the Kargah Buddha [K] or preserved in Tibet [T])

No. 1K: Saṃghāṭasūtra

37 folios; extant folio nos. 8–37, complete. — *Remark*: This *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscript was brought to the attention of G. Schopen in January 2000, who called it the "Los Angeles manuscript" and identified the text. Schopen's concordance to the edition by G. Canevascini shows that this manuscript contains the complete text on 37 folios except for minor gaps due to damage. The *siglum* of this manuscript is I.

From a report on the preservation of this manuscript, which was found folded, it is evident that it contains a second text, "a seven page incantation" (i.e. no. 2K), cf. Susan Sayre Batton, "Separation anxiety. The conservation of a 5th century Buddhist Gandharan Manuscript," (http://www.asianart.com/articles/batton/index.html).

At present manuscripts nos. 1K and 2K are kept in Japan in the Miho Museum Collection, Shiga Prefecture, cf. report by K. Matsuda in this volume.

I am obliged to G. Schopen for providing photos of manuscript I and for sharing his concordance with his usual liberality.

No. 2K: Sarvagatipariśodhanoṣṇīṣavijayā̆

7 folios. — Ed.: Planned by G. Schopen (letter dated 28 May 2009) and by G. Melzer (oral communication by J.-U. Hartmann and L. Sander on 16 June 2009), cf. no. 1K.

No. 3K: Saṃghāṭasūtra

Folio no. 49. — *Remark*: A single leaf of a (complete?) birch-bark manuscript was brought to my attention on 15 December 2000 by J.-U. Hartmann, who had seen it in the Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura. The manuscript is kept at present in Japan in the Hirayama Collection, see report by K. Matsuda in this volume.

The text of folio 49 corresponds to Canevascini 1993: §§188.5–192.4. The *siglum* of this manuscript is K.

I am obliged to J.–U. Hartmann for drawing my attention to this manuscript and for providing a photo of folio 49.

No. 4K: Dīrghāgama

See report by J.-U. Hartmann in this volume. — *Remark*: There are conflicting reports on the exact find spot of nos. 1K, 2K, 4K: According to Fussman 2004: 104, note 8, they were

found near the Kargah Buddha according to information passed on to him by H. Hauptmann, Heidelberg, who was shown the place of their discovery in 1998(?). Fussman mentions the titles of nos. 2K and 4K. Consequently, no. 1K should be the "liasse repliée en boule," which suits the photo in the report by S. S. Batton, quoted above. According to Batton's report, however, nos. 1K and 2K were found in Bamiyan. Although not found at Gilgit, the following manuscript is mentioned here in order to provide a complete list of all manuscripts of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* known at present.

No. 5T: Saṃghāṭasūtra

Manuscript L: 10 folios; incomplete. — Measurements 56.5 × 5.0 cm. — *Remark*: This manuscript is written in "Proto-Bengali" script and preserved in Tibet (information provided by LUO Hong, Beijing). No further details are known at present.

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Simple numbers = I. Delhi Collection; number + S = II. Srinagar Collection; number + U = III. Ujjain Collection; number + K or + T = IV. Miscellaneous Manuscripts (discovered near the Kargah Buddha; preserved in Tibet); intr. = titles and authors mentioned in the introduction. — Signs used: [] mistaken title; () modern title. — Literary categories are marked by capital letters. — The titles mentioned in K. Wille's note are not included here.

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3237–3238: **Unidentified**, no. 55a
3239–3240: Arthavistaradharmaparyāya, no. 55b
3241–3248: Sumāghadā-Avadāna, no. 59a
3249: Nandikasūtra, no. 59b
3249–3250: Pradakṣiṇagāthā, no. 59c
3251–3252: Prasenajidgāthā, no. 59d
3253–3256: Mekhalādhāraṇī, no. 54
3257–3258: Ārya-Śūra: Pāramitāsamāsa
3259–3260: Abhidharmāvatāra, no. 58
3261: Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra, no. 51a
3262–3263: Kāraṇḍavyūha, 51b.1
3264: Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī, 51b.2
3265: Mahāvairocanasūtra?, 51b.3
3266–3267: Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī, 51b.4
3268: Sumāgadhā-Avadāna, no. 51c
3269: **Unidentified**, no. 51e
3270–3275: Sumāgadhā-Avadāna, no. 51c
3276: **Unidentified**, no. 51e
3277–3278: Sumāgadhā-Avadāna, no. 51c
3279–3280: Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī, no. 51d
3281–3284: **Unidentified**, no. 51e
3285–3286: Dhāraṇī, no. 51e
3287–3295: **Unidentified**, no. 51e
3296: Vinayavastu-āgama: Pravrajyāvastu, no. 51f
3297–3301: **Unidentified**, no. 51e
3302: Saṃghāṭasūtra, no. 52b
3303–3305: Sumāgadhā-Avadāna, no. 52c
3306: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, no. 52a
3307: **Unidentified**, no. 52d.1
3308–3309: Mekhalādhāraṇī?, no. 52e
3310: Sumāgadhā-Avadāna, no. 52c
3311–3312: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, no. 52d.2
3313: Saṃghāṭasūtra, no. 52b
3314–3315: Viśvantara-Avadāna, no. 52f
3316–3317: Prajñāpāramitā, no. 52d.3
3318: Prajñāpāramitā, no. 52d.4
3319: Saṃghāṭasūtra, no. 52b
3320–3322: **Unidentified**, no. 52d.6
3323: Saṃghāṭasūtra, no. 37; 52g
3324: Prajñāpāramitā, no. 52d.3
3325: Prajñāpāramitā, no. 52d.4
3326–3327: Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī, no. 56a
3328–3335: Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī, no. 56b

3336–337: (Saṃbādhāvakāśasūtra), 56c
3338–3339: Daśabhūmikasūtra, no. 56d
3340–3341: Tantrasadbhāvasāra, no. 56g
3342–3343 Prātihāryasūtra?, no.56h
3344: **Unidentified**, no. 56i
3345: blank
3346: Colophon, no. 56f
3347: blank
3348–3349: Saṃghabhedavastu, no. 56e
3350–3351: Samādhirājasūtra, no. 56j
3352–3355: Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī, no. 60a
3356–3357: Pradakṣiṇagāthā, no. 60b
3358–3359: Sumāgadhā-Avadāna, no. 60c
3360–3365: Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayagāthā, no. 61a
3366: (Aparimitāyuḥsūtra?), no. 61b
3367–3368: **Unidentified** minute fragments, no. 62
3369–3494: Prajñāpāramitā, no. 26, 27, 50
3495–3496: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, no. 50
3497–3498: Samādhirājasūtra, no. 50
3499–3500: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, no. 50
3501–3514: Prajñāpāramitā, no. 26, 27, 50

Abbreviations

AAWG Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Dritte Folge
ABORI Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute
AKM Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ARIRIAB Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University
AWL Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse
BEI Bulletin d'Études Indiennes
BHSD F. Edgerton: Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary: I. Grammar, II: Dictionary. New Haven 1953
BISt Berliner Indologische Studien
BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BStR Buddhist Studies Review
CAJ Central Asiatic Journal
CRAIBL Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres
EI Epigraphia Indica
FE Facsimile Edition
GGA Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen
GM Gilgit Manuscripts
Guide Bibliographical Guide to the Identifications (Part 2 of this paper)
IF Indogermanische Forschungen
IHQ Indian Historical Quarterly
IIJ Indo-Iranian Journal
IT Indologica Taurinensia

JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JAs	Journal Asiatique
JIABS	Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies
JIPh	Journal of Indian Philosophy
JOIB	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda
JNRC	Journal of the Nepal Research Center
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
NAWG	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse
ÖAW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Sgh	Saṃghāṭasūtra
StII	Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik
SWTF	Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden und der kanonischen Literatur der Sarvāstivāda-Schule. Göttingen 1974–2011
WZKS(O)	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- (und Ost)asiens
ZAS	Zentralasiatische Studien
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

Texts are abbreviated following the Epilegomena to the Critical Pāli Dictionary.

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The Manuscript of the *Dīrghāgama* and the Private Collection in Virginia

Jens-Uwe Hartmann (München) and Klaus Wille (Göttingen)

1. The Manuscript of the Dīrghāgama (*by Jens-Uwe Hartmann*)

All the other contributions to this volume focus on specific collections, areas or scripts — or a combination of these — while the present paper starts from a single manuscript. This is explained partly by the sheer volume of the manuscript, which makes it unique among all the finds of the last twenty years in Pakistan and Afghanistan, but partly also by the fact that it came to be split up and is now unevenly distributed over several collections. The largest part was bought by a private collector in Virginia, who acquired, together with the folios of the *Dīrghāgama*, a number of folios and fragments from at least eight other texts which may or may not come from the same find-spot. Most of those folios have been identified by Klaus Wille, and he kindly agreed to have his important identifications added as a second part to this paper.

1.1 Present distribution

The folios of the *Dīrghāgama* have already been the topic of three papers (Hartmann 2000, 2002a and 2004). These papers reveal work in progress, and not only progress in research, but also progress in terms of acquisition: while working on the manuscript, more and more folios became available. As a result, our understanding of the contents and structure of the *Dīrghāgama* was constantly advanced, and this is reflected in the three papers. Since then, only single fragments of the *Govindasūtra* are known to have been offered on the market,[1] although the manuscript is still far from being accessible in its entirety. There is, however, a certain chance that eventually more may turn up, as will become clear in the section below on the present distribution of the folios.

Kazunobu Matsuda was probably the first to see the manuscript in March 1998 when he visited Sam Fogg's antique book store in London in order to look for manuscripts from Afghanistan.[2] Later in the same year Harry Falk (Berlin) received some photographs of the manuscript from Sam Fogg and made them available to the present author; working from these photographs Klaus Wille prepared the first transliterations in October 1998. The exact provenance of the manuscript continues to be unknown. Rumours have it that it comes from Gilgit, and it has been suspected that originally it formed part of the famous manuscript find of the thirties of the last century, a part that was removed by local people and sold only in the nineties.[3] It is a large birch-bark manuscript — the size is approximately 50 × 10 cm — and it is written in the script called either Proto-Śāradā or Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II. Material, script and the whole appearance of the book render it very likely that it comes from the same cultural background as, for instance, the famous manuscript of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinayavastu* from the Gilgit finds. Thus, it is safe to say that it comes from the area of Greater Gandhāra and that certain indications point in the direction of Gilgit. The script suggests a date after the sixth century, and a radiocarbon test initiated by one of the dealers in London resulted in a date between 764 and 1000 as the 2sigma range,[4] confirming the palaeographical evidence.

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[1] Information provided by Gudrun Melzer, who saw photographs of probably five fragments during her visits to Japan in 2005 and 2007.

[2] Cf. Choi 2012b: 11, note 2.

[3] Cf. the contribution by Oskar von Hinüber, above p. 117, and Fussman 2004: 104 and 129.

[4] Allon, Salomon, Jacobsen, Zoppi 2006: 279, note 3.

Regrettably, parts of the manuscript are not accessible. Its last folio number is 454, but it is likely that the last two folios are stuck together. Lines 5 to 6 of the verso side of the last folio preserve a short colophon (*samāptaś ca dīrghāgamaḥ*); the remaining part of the folio is empty. Approximately half of the folios are presently available, but many of them are in a rather fragmentary state. They were offered to dealers in London and in Japan in the second half of the nineties, but before selling them, the original owner(s) apparently split the manuscript into bundles of 55 to 70 folios apiece. This is suggested when looking at the present distribution.

Folios 1–70 (only single fragments)	Schøyen Collection, Oslo (Norway) and Private Collection Virginia (USA)
ca. 70–125 (ca. 55 fols.)	Private Collection Virginia (USA)
ca. 260–329 (ca. 70 fols.)	Private Collection Virginia (USA)
3 fragments of the *Govindasūtra*	Japan, present whereabouts unknown
330–384 (52 fols.)	Hirayama Collection, Kamakura (Japan)
364–366 (3 fols.)	Bukkyo University, Kyoto (Japan)
385–454 (70 fols.)	Private Collection Virginia (USA)

It is easy to deduce that the manuscript was divided into at least five, and probably six, parts. The first part is heavily damaged; the present whereabouts of folios 126–260, altogether nearly 140 leaves and therefore probably forming two bundles, is unknown, and we can only hope that they still exist.

The biggest part went into a private collection in Falls Church, Virginia. 53 folios were sold to the late Ikuo Hirayama, the famous Japanese painter; they are kept in his private collection in Kamakura.[5] Three folios missing from the set acquired by Ikuo Hirayama were bought by Bukkyō University in Kyoto. An unknown number of smaller fragments were bought by the Norwegian collector Martin Schøyen, and they are stored in a place near Oslo. The state of preservation varies greatly; only the folios in the Hirayama Collection are perfectly restored and preserved, since they were handed over to a professional institute in Tokyo and restored by specialists. The folios in Virginia have been separated and put into plastic envelopes; according to my information this was done by specialists in the British Library. However, there are several problems: the envelopes are closed, but tend to burst open along the margins, and there is a constant danger that small pieces may fall out. In many cases two or even more folios are still stuck together; they would have to be separated in order to scan or photograph the currently obscured text. There are countless cases where small pieces belonging to the previous or the following folio remain stuck to the wrong leaf and hide text; these pieces would have to be detached — or peeled off — and remounted on their original folio, and it would need an expert to do it in order to avoid further damage and to recover the hidden text.

This highlights one of the major problems we are confronted with in the case of such manuscripts. The necessary restoration requires a certain investment, sometimes as much as or even more than the price already paid for the manuscript itself, and not all owners, be they public or private, are willing or able to shoulder such an additional burden. Moreover, not every private owner is necessarily interested in the details of the texts preserved in his manuscripts or in the intricate questions philologists are prone to ask, when even the last tiny bit of an *akṣara* may contribute the decisive clue for the desired answer. Thus, the interests of the owner and of the scholar do not necessarily converge. Attempts at encouraging the owner of the Virginia collection to have his manuscript restored did not succeed, while on the other hand he was extremely helpful in providing all the necessary facilities for scanning the whole manuscript. Thus we have excellent scans at our disposal, but not

[5] For this collection see the contribution by K. Matsuda below, pp. 165–166.

of all parts, and there is not the slightest indication that this situation will change in the foreseeable future. Yet, it is better than the situation in Oslo. Of the fragments kept there we do not even have scans, and these fragments are badly agglutinated and would need restoration before anything can be done with them. There, too, we see little hope for an improvement in the near future.

1.2 Structure and contents of the Dīrghāgama

By now it is well-known that the manuscript contains a version of the *Dīrghāgama*, the "Canonical Collection of the Long (Discourses of the Buddha)." This specific version was collected and redacted by monks of the same school or schools that had adopted Vinaya texts labelled as Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda. Although produced in the northwestern region of the Indian subcontinent, it is very close to the version preserved in the Sanskrit manuscripts from Central Asia, but it is very different from the Pali *Dīghanikāya* and from the *Chang ahan*, the *Dīrghāgama* preserved in Chinese translation (T 1), that probably belongs to the school of the Dharmaguptakas and most likely is derived from an original version in Gāndhārī. The differences concern contents, wording and arrangement; all three versions of the Long Discourses are divided into three sections, but only one of these is found in all of them. The number of sūtras is given in parentheses; the Chinese translation does not contain section names, but seems to be divided into three equal parts:

Dīrghāgama	*Dīghanikāya*	*Chang ahan*
1. Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta (6)	1. Sīlakkhanda-vagga (13)	1. no name (10)
2. Yuga-nipāta (18)	2. Mahā-vagga (10)	2. no name (10)
3. Śīlaskandha-nipāta (23)	3. Pāṭika-vagga (11)	3. parallel to the Sīlakkhanda (10)

The Pali version commences with the Śīlaskandha section and the *Brahmajālasutta*, while the Sanskrit manuscript closes with this section and ends with the *Brahmajālasūtra*. It starts with a section called Ṣaṭsūtrakanipāta; this has no parallel in the other two versions, and only four of its six sūtras are also included in the Pali and the Chinese.[6] The Sanskrit manuscript represents by far the longest version: it contains 47 texts, 13 more than the *Dīghanikāya* and 17 more than the Chinese text. Although significant parts of the manuscript are destroyed or still missing, all the texts it contained are known, because a sufficient number of *uddānas* is preserved. These *uddānas* list the titles or, rather, the keywords which do the duty of titles. It is difficult, if not impossible, to define the term "title" for texts in such collections; they may vary among different collections, and in the *uddāna* they often have to be slightly adjusted to metrical needs and therefore deviate from the titles preserved elsewhere.[7] The following table presents an overview of all the texts contained in the Sanskrit *Dīrghāgama*, including folio numbers when they are preserved and references to parallel texts in the Pali and Chinese versions. Its purpose is to illustrate the sequence and the arrangement of the sūtras, and it supersedes the table given in Hartmann 2004 as it includes a number of corrections provided by Gudrun Melzer in her dissertation (see below), most notably the observation that, contrary to my previous assertion,[8] the *Prasādanīyasūtra* is preserved in the manuscript.

Dīrghāgama	**Folios**	**DĀc**	**Dīghanikāya**	**Majjhimanikāya**
I. Ṣaṭsūtrakanipāta				
01. *Daśottara*	?–? [6, 7, 11, 14]	10	34. *Dasuttara*	

[6] For this section cf. Hartmann 1994.
[7] For an edition and a discussion of the *uddānas* cf. Hartmann 2004: 123 ff.
[8] Hartmann 2004: 126, note 18.

02. *Arthavistara*	?–?	–	–	
03. *Saṅgīti*	?–?	09	33. *Saṅgīti*	
04. *Catuṣpariṣad*	?–[72 etc.]–88r8	–	–	
05. *Mahāvadāna*	88r8–111v	01	14. *Mahāpadāna*	
06. *Mahāparinirvāṇa*	111v–?	02	16. *Mahāparinibbāna*	
II. Yuganipāta				
07. *Apannaka*	?–?	–		060. *Apaṇṇaka*?
08. *Sarveka*?	?–?	–	–	
09. *Bhārgava*	?–?	15	24. *Pāṭika*	
10. *Śalya*	?–?	–		105. *Sunakkhatta*
11. *Bhayabhairava*	?–?	–		004. *Bhayabherava*
12. *Roma(harṣa)ṇa*	?–?	–		001. *Mahāsīhanāda*
13. *Jinayabha*	?–?	04	18. *Janavasabha*	
14. *Govinda*	(266)–274v5	03	19. *Mahāgovinda*	
15. *Prāsādika*	274v5–290r4	17	29. *Pāsādika*	
16. *Prasādanīya*	290r5–299v2	18	28. *Sampasādanīya*	
17. *Pañcatraya*	299v3–306r5	–		102. *Pañcattaya*
18. *Māyājāla*	306r5–317v5	–		
19. *Kāmaṭhika*	317v5–329r4	–		095. *Caṅkī*
20. *Kāyabhāvanā*	329r4–340r2	–		003. *Mahāsaccaka*
21. *Bodha*	340r2–344v4	–		085. *Bodhirājakumāra*
22. *Śaṃkaraka*	344v4–348r8	–		100. *Saṅgārava*
23. *Āṭānāṭa*	348v1–354r4	–	32. *Āṭānāṭiya*	
24. *Mahāsamāja*	354r5–360v1	19	20. *Mahāsamaya*	
III. Śīlaskandhanipāta				
25. *Tridaṇḍin*	360v2–367r3	–	–	
26. *Piṅgalātreya*	367r4–369r5	–	–	
27. *Lohitya* I	369r5–382r4	–	–	
28. *Lohitya* II	382r6–386v1	29	12. *Lohicca*	
29. *Kaivartin*	386v1–390v1	24	11. *Kevaddha*	
30. *Maṇḍīśa* I	390v1–391v6	–	07. *Jāliya*	
31. *Maṇḍīśa* II	391v6–8	–	–	
32. *Mahallin*	391v8–395v6	–	06. *Mahāli*	
33. *Śroṇatāṇḍya*	395v6–401r1	22	04. *Soṇadaṇḍa*	
34. *Kūṭatāṇḍya*	401r2–409v8	23	05. *Kūṭadanta*	
35. *Ambāṣṭha*	410r2–416r3, 442–444	20	03. *Ambaṭṭha*	
36. *Pṛṣṭhapāla*	416r3–424r4	28	09. *Poṭṭhapāda*	
37. *Kāraṇavādin*	424r4–424v3	–	–	
38. *Pudgala*	424v3–426v1	–		051. *Kandaraka*
39. *Śruta*	426v1–427v5	–	–	
40. *Mahalla*	427v6–430r7	–	–	

41. *Anyatama*	430r7	–	–	
42. *Śuka*	430r8–433r2	–	10. *Subha*	
43. *Jīvaka*	433r2-(435)r5	–		055. *Jīvaka*
44. *Rājan*	(435)r5–441, 446–447v2	27	02. *Sāmaññaphala*	
45. *Vāsiṣṭha*	447v2–451r1	26	13. *Tevijja*	
46. *Kāśyapa*	451r2-v8	25	08. *Kassapasīhanāda*	
47. *Brahmajāla*	445, 452r1–454v2	21	01. *Brahmajāla*	

The only section common to all three versions is the Śīlaskandha, and a comparative table of contents is instructive in that it shows the similarities as well as the differences even within this section.[9] Those sūtras that are represented in all three are highlighted by italics.

Dīrghāgama	**Dīghanikāya**	**Chang ahan**
01. Tridaṇḍin	01. *Brahmajāla*	01. *Ambaṭṭha*
02. Piṅgalātreya	02. *Sāmaññaphala*	02. *Brahmajāla*
03. *Lohitya I*	03. *Ambaṭṭha*	03. *Soṇadaṇḍa*
04. Lohitya II	04. *Soṇadaṇḍa*	04. *Kūtadanta*
05. *Kaivartin*	05. *Kūtadanta*	05. *Kevaddha*
06. Maṇḍīśa I	06. Mahāli	06. *Kassapasīhanāda*
07. Maṇḍīśa II	07. Jāliya	07. *Tevijja*
08. Mahallin	08. *Kassapasīhanāda*	08. *Sāmaññaphala*
09. *Śroṇatāṇḍya*	09. *Poṭṭhapāda*	09. *Poṭṭhapāda*
10. *Kūṭatāṇḍya*	10. Subha	10. *Lohicca*
11. *Ambāṣṭha*	11. *Kevaddha*	
12. *Pṛṣṭhapāla*	12. *Lohicca*	
13. Kāraṇavādin	13. *Tevijja*	
14. Pudgala		
15. Śruta		
16. Mahalla		
17. Anyatama		
18. Śuka		
19. Jīvaka		
20. *Rāja* (= *Sāmaññaphala*)		
21. *Vāsiṣṭha* (= *Tevijja*)		
22. *Kāśyapa*		
23. *Brahmajāla*		

All the sūtras collected in the *Chang ahan* version of this section are found in the other two versions. Combined with the fact that it is also the shortest, this would suggest that the Chinese translation preserves the oldest accessible form of the Śīlaskandha. Since the ten sūtras contained in the Chinese translation are all found among the 13 suttas of the Pali, and in turn all the Pali suttas are found among the 23 sūtras of the Sanskrit, a clear one-way development seems to be indicated by these figures. However, I am reluctant to immediately translate such content data into chronological data and to understand them as

[9] Cf. also Iwamatsu 2001 and Melzer 2010: 11ff.

reflecting a historical development, since we know next to nothing about the editorial processes resulting in the canonical collections as we now have them.

The Pali Sīlakkhandha has three sūtras more than the Chinese, and the Sanskrit as many as thirteen more, a surprising difference, especially in view of the fact that sūtras 13–17 are rather short.[10] It is impossible to reconstruct something like a structural archetype of the section; apparently the *Śroṇatāṇḍya-, Kūṭatāṇḍya-* and *Ambāṣṭha-sūtra*s form one of its building blocks, since they are grouped closely together in all three versions (nos. 9–11 in the Sanskrit, nos. 3–5 in the Pali, nos. 1 and 3–4 in the Chinese), but their sequence is not fixed. Apart from that it is difficult to see any close relations with regard to sequence. There might be one more similarity between the Chinese translation and the Sanskrit: the *Rāja-* (= *Sāmaññaphala*), *Vāsiṣṭha-* (= *Tevijja*) and the *Kāśyapa-sūtra*s appear together in both, although in reverse order, but in the Pali these three discourses are wide apart.

The credit for having identified parts of the manuscript even before the colophon became available goes to Somdev Vasudeva and to Klaus Wille, working independently of each other. The latter studied photographs I had received from Harry Falk in Berlin, while Vasudeva worked as a consultant for Sam Fogg, one of the book dealers in London, when the manuscript—or rather, part of it—was initially offered for sale, and he was probably the first scholar to inspect the original; I owe it to him that xerox copies of the folios reached me. He had already started, together with Lance Cousins, to transliterate some of the sūtras, but due to his many other obligations he was unable to pursue this project, and finally the research group formed for the study of the Schøyen Collection took over, procured colour images of all the known folios and received unreserved permission from the various owners to study the material and to publish it. This resulted in a continuous effort to make the sūtras accessible.

1.3 Texts edited so far

By now 16 of the 47 sūtras (or, rather, of the 37 sūtras currently accessible) have been edited. This probably sounds more impressive than it really is, since the 16 also include some of the very short sūtras, short because they form either a duplication of the preceding one or because they contain the so-called *śīlaskandha*, a lengthy passage characteristic for all the sūtras in the Śīlaskandha section and amounting to nine and a half folios in the Sanskrit text, as an abbreviation reduced to one or two sentences. So far, only two of the editions have been published.[11] Most of them were prepared as a thesis for an academic qualification; two are doctoral dissertations and five are Masters theses or something similar. This means that the manuscript has provided the raw material for a considerable number of young scholars to gain expertise in philological work on Buddhist texts, but it also means that the editions achieved so far need to be standardized for publication in a series. This will be one of the most important tasks for the near future. The following sūtras have already been edited or are presently being studied:

05 *Mahāvadānasūtra*	Fukita Takamichi (Kyoto, in progress)
06 *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*	Klaus Wille (Göttingen, in progress)
15 *Prāsādikasūtra*	Charles DiSimone (München, dissertation project)
16 *Prasādanīyasūtra*	same as no. 15
20 *Kāyabhāvanāsūtra*	LIU Zhen (München, dissertation, published)
21 *Bodhasūtra*	Blair Silverlock (Sydney, Bachelors thesis, finished)

[10] See the discussion in Melzer 2010: 23f.

[11] LIU 2010 and Melzer 2010, the latter in a preliminary form as a microfiche edition of a doctoral dissertation.

22 *Śaṅkarakasūtra*	ZHANG Lixiang (München, Masters thesis, finished)
23 *Āṭānāṭasūtra*	Lore Sander and Siglinde Dietz (Berlin/Göttingen, in progress)
25 *Tridaṇḍisūtra*	Jinkyoung Choi (München/Kyoto, dissertation project)
26 *Piṅgalātreyasūtra*	Lita Peipina (Oslo, Masters thesis, finished)
27–28 *Lohityasūtra* I/II	Jinkyoung Choi (München/Kyoto, dissertation project)
29 *Kaivartisūtra*	ZHOU Chunyang (Göttingen, Masters thesis, finished)
34 *Kūṭatāṇḍyasūtra*	Oliver von Criegern (München, Masters thesis, finished)
35–41 *Ambāṣṭhasūtra* to *Anyatamasūtra*	Gudrun Melzer (München, Dissertation, published)
36 *Pṛṣṭhapālasūtra*	Daniel Stuart (UC Berkeley, published)

Additionally, Akira Sadakata twice published fragments from the *Govindasūtra* (no. 14, Sadakata 1999 and 2006), Siglinde Dietz and Lore Sander reported on the *Āṭānāṭasūtra* (no. 23, Dietz 2011, Sander 2007), Kazunobu Matsuda introduced the *Tridaṇḍisūtra* (no. 25, Matsuda 2006), Jinkyoung Choi analyzed the *Tridaṇḍisūtra* and the two *Lohityasūtras* (nos. 25 and 27–28, Choi 2012a and 2012b), and I published a section of the *Daśottarasūtra* (no. 1; Hartmann 2011) and of the *Bodhasūtra* (no. 21; Hartmann 2004), which is now incorporated in the work of Blair Silverlock.

Obviously, the main task in the future will be twofold, first, to have more texts edited, and second, to have the edited texts published in an accessible format. In one sense, the latter is more demanding than the former, since it will take a considerable amount of time and effort to bring all the editions to the same standard and to have them follow — of course within reason — the same conventions. Usually the editions consist of an introduction, a transliteration, a reconstruction and a translation. Conventions concerning the transliteration have to be fully consistent; here is no room at all for creativity. This is different in the reconstruction part: various editors have used different symbols in order to come to terms with the sometimes extremely faulty manuscript. This is one reason for divergences, the other being the differing number of parallel versions which the editors thought necessary to incorporate. Normally this includes the Pali version and, if they exist, the corresponding fragments of the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts. The most extreme case so far is Gudrun Melzer's reconstruction of the *Ambāṣṭhasūtra,* which involves up to five columns on facing pages, even without quoting the Pali parallel; it includes the reconstruction of the manuscript, its translation, the fragments from Central Asia and two different Tibetan translations.

1.4 Results

At first sight the manuscript looks very good, but it does not hold what it seems to promise. Closer inspection quickly reveals that the textual transmission has already deteriorated to a degree that turns editing into a real challenge. There are countless mistakes, haplographies and dittographies, wrong *akṣaras* and mutilated words, omitted or wrongly added negations, and all this to a degree that often renders whole paragraphs incomprehensible.[12] Towards the end, long sūtras are reduced to a few folios, but the folio numbers continue to be consecutive. However, there are no corrections; it appears that the manuscript was never read and it surely was not meant to serve as a study book for someone interested in the contents of the texts. This raises interesting questions about the function and purpose of

[12] Cf. Melzer in press, section on "Some typical examples of scribal errors in the manuscript."

such a long and costly manuscript, but these questions will have to be addressed on another occasion.

The study of the manuscript has resulted in the recovery of the Sanskrit text of a number of sūtras which were hitherto known only from their Pali versions, and in a few cases previously unknown sūtras came to light, as for instance the *Kāraṇavādisūtra* (no. 37), edited by Gudrun Melzer. All this considerably advances our knowledge of the canonical sūtra literature of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins, or, at least, of the canonical sūtra literature transmitted in Sanskrit, if one hesitates to ascribe this Sūtrapiṭaka to a specific school. In her excellent dissertation Melzer achieved yet another most interesting result. Some of her important observations concern the technique of copying, at least in that area and during that period, and they allow us for the first time to get a glimpse of the work in a scriptorium.

Melzer's careful study of the scribal variants led to the observation of a change in scribes in the passage she edited.[13] She was able to distinguish at least four, possibly even five different scribes in that section, which consists of only 20 folios. Taking the other parts of the manuscript into consideration, she formed the opinion that between five and seven scribes were involved in the copying. This means that there was a scriptorium with a number of scribes who continuously worked on the manuscript together. It also means that each folio had to be copied page-identical in order to connect seamlessly with the work of the next scribe. This may sound arbitrary and therefore difficult to follow, but Melzer found something which apparently proves the correctness of her observation. To my knowledge, this is the first time that this phenomenon has been observed in Indian manuscript production during the first millennium. On many folios there is a very tiny figure below the folio number, evidently another number, but written with the numerals of the new decimal system, while the folio numbers themselves still follow the older "additive" system.[14] These additional numbers are consecutive, but do not agree at all with the folio numbers, and at present there is only one possible explanation: they are a device by the scribe to number the section that is assigned to him.[15] Such portions vary in size; there is one of 28 folios, another of ten folios, several of six and one of only two folios. The same scribe may get several portions from different parts of the manuscript. The process of copying such a lengthy text is carried out simultaneously by several scribes, but the number of pages is not divided in advance by the number of scribes, assigning the same share to each of them. It rather appears to be done on something like a day-to-day basis, and it requires each page of the exemplar to be copied onto exactly one page of the new manuscript. In the section studied by Melzer the scribes change at least nine times,[16] and this makes it very likely that the folio numbers were added only after the copying was finished. Such a secondary numbering is also suggested by the four folios that were misplaced and then consecutively numbered in their new context (three folios of the *Ambāṣṭhasūtra* and one of the *Brahmajālasūtra* inserted as folios 442–444 in the *Rājasūtra*, see the table above).

Finally, four versions of a specific phrase found in one of the *Dīrghāgama* sūtras will be contrasted here in order to illustrate how difficult it is to explain the relationship between the versions of a sūtra as a process of expansion in one direction. The phrase has the advantage of not occurring often, but of being found in three versions of the same sūtra all preserved in Indic languages. It serves to describe the dharma taught by a teacher free of greed, hatred and delusion. In Sanskrit it is the *Kāmaṭhikasūtra* (*Dīrghāgama* no. 19), in

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13 Cf. Melzer in press, section on "The scribes of the manuscript."

14 Cf. Melzer in press, section on "A second pagination system."

15 Such numbers are found on other manuscripts, too; cf. n. 18 below.

16 Melzer 2010: 76.

Pali the *Caṅkīsutta* (MN 95), while for the version in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit found among the fragments of the Schøyen Collection no title is preserved; there the name of the brahmin appears as Caṅgī. Additionally, a similar phrase from the *Mahāvastu* is given which, although found in another context, is closely related to the BHS sūtra and therefore supports the idea that the Schøyen fragment belongs to a text from the literary tradition of the Mahāsāṃghikas.[17]

Pali Theravāda *Caṅkīsutta* MN II 172.13–16	**BHS** Mahāsāṃghika? **Caṅgīsūtra* MS 2376/5v4–5	**BHS** Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda Mvu III 314.15–16	**Sanskrit** (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Kāmaṭhikasūtra* DĀ 327v5–6
yaṃ kho pana *ayam āyasmā dhammaṃ* deseti, *gambhīro* so dhammo duddaso *duranubodho* santo paṇīto *atakkāvacaro nipuṇo paṇḍitavedanīyo*, na so dhammo sudesiyo *luddhenā*ti	*yaṃ* pi ca *yam āyuṣmāṃ dharmmaṃ* deśayati *gāmbhīraṃ nipuṇaṃ* sukhumaṃ *duranubodhaṃ* atarkkiyaṃ *atarkkāvacaraṃ paṇḍitavedanīyaṃ* sarvvalokapratyayanikaṃ ayaṃ dharmmaḥ ajāṇa *lubdhena* jānaṃ paśyaṃ viharati	adhigato yad ayaṃ mayā dharmo gambhīro nipuṇo sūkṣmo duranubodho atarkito atarkāvacaro paṇḍitavedanīyo sarvalokavipratyanīko	*yaṃ* ca kiṃ cid *ayam āyuṣmān dharmaṃ* bhāṣate saṃkṣiptena vā vistareṇa vā śānto 'sya sa dharmaḥ praṇīto *gambhīro* gambhīrāvabhāso durdṛśo *duravabodho* 'tarkyo *'tarkyāvacaraḥ* sūkṣmo *nipuṇaḥ paṇḍita*vijña*vedanīyaḥ* sa cānenāyuṣmatā na suka-ram ājñātuṃ yathāpi tad ekānta*lubdhena*

Most of the phrase is shared by all three versions, but in all cases two versions have something in common that is not shared by the third. This makes it impossible to construe it as a unilinear development; it is plausible, of course, that the Sanskrit version, being the longest and the most elaborate, is also the latest, but beyond that it is not easy to ascertain the development. There is no doubt that it is basically the same phrase in the same place in all three versions. There is also no doubt that it has been expanded in various ways, mostly by adding further items to an already existing series of words, a very common device in all versions of canonical Buddhist texts. It is not so clear, however, if one should simply start by taking those words highlighted in italics as the original nucleus of the phrase, because they are shared by all versions. Much more comparative study will be necessary in order to become better equipped for understanding and disentangling such developments, and this is another field where the *Dīrghāgama* manuscript provides us with a large amount of new and rich material.

2 *Further identified manuscripts in the Private Collection, Virginia* (*by Klaus Wille*)

A major part of the *Dīrghāgama* manuscript is kept in a private collection in Virginia. Together with this manuscript, the collector acquired folios and fragments of several other birch-bark manuscripts, eight of which could be identified so far. No find-spot is known for any of them, but it is likely, or at least probable, that they all come from the same place. Wherever they came from, it is evident that a small part of this find has gone into the Schøyen Collection in Norway (see below). They all have this in common, that at least until 2005, when Jens-Uwe Hartmann visited the collection and scanned the manuscripts, they had not been properly restored. Quite often two or more fragments are still stuck together and only one side or part of a side can be read. In the Schøyen Collection there are

[17] The **Caṅgīsūtra* is published in Hartmann 2002b. In the texts of the **Caṅgī-* and the *Kāmaṭhikasūtras* all text-critical notation is omitted.

three photographs of bundles of manuscripts made by the antique dealer in London before selling the originals to the private collector in Virginia. When one compares the photographs of the bundles and the now restored fragments, it is clear that many fragments suffered the loss of up to four akṣaras per line.

1. Of the first manuscript 63 identified fragments contain the *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. Sixty not yet identified fragments most probably contain the same text, but due to the very small size of these fragments their assignment to the *Vinayavibhaṅga* is not completely certain, since the script[18] is very similar to that of the *Dīrghāgama* and *Saṃyuktāgama* manuscripts. Regarding their contents, the fragments preserve text of the Naiḥsargikapāyattika-, Pāyattika- and Pratideśanīya-dharmas. In October 2000 Claus Vogel and I started to edit Sanskrit fragments of Pāyattika-dharmas 6 and 7, along with an edition and translation of the Tibetan version. Unfortunately, we had to stop in 2003 for personal reasons. The Sanskrit text of folio 251 recto is given as an example in the appendix. It is planned that Masanori Shōno (Osaka), who could recently identify additional fragments, will edit the fragments. The folios are inscribed with ten lines on each side; the script is similar to the manuscripts of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, *Uttaragrantha* (manuscript B), *Saṃyuktāgama*, and *Udānavarga*.

2. A second manuscript contained the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. Only four fragments from the end of the text are preserved. With regard to foliation and script it might belong to the same manuscript as the *Vinayavibhaṅga* text. The folios are again inscribed with ten lines on each side; the script is similar to the manuscripts of the *Vinayavibhaṅga, Uttaragrantha* (manuscript B), *Saṃyuktāgama*, and *Udānavarga*.

3. Approximately 90 identified and 21 as yet unidentified fragments belong to a manuscript of the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. For the most part they are of a rather small size. The text corresponds closely to the edition of the Gilgit manuscript of the *Vinayavastu* with only minor *variae lectiones*. However, there are several fragments which contain text so far considered as lost in the edited *Vinayavastu* manuscript. It is planned that Fumi Yao (Tokyo) will edit these fragments. At least nine fragments in the Schøyen collection (registered in MS 2627/1 and 3) belong to the same manuscript. The folios are written with eight lines per side; the script is similar to the manuscripts of the *Uttaragrantha* (manuscript A) and the *Prajñāpāramitā*.
More and more parts of the *Vinayavastu* are now attested in manuscripts. Recently I could identify at least two fragments from the *Poṣathasthāpanavastu* in the manuscript collection from Zang-tepe now housed in the State Museum of History of Uzbekistan, Tashkent. This means that we know by now of three different manuscripts of the *Vinayavastu* in Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II or Proto-Śāradā. Another small fragment of the same collection most probably belongs to the *Vinayasūtra* of Guṇaprabha [my transliteration is given now in Hong LUO[19]]. The first report on this collection was published by Bongard-Levin, Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja, and Temkin in 1965.[20]

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[18] Three folios of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* and two folios of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* manuscript bear a tiny figure below the folio number and the lower left corner respectively. This points to the same scriptorium which produced the *Dīrghāgama* manuscript (see also above, p. 144).

[19] Hong LUO, "The Recensions of Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* — Towards an Editorial Policy for the Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Text," *Annali — Università degli Studi di Napoli l'Orientale* 67 (2007): 171–186, especially 172f.

[20] G. M. Bongard-Levin, M. I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja, E. N. Temkin, "Fragmenty sanskritskie rukopisi iz Zang-Tepe," *Vestnik drevnej istorii*, No. 1, Moskva 1965: 154–162. ["Fragments of the Sanskrit Manuscripts from Zang-Tepe: Preliminary Report," *Journal of the Ancient History* 1 (1965):

4. Of a fourth manuscript containing the *Uttaragrantha* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins two fragments could be identified only recently by Shayne Clarke [hereafter *Uttaragrantha* (manuscript A)]. In the Schøyen collection (serial number MS 2627/2) there are numerous fragments belonging to the same manuscript. Two of them were identified by Gregory Schopen (Los Angeles) and one by Shayne Clarke (Hamilton). The folios are inscribed with nine lines per side; the script is similar to the manuscripts of the *Vinayavastu* and the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

5. A fifth manuscript contains one fragment of a second copy of the *Uttaragrantha* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins [hereafter *Uttaragrantha* (manuscript B)]. It was identified recently by Masanori Shōno (Osaka). The folio is written with nine lines per side; the script is similar to the manuscripts of the *Vinayavibhaṅga*, *Prātimokṣasūtra*, *Saṃyuktāgama*, and *Udānavarga*.

6. Of a sixth manuscript containing the *Saṃyuktāgama* about fifteen as yet unidentified fragments are preserved, as well as four fragments which could be identified by Jin-il Chung (Göttingen) and four fragments by Masanori Shōno (Osaka). Again, several fragments in MS 2627/1 in the Schøyen Collection belong to the same manuscript, and J. Chung could assign two pieces in the Schøyen collection to a fragmentary folio (at present numbered F22.2) in the Virginia Collection. The folios are written with ten lines on each side; the script is similar to the manuscripts of the *Vinayavibhaṅga*, *Prātimokṣasūtra*, *Uttaragrantha* (manuscript B), and *Udānavarga*.

7. A seventh manuscript, represented by three fragments, once contained the *Udānavarga*. The verses preserved in these fragments show considerable deviations from the text edited by Bernhard (Uv). The number of lines per side is not determinable because the fragments are too small; the script is similar to the manuscripts of the *Vinayavibhaṅga*, *Prātimokṣasūtra*, *Uttaragrantha* (manuscript B), and *Saṃyuktāgama*.

8. Finally, of an eighth manuscript, a Prajñāpāramitā text, 22 identified fragments and only one as yet unidentified piece have survived. Once again, several folios of MS 2627/4 in the Schøyen Collection, not yet restored, belong to the same manuscript. The folios are written with ten lines per side; the script is similar to the manuscripts of the *Vinayavastu* and the *Uttaragrantha* (manuscript A).

The numbering system within the collection is somewhat difficult. All folios and fragments, including those of the *Dīrghāgama*, are put in plastic envelopes of the size of a folio. Generally, one envelope contains one folio; however, it may contain several folios if they have not been separated (cf. above, p. 138) and in the case of fragments, it may contain fragments of several different texts. The envelopes are divided into three sets I–III, and set III is subdivided again into the letters A–G. The sets consist of the following numbers of envelopes:

Set I:	1–51
Set II:	1–38 and Fragments a, b, c
Set III:	A1–15 and A Fragments
	B1–26 and B Fragments
	C1–16 and C Fragments a, b

154–162].

D1–21 and D Fragments
E1–34 and E Fragments
F1–25
G1–25

1. *Vinayavibhaṅga* (one ms.; Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II = Proto-Śāradā)[21]

Naiḥsargikapāyattika-dharma 2: F8.1 (identified by M. Shōno); F15.2B (2 folios stuck together)

Naiḥsargikapāyattika-dharma 4: F2.2+G21.7 (folio number 161); F16.4A (identified by M. Shōno); F7.1; F8.4; F16.1; G24.11

Naiḥsargikapāyattika-dharma 5: F15.2A (2 folios stuck together); G14.8 (folio number 172); G19.7, 10; G24.8A (all frgs. identified by M. Shōno)

Naiḥsargikapāyattika-dharma 6: F7.3; F7.4; F12.1 (identified by M. Shōno), 6; G24.10, 13 (both frgs. identified by M. Shōno)

Naiḥsargikapāyattika-dharma 14: G15.3(?)

Naiḥsargikapāyattika-dharma 18: F22.3A (identified by M. Shōno; several folios stuck together); G14.4B (identified by M. Shōno; several folios stuck together)

Pāyattika-dharma 1: F17.1 (folio number 200 ..; 2 folios stuck together)

Pāyattika-dharma 1–2: F14.2 (folio number 23[9]; 2 folios stuck together)

Pāyattika-dharma 2: F9.1 (folio number 240; 2 folios stuck together); F9.2+3 (identified by M. Shōno); F17.2+5 (folio number 2[4]2); F17.3, 4; F27.2 (identified by M. Shōno); II.5; II.25.3 (identified by M. Shōno); II.26.2; II.30.2 (identified by M. Shono); II.31.2 (identified by M. Shōno)

Pāyattika-dharma 2–3: G15.7 (identified by M. Shōno/K. Wille); G16.6 (several folios stuck together); II.9.4

Pāyattika-dharma 3–4: G16.8 (identified by M. Shōno); II.2

Pāyattika-dharma 4: F6.1+II.4 (folio number 249r; identified by M. Shōno)

Pāyattika-dharma 4–5: G25.7 (identified by M. Shōno)

Pāyattika-dharma 5–6: F6.1+II.4 (folio number 250v)

Pāyattika-dharma 6–7: F4.1+II.7 (folio number 251)

Pāyattika-dharma 7: G14.1+II.6 (folio number 252); G25.1 (identified by M. Shōno)

Pāyattika-dharma 7–8: G14.2+II.3 (folio number 253)

Pāyattika-dharma 8: II.9.2, 5(?); II.22.1.2(?); II. 23.1(?)

Pāyattika-dharma 8–9: II.8.1 (identified by M. Shōno/K. Wille), 2; II.9.3 (identified by M. Shōno); II.26.3 (identified by M. Shōno)

Pāyattika-dharma 9–10: F3.4.1 (identified by M. Shōno)

Pāyattika-dharma 10: F3.4.2A (identified by M. Shōno); F14.4

Pāyattika-dharma 10–11: G16.3 (identified by M. Shōno; several folios stuck together)

Pāyattika-dharma 11: F14.3

Pratideśanīya-dharma 3–4: F25.5 (identified by M. Shōno)

Pāyattika-dharma, not yet identified: II.8.3, 4, II.9.1, 6

Not yet identified: F16.4B; F18.1 (folio number ///4), 2 (several folios stuck together), 3 (several folios stuck together), 4 (several folios stuck together); F27.1; G22.17 (several folios stuck together); G24.2, 3

[21] Presumably the manuscript of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* belongs to the same manuscript.

Vinayavibhaṅga ms.(?): F8.2; G19.3,11; G20.5, 8 (several folios stuck together); G24.2 (several folios stuck together), 12; II.18.2; II.20.3; II.21.1, 2; II.22.1.1; II.22.3; II.25.6; II.31.1, 4, 6, 7

2. *Prātimokṣasūtra* (one ms.; Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II = Proto-Śāradā)[22]
Śaikṣa-dharma 87–107: F25.4 (folio number 520)
Śaikṣa-dharma 89–Adhikaraṇaśamatha-dharma 3: G20.4 (several folios stuck together)
Adhikaraṇaśamatha-dharma: G22.11
concluding verses: F14.1 (folio number 522; identified by J.-U. Hartmann)

3. *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the *Vinayavastu* (one ms.; Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II = Proto-Śāradā)[23]
Skt. text not extant in MSV: G16.1A+2A+4A (lines 1, 2: identified and ed. Yao 2013a: 116, n. 3)
Skt. text not extant in MSV: G22.15A (lines c, d: identified and ed. Yao 2013a: 120, n. 1)
Skt. text not extant in MSV: F27.5A (lines w, x: identified and ed. Yao 2013a: 122, n. 1)
Skt. text not extant in MSV: F27.4.2A (lines 3–5: identified and ed. Yao 2013a: 126, n. 1)
Skt. text not extant in MSV: F19.3+4 (recto and v lines 1–4, 7, 8: identified and ed. Yao 2013a: 129, n. 3; 131, n. 4; 133f., n. 5; 140, n. 3 and Yao 2013b)
Skt. text not extant in MSV [beginning of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (*ṣaṣṭigrāmasahasrāṇi*)?]: F19.7 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 67–69: G17.7 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 68f.: G17.3
MSV I 70–72: F23.3 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 70ff.: G17.8 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 72ff.: G17.9 (line r7; ed. Yao 2013a: 288, n. 3)
MSV I 75: F23.3 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 75–77: F23.5 (lines v1–6: ed. Yao 2013a: 290f., n. 6)
MSV I 78–80: F23.4
MSV I 79f.: F27.4.1 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 128: E25.1 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 129f.: E22.7 B (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 131.9–??: E25.1 (several folios stuck together: folio number 115)
MSV I 133: E22.7 A (2nd fragment; several folios stuck together)
MSV I 134: E25.1 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 135: E-fragments.4
MSV I 135f.: E22.7 A (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 138: E-fragments.2
MSV I 139–145: E23–24.1 (folio number 118)
MSV I 146f.: E25.2
MSV I 149f.: E22.3+4+9+11 (frg. 11: 2nd frg. on B; line b: ed. Yao 2013a: 361, n. 4)
MSV I 152ff.: E25.3 (1 122)
MSV I 154f.: E23–24.3B
MSV I 156f.: G17.4A (several folios stuck together; lines a–d: ed. Yao 2013a: 367, n. 1)
Skt. text not extant in MSV (after MSV I 159; cf. Panglung: 40f.: "Viśvantara (I)" or "Viśvantara (II)"; parallel SBV II 124): G19.4, 9; 22.16; 23.8 (several folios stuck together)
Skt. text not extant in MSV (after MSV I 159; cf. Panglung: 40f.: "Viśvantara (II)" or "Viśvantara III"; parallel SBV II 120f.): F5.2, 4

[22] Presumably the manuscript of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* belongs to the same manuscript.
[23] Some of the fragments were identified by J.-U. Hartmann and myself, some only by myself.

Skt. text not extant in MSV (cf. MSV I 159; Panglung: 41: “Viśvantara III”; parallel SBV II 130–132): F3.1
Skt. text not extant in MSV (after cf. MSV I 159; Panglung: 41: “Viśvantara III”; parallel SBV II 132f.): F3.2
Skt. text not extant in MSV (after MSV I 159; cf. Panglung: 41: “Viśvantara III” and “Hausherr bewirtet Pratyekabuddhas”): F5.3
Skt. text not extant in MSV (after MSV I 159; cf. Panglung: 41: “Hausherr bewirtet Pratyekabuddhas”): F4.4
Skt. text not extant in MSV (after MSV I 159; cf. Panglung: 42: “Ṛṣi” and “Siṃhakuñjara”): F6.2 (lines A1–3: ed. Yao 2013a: 391, n. 4)
Skt. text not extant in MSV (after MSV I 159; cf. Panglung: 42f.: “Vogel mit zwei Köpfen” and “Anführer von Wasserrebhühnern”): F6.4
Skt. text not extant in MSV (after MSV I 159; cf. Panglung: 43: “Papagei” and “König von Videha”): F5.1
Skt. text not extant in MSV [after MSV I 159; cf. Panglung: 44f.: “Der jüngere Bruder,” “Der kluge Karawanenführer,” and “Ṣaḍdanta”]: F4.2+G17.5 (lines A4–7: identified and ed. Yao 2013a: 401f., n. 5)
Skt. text not extant in MSV (after MSV I 159; for A4ff. cf. Panglung: 45f.: “Śyāma”; for B1ff. cf. Panglung: 49f.: “Prabhāsa”?): F4.3+F25.2 (lines r3–8, v1: identified and ed. Yao 2013a: 409, n. 2; 410f., n. 2; 414, n. 2; 421, n. 2)
Skt. text not extant in MSV (after MSV I 159(?); not yet found): F6.3; 7.2
Anavataptagāthā, verses 96(?)–105, 116–126: G23.2 (folio number 155; recto a–e ed. Salomon 2008: 262–275)
Anavataptagāthā, verses 191ff.: F20.7 (several folios stuck together)
Anavataptagāthā, verses 191–213: F23.6
Anavataptagāthā, verses 218ff.: G22.12 (several folios stuck together)
Anavataptagāthā, Yaśaḥ II/Jyotiṣka: G16.5
Anavataptagāthā, Jyotiṣka/Rāṣṭrapāla: G16.7
Anavataptagāthā, Rāṣṭrapāla/Svāti: G15.1
Anavataptagāthā, Lavaṇabhadrika: G14.5A (line 5: identified and ed. Yao 2013a: 500, n. 1)
Anavataptagāthā, Madhuvāsiṣṭha: G14.5A (several folios stuck together)
Anavataptagāthā, varga 35: G14.9B
Anavataptagāthā, not yet identified: G22.6 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 212: F1.4A
MSV I 212f.: E25.4 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 214f.: E25.4 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 215: E25.4 (several folios stuck together)+G8.6
MSV I 217: E25.4 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 242ff. (= Wille 1990: 114ff.): F13.2 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 242ff. (= Wille 1990: 114, folio number 228v4ff.): G18.3r (folio number 191)
MSV I 242ff. (= Wille 1990: 114, folio number 228v7ff.): F20.2.1, 3
MSV I 253–254: F25.6 (folio number ///95)
MSV I 256–259: F25.3 [folio number ///96r and (///97v?); several folios stuck together]
MSV I 257: G22.5B (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 258f.: G15.2 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 261f.: G18.1 (folio number 198)
MSV I 262: G15.2 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 266f.: F22.1B (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 269: G15.2 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 271: F22.1B (several folios stuck together)

MSV I 277: F22.1A (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 281: F20.9 (several folios stuck together)
MSV I 282: F22.1A (several folios stuck together)

Bhaiṣajyavastu (?): F1.4B (several folios stuck together); F3.6; G17.5 (several folios stuck together), 6 (several folios stuck together)
Vinayavastu ms.(?): F19.1; F20.2.2; F20.5; F23.1; F26.1, 2, 3, 4; F27.6; G14.7; G23.4, 5; G25.5; G25.9 (several folios stuck together), 10

Several fragments[24] in the Schøyen Collection (MS 2627/1, 3) belong to the same manuscript of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*:
1) cf. Wille 1990: 69
2) cf. Wille 1990: 71f.
3) cf. Wille 1990: 88
4) cf. Wille 1990: 98
5) cf. Wille 1990: 97f.
6) cf. Wille 1990: 100
7) cf. MSV I 161 and Wille 1990: 69
8) cf. MSV I 213f.
9) cf. MSV I 241ff. and Wille 1990: 111f.

4. *Uttaragrantha* (manuscript A; Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II = Proto-Śāradā)
F20.9B (identified by S. Clarke)
F26.2A (identified by S. Clarke)
Several fragments[25] in the Schøyen Collection (MS 2627/2) belong to the same manuscript of the *Uttaragrantha*: to date two frgs. were identifed by G. Schopen and one frg. by S. Clarke.

5. *Uttaragrantha* (manuscript B; Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II = Proto-Śāradā)
F15.1+3 (identified by M. Shōno)

6. *Saṃyuktāgama* (one ms.; Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II = Proto-Śāradā)
T 99, sūtra 408 and 409 (Chung 2008: 33): G17.1
T 99, sūtra 413 (Chung 2008: 33): G17.2
T 99, sūtra 481 (identified by J. Chung): F22.2
T 99, sūtra 484 and 485 (Chung 2008: 33): F23.7
T 99, sūtra 551 (identified by M. Shōno): F8.3
T 99, sūtra 929 or T 100, sūtra 154 (identified by M. Shōno): F13.1, 4; G18.5

Not yet identified: F12.4 (2 folios stuck together); F20.3 (2 folios stuck together); 20.8; F22.2 (several folios stuck together); G14.3; G15.4, 5; G18.2, 4; G20.6, 9; G21.2, 5; G22.7; G24.6;

Several fragments in the Schøyen Collection (MS 2627/1) belong to the same manuscript: two frgs. belong with F22.2 to one folio (sūtra 481; identified by J. Chung)

[24] There are several bundles of folios which are stuck together; folio numbers 170ff.
[25] There are several bundles of folios which are stuck together.

7. *Udānavarga* (one ms.; Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II = Proto-Śāradā)
Uv 27.39ff.: F20.4
Uv 32.48ff., 33.27ff.: F20.6 (several folios stuck together)
Uv 32.42ff., 33.47ff.: G15.6 (several folios stuck together)

8. *Prajñāpāramitā text* (one ms.; Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II = Proto-Śāradā)
AdsPG II 18.18–21.1: F12.5
AdsPG II 45–48: F16.3
AdsPG II 47f.: F12.3; G24.9
AdsPG II 48–50: F10.2, 3; F11.3, 4
AdsPG II 49f.: F2.1
AdsPG II 50f.: F10.1 (folio number 371)
AdsPG II 52.5–55.5: G24.4
AdsPG II 52f.: F11.1
AdsPG II 53f.: G24.7
AdsPG II 55f.: F11.2 (folio number [3]73)
AdsPG II 57f.: F16.2

PvsP IV 106: F24.6
PvsP IV 106f.: F24.7 (several folios stuck together)
PvsP IV 108–114: F24.3
PvsP IV 109–113: F24.2
PvsP IV 117–121: F24.1
PvsP IV 126f.: F24.5
PvsP IV 127f.: F24.4

not yet identified: F12.2

Several folios in the Schøyen Collection (MS 2627/4), not yet restored, belong to the same manuscript.

Appendix

Vinayavibhaṅga: F4.1 (here in italics) + II.7: Pāyattikā 6–7[26]

Pāyattikā 6 (ed. PrMoSū-Mū):
yaḥ punar bhikṣur anupasaṃpannāya pudgalāya padaśo dharmaṃ vācayet pāyantikā |[27]

Pāyattikā 7 (ed. PrMoSū-Mū):
yaḥ punar bhikṣur anupasaṃpannāya pudgalāya duṣṭhulāpattim ārocayed anyatra saṃgha-saṃmatyā (ms. °*saṃvṛtyā*) *pāyantikā* |

recto (folio number 251)

2 *pāy(attikāṃ) + + + + + + (vāca)y(a)ty āpadyate pāyattikāṃ [bhik]ṣu[r]* (a)[n]upa[s](a)[m]p(a)[n]n(aṃ) [p]u[d]g(a)[l](a)[m] (a)[n]u(pasaṃpannasaṃjñī) + ///

3 *(sa)/mākṣaraṃ dharma[ṃ] vācayaty ā[p](a)d[y](a)te pāyattikāṃ || atyakṣaraṃ <dharmaṃ> vāca[ya]*ty āpadyate pāyattikāṃ || bhikṣur upasampanna[ṃ] pudgala[ṃ an]upasaṃpanna[s](aṃj)[ñ](ī sama)[p](a)[d](aṃ) .. + + + + + + ///

4 *(upasaṃpa)/nnaṃ pudgalaṃ vaima[t]i[k](a)[ḥ] (sama)[p](a)daṃ dharmaṃ vācayaty ā[pad](y)[et]e*[28] (d)[u]ṣkṛtāṃ || ◯ atipadaṃ dharma[ṃ] vācayaty āpadya[t]e d[u]ṣ[kṛ]tāṃ || bhikṣur upasampannaṃ pudga[l](am) . + + ///

5 *vācayaty āpa[dy](ate) [du](ṣ)[kṛ](tāṃ ||) bhikṣur upasampannaṃ pu[dg](a*laṃ vai)[m](a)tikaḥ ◯ samā[k]ṣaraṃ dharmaṃ vācayaty āpadya[t]e du[ṣkṛ]tāṃ [|]| atyakṣara(ṃ) [dh]armaṃ vāca[y](a)[ty ā](padyate) ///

6 *(svādhyā)/yanikāṃ dadāti | anāpattir anuśrāvayitvoddiś(ati* | a)nāpatti◯r ādikarmikasyeti pū[rv]avat* || || [ṣa]ṣ[ṭh](ī) p(āya)[ttikāṃ][29] • || [||] .. + + + + ///

7 *(a)/prahīṇatvāt [kl]eśānāṃ bhikṣavaḥ saṃghāvaśeṣām āpa(tt)[i](m* ā)[pady](an)[t](e) ◯ (ke)[c](i)[d utpa]tha .ṭ. .dh. kā .. .. .[i] .. [y]. .. .. + + + + + + ///

8 *(pārivāsikamā)/nāpyacā(rikā)ḥ sa(ṃ)ta[ḥ] (saṃ)[gh](e) pānīyaṃ cārayanti vī .. .. .*[ti][30] (śra)ddhā brāhmaṇagṛ[h](apatayaḥ katha)[y](a)[n](t)i ye [ratnapa](r)[īkṣakai](r) . + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ///

9 *(cā)/rayanti puṇyas[y]a [s](aṃ)[c](a)[y](a)<ṃ> [ku]<r>[v](a)[n](t)i ime tu ṣaḍvargī(yāḥ sth)[ū](la)*k[ā]ḥ khādantas ti[ṣṭh](an)[t](i te) ’vadh[y]ā[yantaḥ ṣaḍvarg]ī[yāḥ] śr[utā] .. .. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ///

10 *.i [v]. ..ṃ [|] .e .. ..ṃ .. .. .ī .. + +ṃ* + + + + + ... te ’vadhyāyanti kṣip(a)[nti] vivācaya[nti ye] (t)[āv](at s)[th](av)[i](rasthavirā) + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ///

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[26] Cf. TT 1032, vol. 43, p. 17.4.8–18.1.6 = ’Dul-ba rnam-par ’byed-pa section, vol. 97 (*je*), foll. 241a8–242a6; Derge[Taipei], vol. 1, No. 3, p. 510.520.5–522.5 = vol. 6 (*cha*), foll. 260b5–261b5.

[27] GBM 50.2: *yaḥ punar bhikṣur anupasaṃ + .. [y]. [pud]g(a)[l]āya padaśo dharmmaṃ vācayet pāyattikā* • ||

GBM 141.2 (= reprint 129.2): *yaḥ punar bhikṣur anupasaṃpannaṃ* (cor. °*nnāya*?) *pudgalaṃ* (corr. °*lāya*) *padaśo dharmmaṃ vācayet pāyattikā* ||

[28] Read *āpadyate*.

[29] Read *pāyattikā*.

[30] Possibly restore to *vījayanti*.

Abbreviations

AdsPG II	E. Conze, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, Chapters 70 to 82, Corresponding to the 6th, 7th and 8th abhisamayas*, Roma 1974 (Serie Orientale Roma, 46).
Derge [Taipei]	*Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, ed. A. Barber, Taipei Edition, 72 vols, Taipei 1991.
GBM	*Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts (Facsimile Edition)*, ed. by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, 10 pts, New Delhi 1959–1974 (Śata-Piṭaka Series 10) (reprinted as *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts: revised and enlarged compact facsimile edition*. Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica Series, 150–152. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications 1995).
MN	*Majjhima-Nikāya*, ed. V. Trenckner, Robert Chalmers, 3 vols, London: Oxford University Press 1888–1899 (PTS).
MS	press mark in the **M**artin **S**chøyen collection (Oslo).
MSV I	[*Mūlasarvāstivādavinayavastu*, *Bhaiṣajyavastu*] = *Gilgit Manuscript*, ed. N. Dutt, vol. III.1, Calcutta, Srinagar: Calcutta Oriental Press 1947.
Mvu	*Le Mahâvastu*, ed. É. Senart, Paris 1892–1897 (Collection d'ouvrages orientaux; Seconde série).
PrMoSū-Mū	*Prātimokṣa-sūtram* (*Mūlasarvāstivāda*), ed. A. Ch. Banerjee, Calcutta: Calcutta Oriental Press 1954.
PvsP IV	*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā IV*, ed. T. Kimura, Tokyo: Sankibo 1986.
T	*Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* or *Taishō Issaikyō*, 100 vols, ed. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, Tōkyō 1924ff.
TT	*The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition* (repr.), ed. Daisetz T. Suzuki, 168 vols, Tokyo/Kyoto 1955–1961.
Uv	*Udānavarga*, ed. F. Bernhard, 2 vols, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1965 and 1968 (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, 10).

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The Schøyen Collection

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One of the more significant bodies of manuscript finds surfacing around the recent turn of the millennium is now part of the Schøyen Collection in Norway. The study of this collection, most of which is thought to have originated in a cave in the Bāmiyān Valley near the colossal Buddha statues demolished by the Taliban authorities in March 2001, has brought us numerous new insights into the history of Buddhism, even though there are many issues relating to the collection which as yet have barely been touched upon or not addressed at all. A considerable number of identifications, transliterations and editions have been produced in the three volumes so far published in the series *Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection* (BMSC), which will soon be followed by a fourth. However, even though many Buddhist scholars specializing in various subfields of the discipline have participated in the BMSC project, there is still a long way to go, not only in identifying fragments and editing them, but also in analyzing the material in its broader historical context.

One of the reasons for the slow progress of this undertaking is that the material is very voluminous: more than 10,000 fragments altogether, most of them admittedly very small, ranging from less than a square centimetre up to complete folios, but often able to be put together and reconstructed into more sizable chunks of text, work which inevitably progresses quite slowly. Another reason is the size of the collection in terms of number of texts: more than 40 identified titles, as can be seen from Appendix I, which lists the texts published in the first four volumes (BMSC i, ii, iii, iv: 2000, 2002, 2006, 2013). To this number one has to add the as yet unknown titles of the texts to which all the unidentified fragments belong, including texts difficult or impossible to identify due to the fact that no parallels are extant, either in Pāli or in Sanskrit, and there are no known translations into Tibetan or Chinese.

The texts that have been identified span practically all the genres of classical Buddhist literature, though the philosophical commentaries, which occupy such an important position in the Tibetan and to a lesser extent the Chinese canon, are practically nonexistent as compared with sūtras (and the Āgamas in general), Mahāyāna sūtras, Vinaya, Jātaka, Avadāna, and Abhidharma works. What conclusion should be drawn from this is uncertain, but it may be connected to the fact that such philosophical Śāstras by celebrated learned Buddhist scholars like Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu and Dharmakīrti were cherished rather in the élite institutions of Central North India, and even further to the west in Kashmir and old Gandhāra. There is one notable exception, a complete and nicely preserved folio of a Mīmāṃsā work, which is also the only non-Buddhist work so far identified in the find (BMSC ii: 269ff.). There are, however, a number of Abhidharma works, but they are sometimes very difficult to identify with particular texts extant in other canons, because of their fragmentary state and because of the nature of their contents, consisting often mostly of Abhidharmic concept lists.

Thus the Schøyen Collection probably represents a more popular or even mainstream form of Buddhism, as practised by travellers along the Silk Road. Though of course famous travellers like Xuanzang went to India through Bāmiyān, and doubtless many Indian Buddhist missionaries well acquainted with Buddhist philosophy went to Central Asia and China by this route, the monks and laymen catering to the spiritual needs of travellers seem rather to have given priority to producing and reproducing manuscripts of the more famous sūtras, probably seen as good protection on the dangerous voyage. Thus we find many fragments of the *Ratnakeṭudhāraṇī*, the *Saṃghāṭasūtra*, the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-*

sūtra, and the *Vajracchedikā* — the last three of which are the only texts in the collection existing in complete, or almost complete, versions. They are all fairly late, mostly from the 7th–8th centuries, and written on birch bark, and one might surmise that mass production of such texts may have been the basis of votive gifts for luck, good fortune and meritorious acts –indeed the formulae referring to the accumulation of merit by remembering, reading and copying these texts are important parts of them. And the traveller might thus have felt protected by the so-called Buddha of medicinal healing, Bhaiṣajyaguru, and the magical instrument of the *vajra* may have been considered as useful as the protective *dhāraṇī* of the *Ratnakeṭu*.

But this does not explain the collection as a whole, since indeed the fragments date from a very long period, from the 1st or 2nd century CE until the 8th. The earliest fragments typically include more examples in Kharoṣṭhī writing, while with time the Brāhmī fragments become much more numerous, and the latest Kharoṣṭhī fragments are probably not later than the 4th century. The oldest examples of Brāhmī writing in the collection are from the 2nd century, and probably represent the oldest extant manuscript material written in Brāhmī, apart from inscriptions on stone, etc. The switch to Brāhmī writing coincides with attempts to formalize and canonize Buddhism in the first and second century CE, and may have been part of the Sanskritization of Buddhism, as the Brāhmī writing system may have been more suited to the complex ligatures of Sanskrit (see BMSC i: 285ff. for a treatment of some of the writing systems). During the time span which the collection covers we can in this manner follow a development from more Prakritic language to the more general "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit" of the later texts. The older fragments are few compared with the later ones.

There is also a marked change in the use of writing material. The earliest fragments are written solely on palm leaves, while from the 6th century birch bark gradually takes over, and the palm leaves disappear from the collection. This is probably due to the fact that the oldest texts were produced further southeast, where palm leaves, found in abundance, were traditionally used for writing manuscripts, and that later birch bark, easily available in the northwest, was employed when manuscripts were produced there.

The changes in writing material and the great number of scripts — one might say that the collection somehow represents a course in the development of northwestern Brāhmī writing, containing examples from the 2nd to the 8th centuries — can be used as an argument that the collection was preserved for many centuries, and that therefore it must have belonged to a stable institution with continuous political support. We do not have any way of deciding what this institution was, but the Great Buddhas and the other archaeological remains at the site are evidence that Buddhism was well supported over a very long period. Indeed Xuanzang reports that Bāmiyān had more than ten monasteries and more than a thousand monks in the the third decade of the 7th century when he visited the place and described the Great Buddhas and their rich ornamentation. The *terminus ad quem*, as represented by the dating of the latest writing style to about 800 CE, coincides with the demise of Buddhism in the area, when the region which today is called Afghanistan gradually was Islamized. There is some reason to think that the collection was destroyed a long time ago, since fragments from widely separated time periods were found in the same lumps of clay which were taken apart during our preservation work, indicating that these clay lumps were formed at the destruction of the collection. Another indication of an early date of destruction is the very fragmentary remains of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, where the different fragments have a variety of shades due to being exposed to light differently over time (in the publication in BMSC ii, plates ix,1–3, the colours have been normalized).

The find-spot of the collection is, so far we as can ascertain, a cave 1.2 kilometres west of the Great Buddhas in the Bāmiyān valley. This information was given to us by Martin

Schøyen, who had it from those who sold him the fragments. The London antiquities dealer Sam Fogg was, according to our information, the principal purveyor of the fragments. How they were brought to this dealer is uncertain. The description of the find-spot was corroborated to a significant extent by the findings of the mission of Kazuya Yamauchi, who photographed the caves in the small locality called Zargaran, where he also interviewed local people who spoke about the manuscripts found ten years previously (see BMSC iii, plates i and ii). Proper archaeological investigation of the find-spot is definitely a desideratum.

But this brings us to the question of what this very sizable number of fragments, found in one place, in a cave, really is. One possibility is that the fragments are the remains of a much larger library, which collected a great variety of manuscripts during a long period of time, and which was moved to the cave from a nearby monastery at a time of crisis. The texts of a monastery are traditionally kept in an annex to the temple altar, and they may have been moved from such a setting. Many of the texts also seem to be affiliated with the Mahāsāṃghika school, as argued by several of the contributors in the BMSC series on the basis of comparisons with other materials and linguistic criteria. Even though this cannot be shown with certainty, we can say that our fragments may have belonged to what was the library of a Mahāsāṃghika institution, but that it was scarcely forbidden for a Buddhist institution of one school to own texts from other schools. The so-called "Mahāyāna Manuscript" (BMSC i) and the strong presence also of other Mahāyāna materials in the collection, including the numerous fragments documenting the popularity of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, may be connected to the statement in the doxographical treatises describing the traditional sects that the Mahāsāṃghikas accepted the Mahāyāna literature as part of their canonical collection, and this may also be an indication of a Mahāsāṃghika connection. But as touched upon above, Buddhist texts at most times have also been used as charms and protection against evil, thus a single leaf may be as potent as a whole text, and it may be that the placing of such a collection of leaves in a cave was an attempt to save the material for such purposes after the demise of the stable institution in which the texts were properly taken care of, as is indeed the tradition of Buddhism in most periods and localities. However, we know nothing about an ordered library, and if the texts belonged to such an institution, we also do not know anything about how a supposedly more ordered collection of books might have ended up in the cave — since in no case do we have more than a few complete leaves and fragments from lengthy manuscripts with many texts in them. One of these is the aforementioned "Mahāyāna Manuscript," containing a number of Mahāyāna texts, a few leaves of which are extant and published in BMSC i, where the page numbers run into the hundreds. Also the fragments of the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* must have belonged to a sizeable manuscript, this text being very voluminous.

This is more or less our very deficient state of knowledge about the context of the collection, and it must, unfortunately, be regarded as purely hypothetical. Hopefully further archaeological investigations in the Bāmiyān area may produce more solid evidence.

We have mentioned the changes in writing systems and styles, as well as the use of various writing materials, but it is in the continuities and discontinuities of Buddhist textual traditions that the collection gives us our most important insights, as to how in changing times and places the adherents of Buddhism constructed and reconstructed their spiritual heritage as text. It is clear to anybody who has spent some time studying Buddhist texts that they are constructed on the basis of a sort of "cut and paste" principle. This has often been explained by the fact that Buddhist teachings were in the beginning handed down by oral tradition and mnemonic repetition, before Buddhists started to fully exploit the powerful new medium of writing to promulgate their religion. However, even in writing, there is much borrowing of motifs, names and phrases which are continually

remixed to fashion new texts, making the canonical literature of Buddhism enormous, but built upon a common stock of themes and expressions. As our knowledge of Buddhist history is fragmentary (as fragmentary indeed as the collection in question!) it is impossible to map the great multiplicity of sects and schools of Buddhism completely and correctly, but the Schøyen Collection has provided us with additional pieces of information to at least understand better the principles of these transformative historical processes, given that several versions of important texts have been found in the collection in their ancient Indic forms, and no longer simply in their Chinese translations. The Schøyen Collection also gave us our first glimpses into early Mahāyāna texts, such as the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, the *Bhadrakalpika* and the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, the latter two in Kharoṣṭhī script, also revealed as a medium of Mahāyāna promulgation. However, these finds have now been sensationally overshadowed by the Kharoṣṭhī Prajñāpāramitā from the first century CE (see the article by H. Falk and I. Strauch in this volume).

Writing materials in the collection are mostly palm leaf and birch bark, but there are also a few fragments written on leather, and these are even quite early texts. It is of course a durable material, and fit for use when travelling, a need one might expect was there along the Silk Road. We also find in the collection another writing material, namely copper, a writing material which was used for documents of great importance. For example, there is a tradition that the *Mahāvibhāṣā* was written on copper plates, containing the "correct Buddhism" of the Vaibhāṣika faction, supposedly victorious in the discussion during the Kaṇiṣka Council around 100 CE — at least according to Vaibhāṣika historiography. Thus there is every reason to believe that the copper scroll in the Schøyen Collection (BMSC iii) was regarded as an important document, and it even had to do with a king: Apart from containing the *Śrīmatībrāhmaṇīparipṛcchā* and the introduction to the *Madhyamakakārikāḥ*, it also contains a piece of *kāvya* praising the Alchon Hun King Toramāṇa, who dedicated a stūpa to Mahāyāna Buddhism in a town called Śāradīysa in Mehama, probably in northern Afghanistan, then Bactria. The Hūṇa king in question lived in the 5th or 6th century (see BMSC iii: 261–62), and evidently some of the Huns were not simply persecutors of Buddhism.

There is also an interesting leather fragment demonstrating the wide multilingual spread of Buddhism — the fragment (BMSC i) describes in Bactrian language and writing (derived from Greek prototypes) how the merit accrued should be shared by all the family members as a result of the homage paid to Śākyamuni, Dīpaṃkara, Lokeśvara, Sumerukūṭa, Candrabhānu, Ratnakottama, and many other Buddhas, with a clear flavour of "Sukhāvatī" style of beliefs.

As mentioned, the collection has provided us with a new version of the *Vajracchedikā* — even though this popular sūtra in this version is not particularly ancient compared with many of the other copies extant, it is still one of our oldest versions in Sanskrit — and with the Gilgit copy it represents what Paul Harrison aptly calls a "Greater Gandhāran version of the text," from about the 7th century. The Schøyen version starts from the beginning of the text but the end is lost, while the end of the Gilgit version is preserved and not the beginning; thus the two manuscripts together make a complete text, particularly interesting since the two versions are very similar, and distinctly different from the Nepalese versions and those preserved in the later Sino-Tibetan blockprints (see BMSC iii). Another Sūtra important in respect of textual continuity is the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, of which fragments from the Kuṣāṇa era are found in the collection (BMSC i: 1ff.). The fragments clearly contain more Prakrit forms than the later known versions of this text, mainly from Nepal, but the Kuṣāṇa version still appears to be much closer to the early Chinese versions, whether they are translated from another Indic textual tradition or are just a free translation. Also the heavily Prakritizised (or Gāndhārized!) Kharoṣṭhī fragments of the *Bodhi-*

sattvapiṭaka from probably the 2nd or 3rd century CE provide insight into textual continuity. The Lhasa version (i.e. the 11th-century northern Indian tradition) of the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* presents the corresponding portions of the text in "normalized" Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, but still the texts are fairly similar in word order and concepts. The *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* fragments from around 500 as published in BMSC iii unfortunately do not correspond to the Kharoṣṭhī fragments, but compared with the Lhasa version, they belong to a distinct line of copyists or revisers, to judge from the differences in the extant material. From the perspective of continuity the quite well-preserved Kuṣāṇa fragments of the *Caṅgīsūtra* (BMSC i & ii) represent a text not too different in structure from the Pāli version, but clearly it is a very different version, and it demonstrates the diversity of Buddhist literature at such a relatively early point in time.

An example in the collection of discontinuity in the Buddhist literary tradition is the *Satyakasūtra* (BMSC iv). Now Satyaka is a heterodox teacher, probably to be identified historically with some Jaina personality, and as such he is one who is vanquished by the superior arguments of the Buddha, and also punished by divine agency with a *vajra*, in this context the lightning, personified as Vajrapāṇi. There is also an elephant involved in some of the versions. These motifs appear in many versions, but the version appearing in the Schøyen Collection is evidently not the same as any of the others — they are also very different. Thus the Pāli version is different from the Mahāyāna stories about Satyaka, but none of them seems to contain the few sentences found in the Schøyen fragment, which we, with some liberty, call a *Satyakasūtra*. So in this context one may well ask what the *identity* of a text is, in the way of problematizing whether texts are "the same" or not, when they share names, titles, motifs or narrative structures. This is definitely something to take into account when describing the history of Buddhist literature, even Buddhist history as a whole, since much of the study of Buddhist history is closely connected to events where the canon and its texts are constructed and reconstructed.

We have mentioned above some examples of continuities and discontinuities in the textual tradition related to the Schøyen Collection, but much research remains to be done to interpret the historical counterparts of these changes in the broader context of the general history of Buddhism, its ideologies and schools and their social conditions. Given the collection's size, the time span of its production, and its multiplicity of genres and titles, it naturally also contains a sizable amount of unique materials not extant anywhere else in Sanskrit or any other Indic language. Large portions of the material are not yet identified, but there are definitely examples of fragmentary works which belong to traditions and schools which are neither known nor possible to describe by comparing them with later literature. An interesting example of this is the scholastic commentary from the 2nd century (BMSC ii).

The scholarly work on the Schøyen Collection was started in the late 1990s when Lore Sander made an initial review of 108 fragments acquired by the abovementioned Sam Fogg, producing a preliminary description of the materials and dating the fragments on the basis of palaeographical criteria. In December 1996, at the An Shigao conference in Leiden convened at the IIAS by Paul Harrison, a project editorial committee was formed consisting of Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Kazunobu Matsuda and myself. It was also decided at that meeting to ask Lore Sander to join the committee, and to put Richard Salomon in charge of editing the Kharoṣṭhī materials in the collection. Later Paul Harrison was also invited to join the committee. At the beginning of 1997 contact was made with Martin Schøyen, who generously made the material available to the group. In that same year, during which a large quantity of new fragments were also acquired by Mr. Schøyen, the process of sorting the fragments according to script-type and giving them a reference number was largely completed. Most of the work of identifying which texts the fragments belong to has been

done by Kazunobu Matsuda and Klaus Wille, the former on the basis of his knowledge of the Chinese translations of the texts, the latter on the basis of his great command of Buddhist literature in Sanskrit.

Martin Schøyen has done his best to acquire all the materials from Bāmiyān systematically and completely, but some of the materials were also acquired by other collections, viz., the Hayashidera and Hirayama Collections in Japan. The participants in the publication process are naturally very grateful that the materials in the Schøyen Collection could be completed in this way (for more on the relationship between these collections and the Schøyen Collection, see the contribution of K. Matsuda in this volume.)

The editorial committee has also done its best to facilitate participation in the project by everybody with the ability to work with such materials, inviting them to publish in the series dedicated to the collection, *Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection* (BMSC). In the academic year 2001–2002 the project work received a major financial grant which made it possible to work very efficiently on the collection in a collaborative fashion in the Centre for Advanced Study at the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters in Oslo. Other financial supporters of the work have been Bukkyō Daigaku (Kyōto), where several editorial meetings have been conducted on the initiative of Kazunobu Matsuda, partly financed by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. The Norwegian Research Council has contributed to the printing of the first three volumes of the BMSC series.

Another outcome of the BMSC project has been an initiative of The Supreme Patriarch of Thailand, the Venerable Phradhamsitthinayok, to make an exhibition of the most important materials from the collection, so as to make the Buddhist manuscript heritage available to a greater public in Thailand. With a grant from the Supreme Patriarch a replica exhibition was made on the basis on the publications in BMSC i–iii by Fredrik Liland, since to put the actual manuscript fragments on exhibition is not advisable. However, three original fragments, or rather almost complete leaves, viz., one from the Mahāyāna manuscript, one from the *Caṅgīsūtra* and one from a still unpublished "Story Collection," were put on display in a stūpa-style construction in the exhibition hall. The exhibition was very beautifully arranged by the Thai collaborators, it drew a very large public, and received great attention from the Thai press. The original fragments mentioned were handed over to His Excellency Major General Sanan Kajornprasart, Deputy Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, in a ceremony at Oslo University Library on the 6th of November 2010, and were brought to Thailand by him, where they were ceremonially placed in the exhibition with the participation of all involved in the project. A catalogue, *Traces of Gandhāran Buddhism* (Jens Braarvig and Fredrik Liland, Oslo and Bangkok 2011), has been published and contains the whole exhibition. It has been a particular pleasure to produce the exhibition, since this to some extent fulfils the wish of Martin Schøyen to display his manuscript materials to a greater public.

Still another, and unexpected, outcome of research on the Schøyen Collection has been that it has focussed interest on problems of academic freedom and expression. Several members of archaeological circles in Norway and Britain have, in the noble cause of trying to stop illegal trade in antiquities, criticized scholars editing, among other materials, the Buddhist manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection. This criticism reached its climax in September 2004, when the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation made a prime-time programme criticizing the acquisition of and research on the materials, with support from the abovementioned archaeology specialists, but also with the full cooperation of the research group, even though the resulting programme contained many gross errors and was not perceived as entirely fair either to Martin Schøyen or to the researchers. The stand of the editorial committee of the Schøyen Collection has been, and remains, that scholars

have the right and duty to study and document history in accordance with the principle of freedom of expression, in the same way as journalists have the right and duty to document the present to the best of their ability, truthfully, and also in accordance with the principle of freedom of expression. This is also the view of the Norwegian National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities (report, June 2005), the Board of the International Association for Buddhist Studies (resolution, September 2005) and other entities that have expressed views on the publication of the Schøyen Collection. The Afghan authorities, by their Ambassadors to Norway and to France, also declared their support for the research group in a declaration made in September 2005 (BMSC iii: xiii–xiv). After this Martin Schøyen returned a representative selection of the manuscript materials to the Kabul Museum.

The editorial committee also contends that identifying, describing and editing such materials make them identifiable also in a broader setting — and more difficult to acquire and trade illegally, even though such descriptions may also have the side effect of increasing the value of the material. But such an increase in value also increases the interest in preservation, even though it may also create a danger of yet more tragic and deplorable thefts and plundering from unprotected archaeological sites, mostly in poor and unfortunate states and during wars and crises. Clearly it is best that established public institutions, ideally in the countries of origin of the heritage materials in question, should be the owners and custodians of such materials, the intrinsic value of which is really cultural and historical rather than monetary. Such ownership is most of all a political, legal and economic question, and should be dealt with by the relevant institutional entities, i.e., political, legal and economic bodies. Even so, the academic community should provide advice in these matters, and help create dialogue with states and localities where cultural heritage objects may have been illegally acquired, so that stable and generally accepted ownership arrangements may be systematically established, and so that cultural, public and academic interests can be served in and by the endeavour to understand the history and development of humanity. Rich nations also have a responsibility to help poorer nations to preserve their cultural heritage and to build protective systems to safeguard it in the country of its origin, on the understanding that the heritage of each nation is also part of the birthright of the whole world.

Appendix I: List of titles so far published, including BMSC iv, planned 2013

Brāhmī:
Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanāsūtra: BMSC i & ii
Andhasūtra: BMSC ii
Avadānaśataka: BMSC iii
Aśokāvadāna: BMSC i
Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā: BMSC i & ii
Uruvelasūtra: BMSC iv
Karmavācanā: BMSC ii & iii
Kavikumārāvadāna: BMSC ii
Kāvya: BMSC iii
Gauravasūtra: BMSC iv
Caṅgīsūtra: BMSC i & ii
Candrottarādārikāvyākaraṇa: BMSC ii
Jātakamālā, Āryaśūra: BMSC ii & iv
Jātakamālā, Haribhaṭṭa: BMSC ii
Jyotiṣkāvadāna: BMSCii & iv
Dānasūtra: BMSC iv

Dharmapada (Mahāsāṃghika): BMSC iv
Nagaropamasūtra: BMSC iv
Prasādapratibhodbhava, Mātṛceṭa: BMSC ii
Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga (Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin): BMSC i, ii, iii & iv
Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra: BMSC iii
Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra: BMSC iv
Madhyamakakārikā (introductory verses only): BMSC iii
Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra: BMSC ii
Mahāvastu: BMSC iv
Mahāsamājasūtra: BMSC iii
Maitreyavyākaraṇa: BMSC iii
Ratnaketuparivarta: BMSC iv
Lalitavistara: BMSC iv
Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā: BMSC iii
Varṇārhavarṇa, Mātṛceṭa: BMSC ii
Viśeṣavatīdhāraṇī: BMSC iv
Śalyasūtra: BMSC iv
Śāriputrābhidharma: BMSC ii
Śikhālakasūtra: BMSC iii
Śrīmatībrāhmaṇīparipṛcchā: BMSC iii
Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśa: BMSC i
Saṃghāṭasūtra: BMSC iv
Satyakasūtra: BMSC iv
Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra: BMSC ii
Samāgamasūtra : BMSC iv
Samādhirājasūtra: BMSC ii
Sarvadharmāpravṛttinirdeśa: BMSC i & iii
Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra: BMSC ii

Kharoṣṭhī:
Bodhisatvapiṭakasūtra: BMSC iv
Bhadrakalpikasūtra: BMSC iv
Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra: BMSC i
Sarvapuṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra: BMSC iv

Bactrian:
Buddhist Manuscript: BMSC i

Note: There are quite a number of fragments not yet identified or studied, some of them from Abhidharma texts, Avadānas and Āgama texts as well as Prajñāpāramitās and other Sūtras. Preliminary identifications of some the unpublished fragments place them in versions of the *Udakopamāsūtra*, *Kodhanasūtra*, *Gandhasūtra*, *Daśabalasūtra*, *Daśottarasūtra*, *Pradakṣiṇagāthā*, and *Mahāsudarśanasūtra*.

Appendix II: Contributors to the four volumes

M. Allon, S. Baums, J. W. Borgland, J. Braarvig, T. Brekke, Jin-il Chung, M. Demoto, S. Dietz, A. Glass, M. Hahn, P. Harrison, J.-U. Hartmann, A. Iwamatsu, S. Karashima, Bori Kim, E. Legittimo, F. Liland, T. Lenz, Qian LIN, K. Matsuda, G. Melzer, O. Qvarnström, R. Salomon, L. Sander, S. Sasaki, L. Schmithausen, M. Shono, J. Silk, P. Skilling, A. Skilton, H. Toda, V. Tournier, Chanwit Tudkaeo, S. Watanabe, K. Wille, N. Sims-Williams, N. Yamagiwa.

Japanese Collections of Buddhist Manuscript Fragments from the Same Region as the Schøyen Collection

KAZUNOBU MATSUDA (KYOTO)

Early in 1997 a project group was formed to study Mr. Martin Schøyen's collection of Buddhist manuscripts from Afghanistan. The group, initially four people, was eventually enlarged to five: Jens Braarvig (Oslo), Paul Harrison (Christchurch, later Stanford), Jens-Uwe Hartmann (Munich), Lore Sander (Berlin) and myself. In collaboration with many other scholars, these five have already published three volumes in the series *Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection* (BMSC). As one of the core members of the group, and as the only one participating from Japan, it occurred to me that there might well be similar manuscript collections in Japan. Consequently I was able to locate related Buddhist manuscript fragments in the following five Japanese collections and one research project. These manuscript fragments originated mainly from Afghanistan, with a portion of them coming from Pakistan. On this occasion I would like to provide a brief introduction to these materials.

1. Hirayama Collection

The first collection is that of the late Professor Ikuo Hirayama (1930–2009). Professor Hirayama was a prominent Japanese painter and had many other achievements such as holding the posts of President of Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador. He was also well known as a collector of Gandhāran Buddhist statues. Professor Hirayama established the private Institute of Silk Road Art and Archaeology and the Silk Road Museum. He happened to obtain a number of manuscripts from the same region as those in the Schøyen Collection (SC), which he came across while looking for statuary with dealers in London and Pakistan. The manuscripts in the Hirayama Collection fall into two groups according to their sources, the Bāmiyān Valley in Afghanistan and the Gilgit region in Pakistan. 1.1 is a list of the items from Bāmiyān. These are all presumed to be of the same origin as the Schøyen Collection. They include 26 Kharoṣṭhī fragments and 9 Brāhmī fragments.

1.1 Manuscripts from Bāmiyān, same origin as the Schøyen Collection

1.1.1 26 Kharoṣṭhī fragments on palm leaves

1 fragment: *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* published in Allon and Salomon 2000

1 fragment: A commentary to the *Ekottarikāgama* or *Vinaya*

6 fragments: *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*, same manuscript as the 34 fragments (including small pieces) in the SC to be published in BMSC iv by Andrew Glass, Stefan Baums and me

18 fragments: unidentified

1.1.2 Nine Brāhmī fragments on palm leaves

1.1.2.1 1 Northeastern Gupta Brāhmī fragment: unidentified

1.1.2.2 6 Northwestern Gupta Brāhmī fragments on palm leaves

1 fragment: a treatise by Ācārya Buddhamitra (see below)

1 fragment: a Mahāyāna *Pravāraṇāsūtra*, same manuscript as that in the SC, published in Matsuda 2000

4 fragments: unidentified

1.1.2.3 Two Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I (G/B I) fragments on palm leaves, one of which is from the *Samādhirājasūtra*, published in Skilton 2002

1.2 Manuscripts possibly from Gilgit

1.2.1 A complete birch-bark bundle of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra*, Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I script

1.2.2 Northwestern Gupta Brāhmī on linen or cotton fabric (a long *dhāraṇī* text)

1.2.3 *Dīrghāgama* (52 folios, folio nos. 330–363 and 367–384)
Regarding 3 folios nos. 364–366, see Bukkyo University Collection (No. 5 below). This manuscript is in Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II (G/B II) script, and is another part of the same *Dīrghāgama* manuscript kept in a private collection in Virginia (see the contribution by Jens-Uwe Hartmann in this volume).

I would like to introduce one fragment ("A treatise by Ācārya Buddhamitra") from the Hirayama Collection which I consider to be very important. This is a small fragment in a Northwestern Gupta Brāhmī script dating back to the fifth century. It contains the colophon of the text. Recto line 2 has the chapter or section title "chapter/section 17 on the king/on kings ends." It continues, saying, "… by a person who is a reciter of the *Madhyama-(āgama?)* (or in the middle land?), a holder of the Vinaya," and then in verso 1, "Ācārya Buddhamitra's *Mokṣa-u(padeśa?)*." The first word of the title is *Mokṣa*, and the second word is assumed to be *upadeśa*. There are several people named Buddhamitra in Buddhist history. Among them the most famous figure is the Sarvāstivādin philosopher who was a teacher of Pārśva. Pārśva was the well-known Sarvāstivādin compiler of the *Mahāvibhāṣā*. There is no treatise by Buddhamitra that has come down to us, other than this small fragment. A similar fragment (MS 2378/9) has been published in BMSC ii by Richard Salomon (Salomon 2002), which implies that King Huviṣka was a follower of the Mahāyāna. Both fragments are similar in script and line and shape, and it is highly likely that they belong to the same text. The transliteration and partial translation are as follows:

recto
1 /// • jayant[i] • kumudasvarasuba? • ///
2 /// • ‖ rājavargo samāpta 17 ‖ [✪] ///
3 /// .. madhyima*(sic)*bhāṇakena{ṃ} • vina[ya](dhareṇa?) ///

verso
1 /// .. lena ācarrya*(sic)*Buddhamitrasya mokṣo.. ///
2 /// .. na upādhyāyinānaṃ samya-pu[ṇya] ///
3 /// [t]ilābhatāyaṃ? bhavatu • ‖ likhitaṃ [ā] ///

r2 … chapter/section 17 on the king/on kings ends.
r3 … by a person who is a reciter of the *Madhyama(āgama?)* (or in the middle land?), a holder of the Vinaya ...
v1 … Ācārya Buddhamitra's (treatise) "*Mokṣa-u(padeśa?)*"… (ends).

2. Hayashidera Collection

This is a small collection, consisting of 17 Kharoṣṭhī fragments and 33 Brāhmī fragments, belonging to a Japanese priest, the Reverend Genshū Hayashidera of Toyama prefecture, Japan. Unfortunately the Reverend Hayashidera passed away some years ago. He was a graduate of Ryukoku University, Kyoto. According to his wife, his collection will be donated to Ryukoku University in the near future. Among the Kharoṣṭhī fragments in this collection there is a small piece of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*. This means that the late Reverend Hayashidera's collection is of the same origin as the Schøyen and Hirayama Col-

lections. Furthermore, in this collection the most interesting item is No. 024. One side is inscribed in Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I script and the other side is written in Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II. The Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I side contains unknown Buddhist stories, among them the story of a cat and a mouse. The Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II side contains Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*. To understand this complication, we have to take into account the fact that this manuscript folio consists of several layers of birch bark. My assumption is that the original folio with the Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I was once discarded, and it was later recycled by being split open to reveal its blank side, which was written with Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II. Another folio of the same manuscript with Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I and Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II sides is contained in the Schøyen Collection. Its Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II side has been published in BMSC ii by Jens-Uwe Hartmann (Hartmann 2002). This folio (No. 024) will be published in BMSC iv by Jens-Uwe Hartmann and me.

2.1 17 small Kharoṣṭhī fragments on palm leaves including two *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* fragments (Nos. 045 and 046), from the same manuscript as the Schøyen and the Hirayama collections

2.2 33 Brāhmī fragments

2.2.1 Two Brāhmī birch-bark folios:

No. 024: Side A (G/B II) *Jātakamālā*, Kern ed., p.165, line 1 to p.166, line 4. Side B (G/B I) Unknown Buddhist narrative text (containing *inter alia* the story of the bald man and other stories); there is another folio of the same manuscript in SC (MS 2381/57) of which side A has been published in Hartmann 2002.

No. 025: Prologue section of a sūtra, cursive G/B I, unidentified

2.2.2 31 small Brāhmī fragments (palm leaves or birch-bark folios):

1 Kuṣāṇa fragment of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā,* published by Sander in BMSC ii (Sander 2002)

4 Northeastern Gupta Brāhmī fragments

4 Northwestern Gupta Brāhmī fragments

22 G/B I fragments including one fragment (No. 018) from Mātṛceṭa's *Varṇārhavarṇastotra,* one fragment (No. 020) from the *Anāthapiṇḍada*- and *Subhadra-avadāna* belonging to the same manuscript in SC (MS 2382/204g), one fragment (No. 026) from the same manuscript as the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* in SC, and one fragment (No. 030) from the *Gandhasūtra*. These fragments except for No. 026 have been identified by Jens-Uwe Hartmann.

3. Miho Museum Collection

The third collection is that of Miho Museum, a private museum in Shiga prefecture. The museum was established by one of Japan's "new religions." There are only two items, two texts from one complete bundle containing the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* and the *Sarvagatipariśo-dhanoṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī*, written in Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I script. These had previously been preserved in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (see Batton 2000). Some years ago Miho Museum acquired these two items through a Japanese dealer.

3.1 A complete bundle of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra*, G/B I, birch-bark folios.

Cf. the contribution by O. von Hinüber in this volume, No. 1K.

3.2 *Sarvagatipariśodhanoṣṇīṣavijayā*, G/B I, 7 birch-bark folios.
A Mahāyāna sūtra in prose including the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī,* identified by Gregory Schopen (see Batton 2000) and by Gudrun Melzer, corresponding to the Tibetan translation (Peking ed. Nos. 198 and 199). Cf. the contribution by O. von Hinüber in this volume, No. 2K.

4. Naka Collection

The fourth collection of fragments is that of the Japanese photographer Mr Atsushi Naka, who published a photo-essay *Bāmiyān Afghanistan 2002* (in Japanese, Osaka 2002). In early summer of that year, Mr Naka had visited Bāmiyān to take photographs for his book. At that time he bought a cache of microfragments in a bazaar in the town of Bāmiyān. Most of the fragments are very small, but there are six more sizable fragments. Among those six, I found a fragment which, on the basis of script and format, appears to be another small piece of the Mahāyāna sūtra collection published by us in BMSC i. If my assumption is correct, this would be further confirmation of the origin of the Schøyen Collection.

5. Bukkyo University Collection

Bukkyo University, Kyoto, acquired a portion of the *Dīrghāgama* manuscript which covers folios 364–366 missing from the manuscript bundle in the Hirayama Collection. These three folios contain part of the "Śīlaskandha passages" in the *Tridaṇḍisūtra*, the first sūtra of the Śīlaskandha section (see contribution by Jens-Uwe Hartmann in this volume).

6. Project of the Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties

Kazuya Yamauchi, a researcher from the Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, discovered several dozen micro birch-bark fragments in Bāmiyān caves F(a), J(a), J(b), J(c), M, S(a), S(c), group S and Z1 in 2003–2005. This discovery is the unexpected outcome of the joint conservation project for the Bāmiyān caves undertaken by Yamauchi's institute and the Ministry of Information and Culture of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. This discovery might be considered important for only one reason, which is that a professional scholar himself unearthed the manuscript fragments in the Bāmiyān caves.

Yamauchi also visited Zargaran village, at the east end of the Bāmiyān Valley, where there is a cave which collapsed as a result of an earthquake or landslide. He heard from the villagers in Zargaran that many manuscript fragments had been discovered in this collapsed cave in the early nineties and had been sold to local dealers. It is very likely that this collapsed cave is the origin of the Schøyen and Japanese collections (see also Jens Braarvig *et al.*, 2006: Plates I–II). Yamauchi's institute has recently published a book on the manuscript fragments they discovered. This book focuses mainly on conservation work on the fragments, not on the contents of the fragments themselves. See *Preliminary Report on the Conservation of the Bamiyan Birch Bark Buddhist Manuscripts*, Tokyo 2009.

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BMSC = Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection

Braarvig, Jens *et al.*, eds. 2006. *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Vol. III (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection). Hermes Publishing: Oslo.

G/B I = Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I

G/B II = Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II

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SC = Schøyen Collection

Skilton, Andrew. 2002. “Samādhirājasūtra.” In Jens Braarvig *et al.*, eds. *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Vol. II (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection III). Hermes Publishing: Oslo, 97–177.

Dating and Localizing Undated Manuscripts

LORE SANDER (BERLIN)

The collections of manuscripts introduced at this workshop originate from different areas and times. They give us an idea about the immense productivity of the scribes who wrote and copied Buddhist texts in Indian vernaculars and scripts over centuries. Some manuscripts come from libraries, others from private collections. Many of them are of uncertain origin. Seldom are colophons preserved, which give in the best cases information about date and place, and by whom the manuscript was ordered. They are especially rare in early manuscripts when the manuscripts are incomplete. When little or nothing is known about where and when the manuscripts were written or copied, it is important to get an idea of their approximate age and the homeland of their scribes. But not only for this, it is also of importance for the history of Buddhism and for that of the missionary activities at certain times and in certain regions. Even more, dating and locating manuscripts enables us to get a glimpse of which Buddhist ideas were favoured at what time in which places. Furthermore, copies — and most of the texts preserved are copies — are able to show which texts were favoured in which periods and which locations. To give an approximate answer to all these questions, palaeographical studies are the only means, however vague the results may be. In recent years radiocarbon dating is an additional help for dating undated manuscripts.

Except for the comparatively rare but early and most interesting manuscripts written in Kharoṣṭhī script, all manuscripts under discussion are written in the many different varieties of Indian Brāhmī used in countries under the cultural influence of India. The Brāhmī writing system is quite different from that of other scripts used in the northwestern area of ancient India, e.g., the Bactrian script, which is of Greek origin, and the Kharoṣṭhī, which was developed from Aramaic script. Brāhmī is a syllabic script running from left to right with an inherent vowel *-a*. The alphabet is arranged in strict phonological order. Brāhmī did not develop in a linear fashion; many local branches diverge from the main trunk, each being the source for local developments.[1] But the underlying system of the script never changed, even when Brāhmī was adapted to non-Indian languages.[2] The speed of development varies, depending on different factors, which are often not known. The only means to ascribe undated manuscripts to an approximate time and location is comparison with dated material, mainly inscriptions written in the same or a very similar type of script.

Palaeographic analyses of manuscripts are often added to text editions, while comparative palaeographies are rare.[3] Many local scripts are not sufficiently studied compared with the mass of material available,[4] even though the work is made much easier by the computer. It is no longer so time-consuming to create *akṣara* charts, which are the basis for palaeographic work. Other auxiliary aids are internet portals like "Indoscript" (www.http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~falk/), developed at the universities of Halle and Berlin, which are able to give a first orientation for dating and localizing manuscripts. But the material available has increased a lot compared with pre-computer times, especially manuscripts. Furthermore, a growing number of manuscripts are digitized, which is positive because many more scholars are encouraged to work on them. But for palaeographic studies the manuscripts seem to be too many to be bundled into certain groups for comparative study.

[1] For details see Sander 2007: 122–126.

[2] For studies in writing systems see Daniels and Bright 1996.

[3] E.g. Sharma 2001. For critical remarks see Sander 2010: 95.

[4] E.g. the dating of early Nepalese manuscripts still depends mainly on Bendall's catalogue from 1883 and the palaeography by Hemarāj Śākya from 1973.

The more material we have, the more difficult it is to find the red thread. Such palaeographies as the "Bühler" and Ahmad Hasan Dani's palaeography, both based mainly on inscriptions dating not later than the 8th to 9th centuries, would be hardly possible to produce nowadays, but they are still very useful for an initial orientation.

An advantage of the computer is that it allows more refined palaeographic work; e.g., the enlargement of *akṣaras* makes it clear how the *akṣaras* were written, which sometimes helps to explain the change of certain *akṣaras* in certain periods. Also such subtle observations as those by Gudrun Melzer on the practice of copying manuscripts are hardly possible without its help.[5] Even though such observations on single manuscripts are very helpful and interesting for dating and localizing purposes, additional comparative observations are indispensable, such as which formats were preferred at what time, which writing materials were used and from where they originated, how the script was arranged on the folios, and how the books were organized.

In the following I will raise some questions related to my topic using examples from Brāhmī manuscripts originating from the northwestern region of ancient India, namely those from the Schøyen Collection and the recently found *Dīrghāgama* manuscript written on birch bark. Parts of the latter are now kept in different private collections, mainly in USA and Japan. A few folios belong to the Schøyen Collection in Oslo.[6]

The *Dīrghāgama* manuscript is a good example for demonstrating the limits of palaeographic research. As already mentioned above, dating manuscripts by palaeographic means is vague when it is not supported by comparison with dated material, which is mainly preserved in epigraphs. It comes to its limits when manuscripts are written in standard scripts, as the *Dīrghāgama* manuscript is. It is written in a type of Brāhmī which was named by Oskar von Hinüber "Protośāradā" and by me "Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II" (Fig. 1).[7] According to different oral information the manuscript likely originates from Gilgit.[8] The script,[9] the writing material (birch bark), and the arrangement of the script on the folio speak in favour of the area around Gilgit as the place of origin, even though all these criteria are also met by many manuscripts originating from Bāmiyān.

The manuscript is written on birch bark cut in palm-leaf format. Birch bark is the local writing material in all the northwestern regions of ancient India, i.e. modern Kashmir, Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is also the preferred writing material for the early Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, most of which date from the Kuṣāṇa period or even earlier (c. late 1st to 2nd cent. CE).[10] But unlike the later birch-bark manuscripts, such as that of the *Dīrghāgama*, the birch bark is pasted into scrolls, likely influenced by Hellenistic patterns. This format was no longer used when the Graeco-Roman influence faded away. The Kharoṣṭhī scrolls mainly originate from the eastern parts of the region named "Greater Gandhāra" by Richard Salomon (Jalālābād,[11] Bajaur). At about the same time, or only a little later, the earliest Brāhmī manuscripts written on palm leaf may have been produced around Bāmiyān. Palm leaf had to be imported from the Indian subcontinent because palms do not

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[5] Melzer 2007: 59–77. For details see the contribution by Hartmann and Wille in this volume, pp. 144 ff.

[6] For further information see the contributions of Hartmann and Wille (pp. 137ff.) and Matsuda (pp. 165 and 168).

[7] For convenience I will use my term, even though both are problematic. For a discussion of the terms see Sander 2007: 129–131.

[8] See the contribution of von Hinüber in this volume, p. 117.

[9] For the problems of dating this script, which became a standard, likely originating from Bihar, cf. Sander 2007: 131–132.

[10] For detailed information cf. e.g. Salomon 1999: 115–124. See also the contributions of Harry Falk and Ingo Strauch, Collett Cox, and Richard Salomon in this volume.

[11] Cf. Salomon 1999: 101–104.

grow in this area.[12] It is most unlikely that the many remains of palm-leaf manuscripts written by different hands in Brāhmī types used in northern India during the time of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta dynasties (2nd to the 5th cent. CE) were gifts from visiting monks coming from northern India. The best proof for the importation of the raw material are the many palm-leaf manuscripts written in the characteristic Brāhmī of this region, the "Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I." Palimpsests indicate a shortage of the raw material, which would not be the case with material sourced locally. However, it is still puzzling why in certain regions, such as Bāmiyān, palm leaf was preferred to the local birch bark.[13] It may well be that there the Indian influence was stronger, and that therefore palm leaf was regarded as a sacred material from the homeland of Buddhism, the Indian subcontinent. This assumption is supported by the habit of cutting birch bark in palm-leaf format, when, for unknown reasons, in about the 7th century CE palm-leaf manuscripts were replaced by birch-bark ones in the same region.

Even though one group of "Gilgit manuscripts" as well as manuscripts from the Bāmiyān area are written in the same type of script as the *Dīrghāgama* is, Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II, the use of this script goes far beyond the northwestern provinces. It does not even originate from there, even though Al Bīrūnī claims that what is likely the same script, named by him "Siddhamātṛkā," originated from there.[14] The oldest dated inscriptions come from Bihar and even in late inscriptions from Bihar dating from the 9th century CE the style of the script is the same as that of the Gilgit manuscripts, likely introduced into the western provinces around the 7th century CE.[15] It became a standard script, which was used with variations all over northern India, Kashmir, "Greater Gandhāra," Nepal, and Xinjiang between the 6th and the 11th centuries. Even nowadays it is used as the holy "siddham" script in China and Japan. This type of script was the basis for many Brāhmī types used in Eastern India and Nepal. It is nearly impossible to date such standard scripts with palaeographic means. As Melzer has demonstrated,[16] the only *akṣaras* which underwent a change were *ya*, from the rare early tripartite form to the later modern form with a modified in-between shape, and *ha*, from the earlier *ha* written in line, in *hu* and *hi* only, to the later form slightly slanting down. In the *Dīrghāgama* manuscript all three forms occur in the same manuscript. One may argue that some scribes engaged in copying the manuscripts preferred the old style or that the old tripartite form was still used because the manuscript is a copy from an older manuscript and that therefore only the youngest form is relevant for assigning its age. When I saw this manuscript for the first time in January 2000, I was inclined to place it in the 8th century CE at the earliest. Why? It was the ductus, which means nothing more than the general impression of the script used, supported by the size of the folios and the arrangement of the script on the *poṭhi*-shaped birch-bark leaf with a neatly defined square round the string-hole. All these factors together looked so similar to later Gilgit manuscripts. However, the origin and the possible date were nothing more than a guess, because precise palaeographic means for dating it were not available.

In more recent times the hope of scholars for dating the undated rests on radiocarbon analysis. Radiocarbon dates exist also for the *Dīrghāgama* manuscript. They were published by Mark Allon, Richard Salomon *et al.* on the basis of a radiocarbon dating ordered

[12] Cf. Sander 1991: 138 and 2010: 102.
[13] The rare Kharoṣṭhī fragments in the Schøyen Collection are also written on palm leaf; cf. Allon *et al.* 2006: 282–285, and Salomon in this volume.
[14] Cf. Sander 2007: 127.
[15] For details cf. Sander 1968: 159-161, and especially 2007: 131f.
[16] See the detailed analysis of the scripts and the scribes in Melzer 2006: 59–77, rev. PDF version 2010: 61–80.

by the manuscript dealer Sam Fogg.[17] Does radiocarbon analysis really help to make the dating of undated manuscripts more precise? For the *Dīrghāgama* manuscript this is not the case. The dates with a probability of 90% range between 764–1000 CE. The time scale is as broad as the dates gained by palaeographic methods. I could recently make the same observations comparing the ^{14}C dates of Tokharian manuscripts[18] written in the standard scripts "North Turkestan Brāhmī Type a" and "North Turkestan Brāhmī Type b,"[19] when taking the dates with the highest probability. These two examples demonstrate that radiocarbon dating of ancient manuscripts is often a welcome support for dates gained by palaeographic studies, when they are not restricted to the comparison of letters only, but also consider the other criteria already mentioned.

Another standard script current in the same region is a "calligraphic ornate script," named by me "Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I." As far as I know, no manuscript written in this type of Brāhmī has been radiocarbon-tested. It became a local standard script in "Greater Gandhāra" between the 5th and 6th centuries CE.[20] Around the 7th century it was superseded by the quite different Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II.[21] Most manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection belong to Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I. The likely earlier ones are written on palm leaf, the later on birch bark.

The development towards this ornate local type can be followed from the Kuṣāṇa period onwards mainly in manuscripts from the region of Bāmiyān, the graffiti from the Upper Indus Valley,[22] and to some extend in manuscripts and inscriptions from Nepal.[23] The Brāhmī manuscripts from the "Turfan Collection" in Berlin reflect the same development up to approximately the 5th century CE (see Fig. 2).[24] From then on the Tokharians on the northern and the Khotanese[25] people on the southern route of the Silk Road developed their own characteristic scripts. No manuscript written in Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I is present among the manuscripts from both Silk Road routes, except from Dunhuang.[26] In Gilgit this ornate script was mainly used for writing down or copying Mahāyāna texts. Was there any connection between Mahāyāna circles and the use of this script? This observation is only partly affirmed by the manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, which contain a mixture of likely Mahāsāṃghika-related sūtras and commentaries, and Mahāyāna sūtras written in this script. A detailed study is still outstanding. The situation seems to confirm what is already known from Chinese sources, namely that the Mahāsāṃghikas were active in spreading Mahāyāna ideas and ideals. But when did the earliest Mahāyāna sūtras occur in

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[17] Cf. Allon *et al.* 2005: 280, esp. note 3.

[18] Cf. Tamai 2011: 370–375. It has to be noted that the Leibniz Laboratory made a mistake designating the material of SHT 810 as paper. It is the famous philosophical "Spitzer manuscript" written in Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī on palm leaf and published by Franco 2004. The same mistake in Yaldiz 2010: 1031.

[19] They will be published in the proceedings of the symposium "Die Erforschung des Tocharischen und die alttürkische Maitrisimit" organized by the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in 2008.

[20] As already pointed out in Sander 1968: 124–130.

[21] The reason or reasons for a sudden or gradual replacement are mere suggestions. O. von Hinüber, working on the Gilgit manuscripts, tried to find historical reasons for this change. For references and discussion see Sander 2007: 129–131.

[22] See the series Jettmar 1989, 1993, 1994 and *MANP*.

[23] Cf. e.g. Śākya 1973, Pl. 24. Between the 2nd to 5th centuries CE similar Brāhmī types occur in graffiti scratched on the walls of a holy cave on the island of Suquṭra in Yemen; see e.g. Strauch-Bukharin 2004: 133 [13]: T 32, which is an example with the characteristic fourth-century *ma* (*dharmmo*) of the northwest.

[24] Only the first half (A) of the table (Sander 1968: 12–123) is reprinted here to give an example of the gradual development from the Kuṣāṇa (alphabet c) via the Gupta period (alphabets i and k) to the Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I (Gilgit Mss) in the area in question. For details see Sander 1968: 121–136 and 2010: 95–106.

[25] For the southern Silk Road see Sander 2005: 133–144.

[26] Cf. e.g. Stein 1921 IV: Pl. CXLII.

the different collections? According to the recent manuscript finds, it is the 1st to 3rd centuries CE that fragments of Mahāyāna Sūtras occur among Kharoṣṭhī[27] and Brāhmī fragments alike. Among the Brāhmī manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, for example, we find the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* written on palm leaf in a later type of Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī, possibly dating from the 3rd century CE. Another interesting point is that many unidentified commentaries and Abhidharma texts seem to be among the oldest manuscripts from the Kuṣāṇa period.[28] The same literary preference is known from early palm-leaf manuscripts from Qizil and Šorčuq,[29] where this preference can be connected with the leading position of the Sarvāstivādins for Abhidharmic studies. Unlike the finds in the oases on the northern route of the Silk Road, most of the manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection are probably connected with the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins. Because Vinaya manuscripts are basic for assigning texts to certain Buddhist schools, it is useful to look for the oldest occurrence of Vinaya fragments in the collection. It is a manuscript written in an early Gupta type likely dating from the 4th century CE. Two fragmentary folios of this manuscript were identified and published by Seishi Karashima.[30] They comment on *pācittika* rules of the *Prātimokṣa Vibhaṅga* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins. The question of which literary subjects were preferred at what time can hardly be answered before many more fragments in the collection are identified and published, therefore my observations on the earliest manuscripts can only point to a tendency. However, it is worth keeping the question of literary preferences in mind, because it is important for the spread of Buddhist ideas to the East.

Finally, I will turn to another topic, which is part of the history of the Schøyen Collection. The basis for localizing the manuscripts in the collection were photos which were kindly given to me by Professor Helmut Humbach and the late Professor Herbert Härtel, when I wrote my PhD thesis.[31] They took these photos in the late 1950s in the Kabul Museum, long before it was plundered (see Figs. 3 and 12 for examples). In 2002 Professor Deborah Klimburg-Salter kindly gave me a third set, taken by her in the late 1970s. But this set did not differ from the first two, contrary to my expectations. When Professor Nicholas Sims-Williams sent me the first copies of the fragments which he saw in the shop of the manuscript dealer Sam Fogg in London in a letter dated 20th February 1995, I immediately remembered the photos from the Kabul museum. I suspected that the fragments were stolen from the Museum when it was destroyed by the Taliban. With great excitement, because a Prajñāpāramitā text in Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī was among the fragments,[32] I compared the museum photographs with the copies Professor Nicholas Sims-Williams had sent me. The comparison of the Brāhmī types confirmed what I had already expected, namely that the manuscript samples originated from the area around Bāmiyān. I was relieved, but not really convinced, when I saw that these examples did not belong to the museum's collection.[33] As a matter of fact, we found damaged fragments from the Kabul Museum in Martin Schøyen's much increased collection when we worked on it for the first time in 1998 (Figs. 4 and 5). Martin Schøyen immediately separated them from the other fragments, because he wanted to return them to the museum when the situation in Afghanistan became safer. By now, all fragments originating from the Kabul Museum have

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[27] E.g. Strauch 2008: 123; cf. also the contributions by Richard Salomon and by Harry Falk and Ingo Strauch in this volume.

[28] Cf. Schmithausen 2002: 249–254.

[29] Cf. Sander 1991: 141 and 1999: 79f.

[30] 2002: 215–228.

[31] Sander 1968: IX and 124, note 211, and 2000b: 88.

[32] It was later identified by Kazunobu Matsuda as belonging to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. For details cf. Sander 2000b: 88–91 and 2002: 37–44.

[33] Cf. Fogg 1996: 46, 47, 49.

been given back, and, as a sign of good will, Martin Schøyen has donated some more manuscripts from his collection to the museum.

The fragments from the Kabul Museum were found in 1930 by Joseph Hackin in Grotto J (no. 6) east of the smaller of the two Great Buddhas at Bāmiyān.[34] Nine fragments from the clod were published by Silvain Lévi already in 1932 in the *Journal asiatique*.[35] In the following I will compare the fragments transliterated in Lévi's article with the fragments on the photos. Because Gudrun Melzer has already worked on these fragments,[36] I will only list what is known so far:

Lévi nos. 1–4 (Fig. 4 shows parts of side a of nos. 1–3; all fragments of side a are published by Lévi "Bamiyan.1"): Four unidentified Kuṣāṇa fragments possibly belonging to one and the same palm-leaf manuscript. No photograph in the Kabul Museum sets.

Lévi no. 5 (see Fig. 5, frag. 31, side b): Left part of a birch-bark folio containing an episode from the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, according to Lévi in "Gupta characters." Script: Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I.

Lévi no. 6 (Fig. 6, side b upper half): One fragmentary birch-bark leaf of the *Saṅgītiparyāya* written according to Lévi in "gupta tardif" dating from the 8th cent. CE; Script: Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II. No photograph in the Kabul Museum sets.

Lévi no. 7 (Fig. 12, frag. 34A): A small birch-bark fragment (Vinaya?) written in "Gupta characters." It was identified by Oskar von Hinüber as the *Bhikṣu-Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins (*BEI* 4, 1986). Script: "Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I."

Lévi no. 8: One small fragment, of which Lévi says that it belongs to the same manuscript as no. 9. Neither is identified. Lévi names the script "Slanting Gupta, Central Asian Type." Script: likely Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I.

Lévi no. 9 (Fig. 12, frag. 33A): One larger birch-bark fragment grouped by Lévi under "Slanting Gupta, Central Asian Type." Script: Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I.

Comparing the fragments published by Lévi with the photo sets taken in the Kabul Museum, it is obvious that the following fragments are missing, which are Lévi nos. 1–4, 6 and 8. They may have been placed together in one glass plate,[37] which was not in the museum when the three sets of photos were taken. From the approximate dates when the earliest photo sets were shot, it is quite sure that this plate was already missing in the late 1950s. Due to the joint efforts of Kazunobu Matsuda and Gudrun Melzer the debris from many missing fragments was found in the Schøyen Collection, except fragment 8.[38] Only this much can be said with certainty: five of the formerly six plates with originals from the Hackin find were deposited in the Museum in Kabul after they were put between glass sheets, probably in Paris.

As already mentioned, the types of script in Hackin's clod correspond with those of the manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection. Neither the glass plates from the Kabul Museum nor the fragments gathered between them were numbered. Therefore I gave the glass sheets the numbers 1 to 5, and the fragments enclosed the numbers 1 to 34 (e.g. Figs. 3 and 12). In one place (Fig. 3, frag. 1) two fragments got only one number, because they

[34] Hackin 1959: 4.

[35] Lévi 1932: 1–45.

[36] She kindly sent me her transliterations and identifications. Quite a number of microfragments from the Schøyen Collection were identified by her as belonging to fragments on the photos; see note 38.

[37] Also assumed by Gudrun Melzer.

[38] The following originals were found in the Schøyen Collection: Lévi, no. 4 = no. 2373/3; Lévi, no. 9 could be reconstructed by Gudrun Melzer from the following fragments: nos. 2382/45/6+2382/45/2c +2382/45/4b+2382/45/4c+2382/45/4a+ 2382/45/5c. Furthermore, as shown in Matsuda 2006, no. 2383/116 belongs to the same *Saṅgītiparyāya* manuscript as Lévi no. 6 (see Fig. 6), which means that it is doubtful that Zargaran (*BMSC* iii: plates I–II) is the finding place of **all** the fragments in the Schøyen Collection.

obviously belong together. In the following I give a short description of the fragments, arranged according to the type of scripts in a tentative chronological order. Examples for each Brāhmī type are added (Figs. 7–13), mainly fragments cut from plate 1, with references to publications.

Fig. 7 (cf. Pl. 1, frag. 3): One Kharoṣṭhī fragment, 3 lines. The material may be leather.[39]

Fig. 8 (cf. Pl. 1, frag. 1): Eight fragments in Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī on palm leaf (Pl. 1, frags.1, 11, 14; Pl. 2, frag. 18[40]), and the 4 fragments published by Lévi (nos.1–4 on the lost plate; see the remains in Fig. 4).

Figs. 9 and 10 (cf. Pl. 1, frags. 7A and 9A): Ten fragments in different types of the north-western Gupta variety[41] on palm leaf, viz. Pl. 1, frags. 4, 7 (= Enomoto 1989[42]), 8, 9, 10,[43] 12, 13, 15, 16, 17; nos. 9, 12 and 15 possibly written by one hand.

Fig. 11 (cf. Pl. 1, frag. 5): One fragment from the left margin, palm leaf in Eastern Gupta script (fol. 5).[44]

Fig. 12 (cf. Pl. 5A, frags. 32–34): Eight fragments and leaves written in the ornate local Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I on birch bark, viz. Pl. 1, frag. 2; Pl. 2, frags. 20, 21, 26 (fol. 22); Pl. 4, frag. 31 (= Lévi no. 5); Pl. 5, frags. 32 (= Matsumura 1988[45]), 33 (= Lévi no. 9[34]), 34 (= Lévi no. 7, von Hinüber 1986[46], Matsumura 1988[45], Nolot 1988).

Fig. 13 (cf. Pls. 1 and 2, frags. 6 + 19): Eight fragments and fragmentary leaves written in Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II on birch bark, viz. Pl. 1, frag. 6 (= Hartmann 2009[47]); Pl. 2, frags. 19 (= Hartmann 2009[47]), 22, 23, 24, 25; Pl. 3, frags. 27, 28 (likely written by one hand).

The photos with the fragments from the Hackin clod found near the smaller of the two Great Buddhas at Bāmiyān were of great importance for localizing the fragmentary manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection with some certainty, because they are written in the same variety of Brāhmī types. That the area of Bāmiyān is probably the place from where the manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection originate is supported by the oldest Vinaya fragments published so far. They belong to the Mahāsāṃghikas who had a stronghold in this area.[48] This Buddhist school is traditionally associated with the spread of Mahāyāna, which is reflected by the many early Mahāyāna sūtras in the Schøyen Collection. Even though one may argue that the remains from Buddhist libraries around Bāmiyān and from monasteries on the Silk Road are haphazard, and that therefore it is useless to look for text

[39] I sent the fragment to Richard Salomon for further study. One side was provisionally transliterated by Andrew Glass.

[40] Identified by Gudrun Melzer as being a commentary on *Udānavarga* 28.2.

[41] Most of the fragments belong to alphabets h–k in Sander 1968.

[42] According to Enomoto (p. 14) the text is linked to the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama* Nos. 322 and 332. It preserves quotations from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and *-vyākhyā* of the Mūlasārvāstivādins.

[43] Identified by Gudrun Melzer as *Gaṇḍavyūha*.

[44] Manuscripts written in "Eastern Gupta" are rare; cf. Sander 1968: 101–104 (alphabet g). The Schøyen Collection has about 200 mainly small fragments, most of which are not identified. According to the different hands and content many fragments may belong to three manuscripts only. Nevertheless, the comparably frequent occurrence of manuscripts written in this type of script in this collection points towards a close communication between the monasteries near Bāmiyān and those in northeastern India at the beginning of the 4th century CE. — Only one fragment (SC 2377/4/1a) containing the 32 *lakṣaṇa*s of a *mahāpuruṣa* was published by Siglinde Dietz (2006: 153–162) from a manuscript containing "Lists of terms and names," which may be related to an unidentified *Vinayavibhaṅga* text. She observed (p. 154) that the fragments likely belonging to this manuscript have different height and accordingly different numbers of lines. This confirms what Lüders already observed for the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* manuscript, and Schlingloff for the so-called "Spitzer manuscript," namely that early palm-leaf manuscripts had an oval shape with folios of different height with varying lines. The largest folios are placed in the middle of the manuscript. For details cf. Franco 2004: Vol. I, 26. The same may be true for this manuscript, because folio 5 has three lines only.

[45] According to Matsumura, frags. 32+34 belong to one manuscript.

[46] Together with a photo found in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris with remarks from Lévi's hand.

[47] See pp. 234–238.

[48] According to Bareau (1955: 55) inscriptional evidence shows that they were present in Mathurā, Karle, and in the region of Kabul.

preferences in certain periods, the study of the fragmentary Sanskrit manuscripts from the northern route of the Silk Road tells a contrary story.[49] For the Schøyen Collection it may be too early to come to reliable conclusions about its contribution to the literary history of Buddhist texts in the monasteries around Bāmiyān. Such matters have to recede into the background until more fragments are identified and published, but tendencies are already visible. While not neglecting the importance of identifying and editing texts, one should always have an eye to a more general view of the new manuscript collections and what they are able to tell us about Buddhism and its missionary activities, and the societies in which they unfolded.

Abbreviations

BMSC	Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection. See Braarvig, Jens *et al.* (eds.).
BAI	Bulletin of the Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills (Michigan) U.S.A.
BEI	Bulletin d' Études Indiennes, Paris
Fig/Figs	Figure/Figures
frag./frags.	fragment/fragments
JA	Journal asiatique, Paris
MANP	Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans, hrsg. von Harald Hauptmann
MSC	Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection
Pl./Pls.	Plate/Plates
VOHD	Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland
WZKS	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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[49] Sander 1999: 61–106.

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Figures

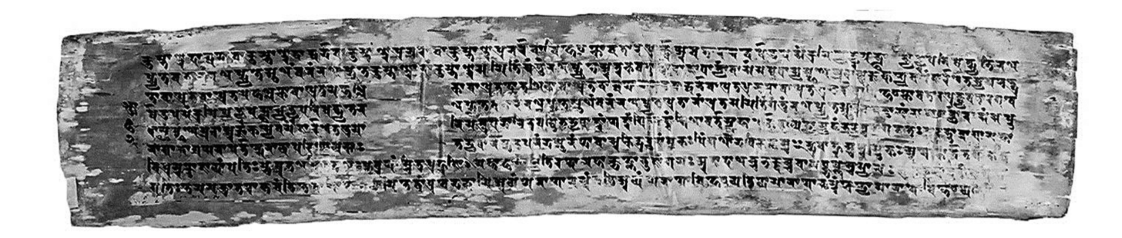




Figure 1: Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II (= Protośāradā)
Dīrghāgama manuscript, fol. 352 (*Āṭānāṭīyasūtra*)

A TAFEL IV

	Kuṣāṇa Alphabet c	h	Mathurā Image Inscript. Year 135	i	k	Gilgit-Mss.[1]
A					K-934	
Ā					K-934	
I						
U						
E						
kā kī ku kṛ						
kha						
ce						ca
jā						ji
ṇā ṇai			ṇa			ṇā
tā tu						
tha thā						
du dū						
nu ne						
pā pū po						

1 Akṣaras aus: N. Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts, I, 1939; und A. Stein, Serindia, IV, 1921, Pl. CXLII.

Figure 2: Development towards the ornate Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I
Copy from Sander 1968: 122, Pl. IVA



Figure 3: Fragments from Kabul Museum
Photograph: Härtel, Plate 1A

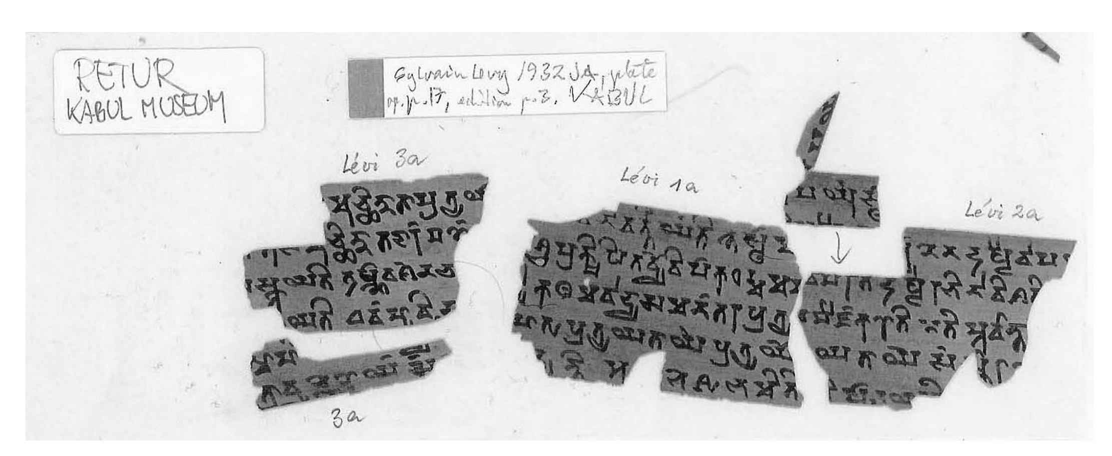


Figure 4: Fragments from Kabul Museum in the Schøyen Collection (1)
Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī; publ. Lévi 1932: 3, nos. 1–3a



Figure 5: Fragment from the Kabul Museum
Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I, birch bark; photograph Härtel; publ. Lévi 1932: 8 no. 5b



Figure 6: Fragments from the Kabul Museum in the Schøyen Collection (2)
Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II (= Protośāradā), birch bark;
publ. Lévi 1932: 19–20 no. 6b, Matsuda 2006

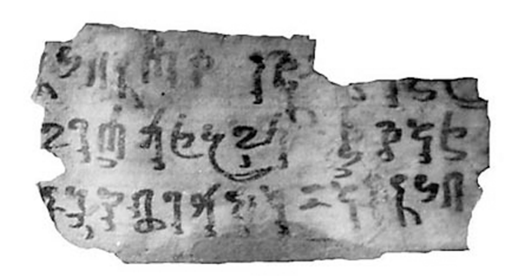



Figure 7: Frag. 3 from the Kabul Museum (Frag. 3A shown in Fig. 3)
Kharoṣṭhī, leather; unpublished

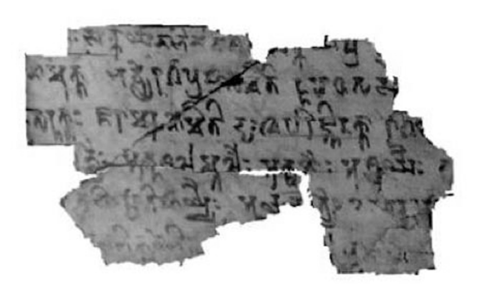
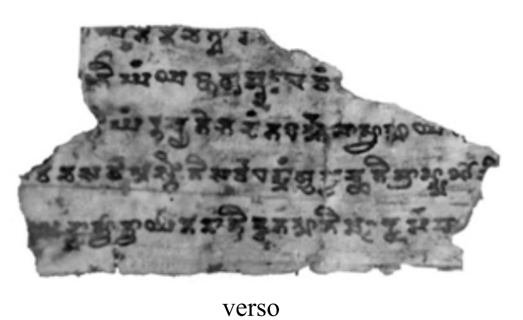



Figure 8: Frag. 1 from the Kabul Museum (Frag. 1A shown in Fig. 3)
Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī (cf. Sander 1968, alphabet c), palm leaf; unpublished

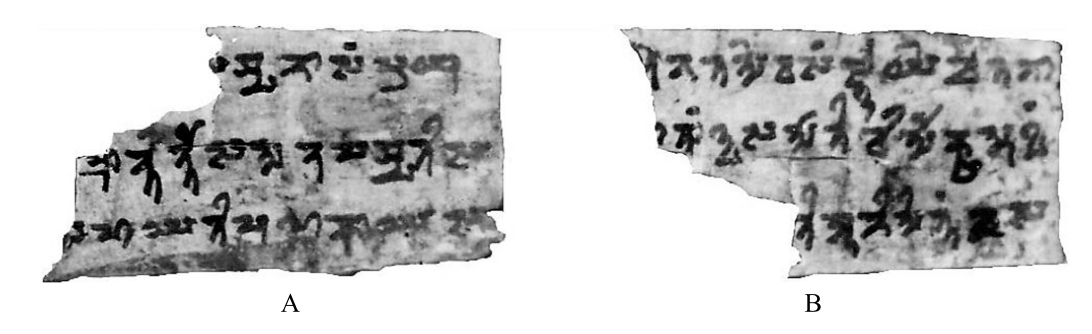


recto



verso

Figure 9: Frag. 7 from the Kabul Museum (Frag. 7A/recto shown in Fig. 3)
Northwestern Gupta variety (cf. Sander 1968, alphabet k with variants), palm leaf;
publ. Enomoto 1989: 9–10.



A B

Figure 10: Frag. 9 from the Kabul Museum (Frag. 9A shown in Fig. 3)
Northwestern Gupta variety, palm leaf, unskilled hand; unpublished



A B

Figure 11: Frag. 5 from the Kabul Museum (Frag. 5A shown in Fig. 3)
Eastern Gupta Script, palm leaf; unpublished

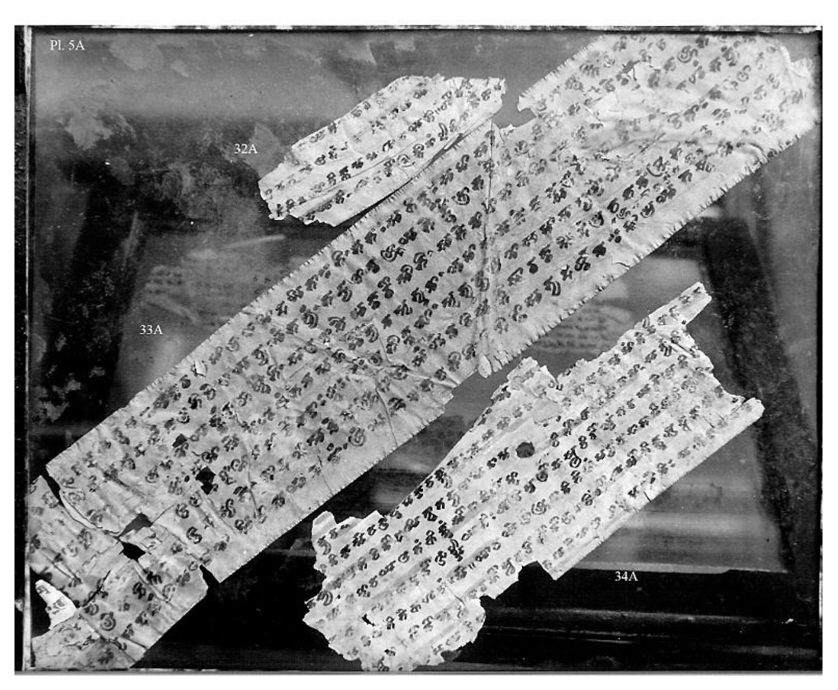
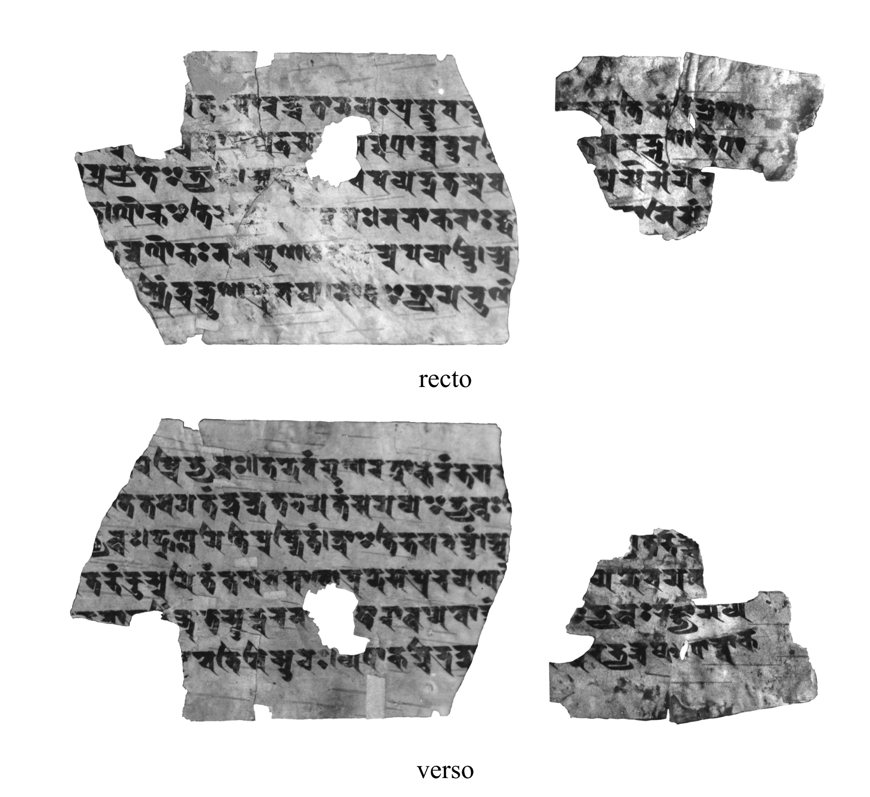


Figure 12: Ornate Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I, birch bark
Photograph: Härtel Pl. 5A; Frag. 34 publ. von Hinüber 1986: 296ff.



recto

verso

Figure 13: Frag. 6 from the Kabul Museum (recto of smaller frag. shown in Fig. 3)
Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type II (cf. Sander 1968, alphabet m), birch bark
Reconstructed from Härtel's photographs, Pls. 1 & 2; publ. Hartmann 2009: 235

Survey of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Turfan Collection (Berlin)*

KLAUS WILLE (GÖTTINGEN)

The Sanskrit manuscripts from the Turfan Finds form a major part of the manuscripts and block prints of the Turfan collection brought back to Berlin by the four German expeditions to Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang) between 1902 and 1914. By now, more than 7100 catalogue numbers have been allocated, of which numbers 1–5799 are already described or published in parts 1–11 of the catalogue series *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* (SHT), being part X of the "Union Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in German Collections" ["Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland" (VOHD)]. This is a research project of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and is due to continue until 2015. In 1996, the Union Académique Internationale, Bruxelles, placed the Union Catalogue under its patronage as project C 53.

Apart from a few manuscripts which were acquired on the market, and several others the find-spot of which cannot be reconstructed, the manuscripts were found in the following places along the northern route of the Silk Road: Tumšuq near Maralbaši, the sites Qizil, Qumtura, Sim-sim(?), and Ačiγ-Iläk(?) in the Kučā region, Šorčuq, and the sites Turfan Foothills (= Qurutqa), Xočo, Yarχoto, Murtuq/Bäzäklik, Sängim, and Toyoq in the Turfan oasis.[1]

In his introduction to the first part of the catalogue series SHT, Ernst Waldschmidt presented a comprehensive survey of the work on these manuscripts carried out between 1904 and 1964 and a list of all the relevant publications,[2] a summary of which is given in the following.

Soon after the first expedition had returned in 1903, the first Sanskrit texts were published. Richard Pischel, who at that time held the chair of Indology in Berlin, edited in two publications fragments of three block prints (SHT 612, 613 and 614), two of which could later on be identified as belonging to the *Saṃyuktāgama*. Heinrich Stönner, who held a position in the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin, followed with two further publications, namely the short *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* (SHT 596) and three folios of a block print of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (SHT 575). And finally in 1907 and 1908 three more publications of Sanskrit fragments came out: Emil Sieg edited fragments of a Sanskrit grammar (SHT 489, 534, 633, 644) and Pischel again the first fragments of the *Udānavarga* (SHT 447–449).

After Pischel's early death in 1908 Heinrich Lüders succeeded to his chair at the university in Berlin. In 1911 his edition of *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen* came out as the first part of five in the series "Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte." This palmleaf manuscript is still one of the earliest manuscripts of Indian origin from Central Asia that we know. Around 1912 Lüders took over coordinating the work on the Sanskrit texts from Turfan. He also worked on Sanskrit texts from Khotan which had been sent to him by A. F. R. Hoernle from London. He dealt with four folios of the so-called Kashgar manuscript of the

* This is an updated version of the paper I presented at the workshop *Digitalisierung der chinesischen, tibetischen, syrischen und Sanskrit-Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*, Berlin, June 2, 2005.

[1] There are some manuscripts which were found on the southern route of the Silk Road: some were presented as a gift by George Macartney to Albert von Le Coq when he was in Kashgar (SHT VI 1574, XI 4350, 4444, 4447, 4450, 4454, 4458, 4459, 4463), some were acquired by A. von Le Coq from Badruddīn Khān, the Aksakal of Khotan [SHT III 1012, X 4301, 4303, 4353, XI 4462(?)], some belong to the British Library (SHT XI 4362–4394 and 4466–4469) and were sent by A. F. R. Hoernle to H. Lüders in 1906 and 1911, and some belong to the Trinkler manuscript collection (SHT XI 4439 and 4457) which Emil Trinkler himself presented to the Prussian Academy in 1930.

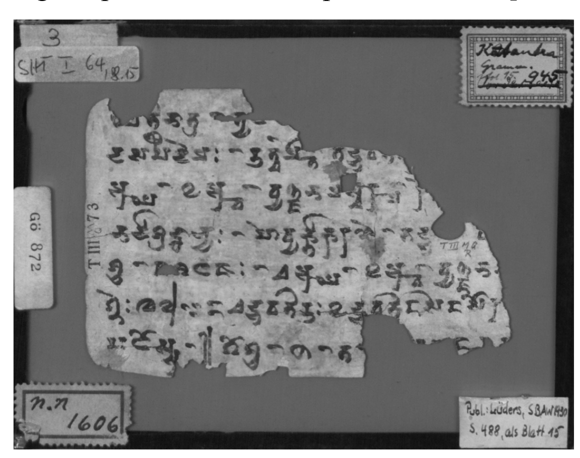
[2] SHT I: XI–XXXII.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, one folio of another manuscript of this text and a fragment of one folio, the text of which could be identified by Jin-il Chung only recently as a parallel to Chinese *Madhyamāgama* sūtra 123 or Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama* sūtra 254. These manuscripts were published in 1916 in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan*.[3]

World War I meant an interruption of the work for many years. It was not until 1922 that further editions of Sanskrit manuscripts from the Turfan Finds began to appear.

Heinrich Lüders' wife Else played an important part in the work on the manuscript material. For more than twenty years she transliterated countless fragments, reunited matching parts of manuscripts and identified several texts, possibly with the help of her husband. Everyone dealing with the material knows how difficult this work must have been. Else Lüders never edited any fragment herself, but scholars working on the material are still profiting from her labours today. Since some of the fragments were lost during the Second World War, her transliterations are extremely valuable as the only surviving documentation. Later some of the fragments could be found again, but others are still lost.

Else Lüders was also the first to arrange the manuscripts according to their contents by fixing groups of numbers for the various literary genres. Soon some of these numerical groups turned out to be insufficient and had to be enlarged. Therefore another paper label had to be attached to the glass plates. In the example shown here [SHT I 64 (K 1606)],[4] the



site mark T III MQ 73, meaning "3rd Turfan expedition, Qizil, room with red dome of the Ming-öi," is found on the left margin of the original; the label on the upper left with the number three indicates that it is the third plate of the catalogue number; on the upper right label the identification is given: Kātantra, Gramm., fol. 15 and the "old number" 945; on the lower left label one finds the "new number" 1606; the lower right label indicates the publication; the label below the label on the upper left indicates the catalogue number under which the original is now stored. Else Lüders' system, however, has been more or less retained. Nos. 1–199, for example, were intended for Prātimokṣa manuscripts, for Vinaya manuscripts nos. 200–299 were reserved, for Karmavācanā manuscripts nos. 300–399, for Sūtra manuscripts nos. 400–849, and so on. Moreover, a capital letter was put before the number to denote the find-spot, X meaning "unknown find-spot." Later on this numbering system was termed the "Lüders number."

Research on the Sanskrit manuscripts from the Turfan finds is difficult to imagine without the name of Ernst Waldschmidt. He came to Berlin in 1920 and four years later, as a pupil of Heinrich Lüders, he completed his doctorate with the edition of Sanskrit frag-

[3] Hoernle 1916: 139–175.

[4] All images in this paper © Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

ments of the *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa* from the Turfan finds. His postdoctoral thesis from 1930 was again an edition of manuscript fragments, this time of a collection of Buddhist sūtras. In 1936 he succeeded Sieg in the chair of Indology in Göttingen, but still worked as a freelancer at the Oriental Commission (Orientalische Kommission) in Berlin, to which he was elected member in 1942. World War II again meant a considerable set-back for the work on the Sanskrit Turfan manuscripts. It had to be stopped almost completely. In 1943 the manuscripts were moved from Berlin to different places to avoid damage from air raids, and it was not until 1947 that most of them were brought back to Berlin and stored in the newly founded Institut für Orientforschung at the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Institute for Oriental Research at the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin) which replaced the Oriental Commission. Thus the major collection was finally stored in the German Democratic Republic. A small proportion of the manuscripts, about 1000 glass plates supposed to be Tocharian texts, was not sent back to Berlin but was brought to Göttingen in the later Federal Republic of Germany, there to be dealt with by Emil Sieg. These fragments, however, turned out to be exclusively Sanskrit texts, some of which Waldschmidt had already worked on in Berlin.[5] In the course of being transported about two thirds of the glass plates were cracked and some lost their labels with the numbers. They had to be rearranged and remounted between sheets of glass. The manuscripts which were brought back to Berlin suffered the same fate. By means of Waldschmidt's good and intensive cooperation with the Institute for Oriental Research in East Berlin, the transliterations of Else Lüders became accessible in Göttingen and photographs of the Sanskrit manuscripts were sent there too. In this way, the conditions were established for Waldschmidt and his co-workers in Göttingen to list the manuscripts and provide a provisional catalogue.[6]

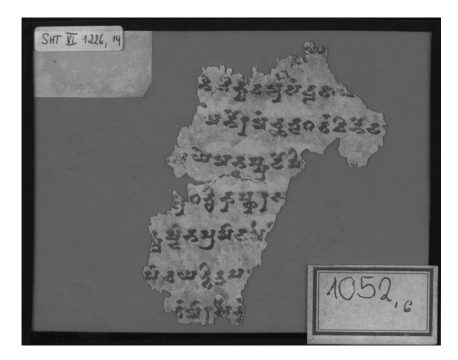
In the fifties and early sixties a large number of text editions appeared, prepared not only by Waldschmidt himself, but also by his pupils like Herbert Härtel, Kusum Mittal, Valentina Rosen, Dieter Schlingloff and Chandrabhāl Tripāṭhī, as well as by other scholars like Heinz Bechert, Franz Bernhard, Helmut Hoffmann and Friedrich Weller. The first publications came to be included in the "Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin" or in the series "Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden," being a series of the Institute for Oriental Research of the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin. From 1965, they appeared in the "Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen."

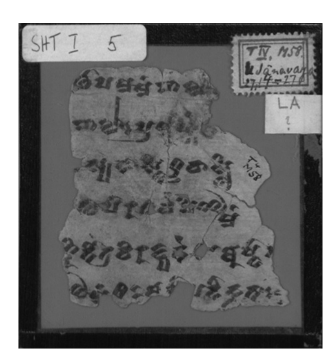
In 1950 Waldschmidt was still optimistic and expected to provide a catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the foreseeable future. This plan had to be revised rather soon, since two years later several huge cardboard boxes with thousands of unmounted and unnumbered Sanskrit fragments surfaced, which had not yet been transliterated by Else Lüders. It was Dieter Schlingloff's outstanding contribution, during his employment at the Institute for Oriental Research in Berlin between 1954–1961, to have these approximately 6000 fragments mounted between sheets of glass and numbered with the so-called "vorläufige Numerierung (Vorl. Nr.)" — a "provisional number," written in pencil in order to distinguish it from the Lüders number [see figure below, left; SHT VI 1226 (Vorl.Nr. 1052)]. He also prepared first transliterations of the major part of them, which was and still is extremely useful for further work. Later on it turned out that a few of these fragments with a provisional number had already received a Lüders number before, which had then

[5] Among the small group of Turfan manuscripts with mainly Uyghur fragments sent to Mainz a further ten Sanskrit manuscript fragments were found.

[6] Today all Sanskrit manuscripts of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften are deposited in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, except for the few exhibits kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst. Cf. also Raschmann 1995.

been lost due to the removal during the war. They were now rearranged under their former number.





A different arrangement was applied to the *Udānavarga* fragments later on in the edition by Franz Bernhard (Uv). He classified the fragments according to a system of letters [see figure above, right; SHT I 5 (Uv.LA)]. Moreover, an additional system of numbering is to be found on some of the glass plates, always written in pencil, therefore called "pencil numbers." These numbers were applied shortly after World War II by a technical assistant in Berlin as current numbers during an inventory. The various systems of classification play a minor role nowadays, since all manuscript fragments are now exclusively arranged according to their catalogue numbers. Concordances enable the reader to relate the various numbers used in earlier editions to the present catalogue number.

In 1957 the Sanskrit manuscripts were included as series X in the project "Union Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in German Collections." The palaeographical research on the Sanskrit manuscripts carried out by Lore Sander, a pupil of Waldschmidt, became of major importance for the cataloguing process. She classified the scripts into seven main and five special types, and that made it possible to arrange the fragments according to their script. The first three volumes of the Union Catalogue series "Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden" (SHT) were edited by Ernst Waldschmidt, assisted by Walter Clawiter and Lore Sander and volumes 4 and 5 together by Waldschmidt and Sander. Heinz Bechert, in 1965 Waldschmidt's successor in the chair for Indology in Göttingen, took over the direction of the series from him in 1984, at which time I was entrusted with the work on the manuscripts. After Bechert's death in 2005 Dr. Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel of the State Library in Berlin took over this project.

Since the separate volumes of the series are rather inconsistent concerning their contents, structure, and principles of cataloguing, a short description of each of them is given in the following.

The first volume of SHT came out in 1965 containing catalogue numbers 1–801. The descriptions of the manuscripts are arranged according to the find-spots and within these groups first according to the type of script and then according to the contents. Nearly all of these manuscripts had already been edited, and therefore the catalogue consisted mostly of descriptions. Selected facsimiles were added in order to demonstrate the different types of script.

SHT volume 2 appeared in 1968. Besides the edition of some fragments already described in volume 1, this volume contains the facsimiles of Vinaya and Sūtra manuscripts of some of the catalogue numbers of No. 1. These facsimiles were initially meant to be published as part 2 of the series "Faksimile-Wiedergaben von Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden." The first and only part ever to appear was published in 1963 by Mouton & Co in The Hague (FakSHT).

SHT 3 was published in 1971 containing catalogue numbers 802–1014 and facsimiles of most of the manuscripts described in it. Contrary to No. 1, which lists many rather exten-

sive manuscripts, a catalogue number in No. 3 often refers to fragments of only one or several folios of the same manuscript. Therefore, with few exceptions, the full text of the fragments is given to make the text material accessible to scholars and thus enable specialists in the respective genres to identify the texts.

SHT 4 came out in 1980 containing a large number of text editions of catalogue numbers previously described in volume 1. For the first time, a list of additions and corrections (to Nos. 1–3) and a word index (to Nos. 1–3 and 4) was added.

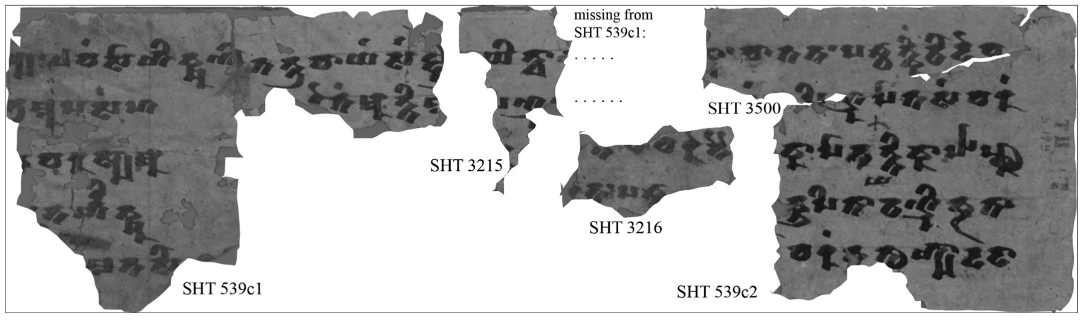
SHT 5 appeared in 1985 containing catalogue numbers 1015–1201 and another 63 numbers which had already been published in other places or identified by Waldschmidt, and were therefore published out of sequence. The text of the fragments is given in full, and this way of presentation is continued throughout the following volumes. Facsimiles of the catalogue numbers up to 1201 and of 1290 as well as a word index are added.

SHT 6 came out in 1989 with catalogue numbers 1202–1599. These texts belong mainly to the genres of Vinaya and Sūtra. Since the find-spots of most of them could not be traced there are no subdivisions. Unfortunately, for financial reasons the volume had to do without facsimiles, and that applies to the following volumes as well. A list of additions and corrections to all the previous volumes is given, but the word index follows only in No. 7.

SHT 7 came out in 1995 containing the catalogue numbers 1600–1799, once more arranged according to find-spot and type of script. The fragments mainly stem from Vinaya, Sūtra, and non-canonical Abhidharma manuscripts and from the text genre "lyric and didactic poetry." A word index to Nos. 6 and 7 is provided, as well as a list of additions and corrections to all the previous volumes.

SHT 8 was published in 2000. Since the find-spots of catalogue numbers 1800–1999 could not in most cases be located, there is again no classification in such terms. The texts mainly derive from Vinaya, Sūtra and non-canonical Abhidharma literature. A word index is added, along with a list of additions and corrections to all the previous volumes.

SHT 9, 10 and 11 came out in 2004, 2008 and 2012 and contain catalogue numbers 2000–3199, 3200–4362 and 4363–5799 respectively. These are, except for about 100 numbers, all very small fragments. From No. 9 onwards again new principles had to be applied, since the Academic Committee responsible for this project had decided to expedite the cataloguing of the Oriental Manuscripts. Under these new guidelines only those fragments containing considerable text should be transliterated, otherwise only a description should be given. Some of the identified fragments had been previously considered as lost after their shifting on account of World War II, or they were small pieces which had possibly broken off from bigger ones before they were mounted between sheets of glass. These small pieces could be assigned to other already edited fragments. In some cases, this increase of text actually corrects the formerly assumed text restoration. A nice example is furnished by SHT I 539, fragm. c, see figure.

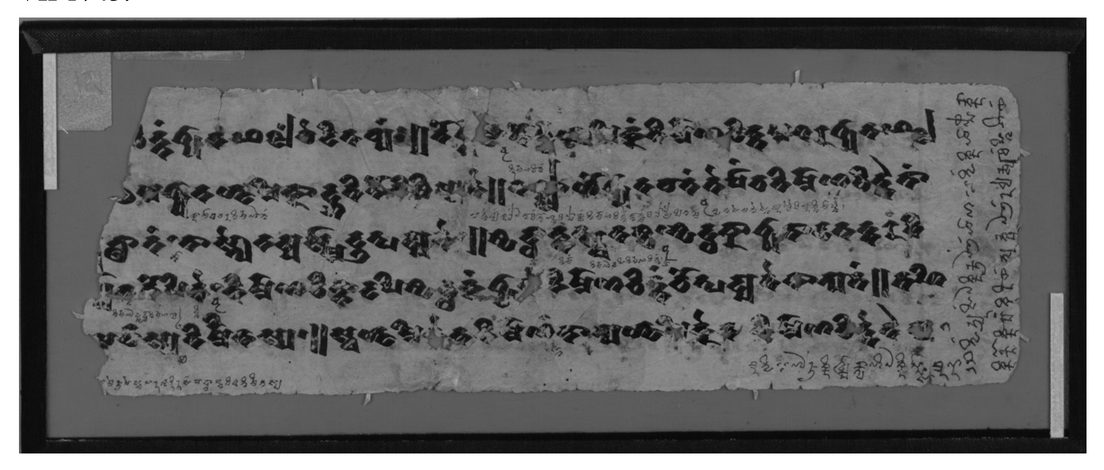


The left corner piece had already been dealt with by Waldschmidt in his *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtra* edition, the right corner piece could be found later on. Both are edited in full in SHT part 1, but five to six akṣaras are missing in lines *recto* 1–2 [line 1 (lost akṣaras in

bold): .. *ṣyaḥ evaṃ sā bhikṣuṇī tantravāyaṃ saṃjñā[p](ayed)* ***vā saṃjñāp[ā]pa***]. Obviously they broke off after Waldschmidt's edition and were considered lost. SHT X 3215, 3216 and 3500, however, I was able to identify as belonging to the very same folio. The restoration of the verb form *saṃjñāp(ayed)* in line 1 must, according to SHT 3215, be corrected to *saṃj[ñā](pa)yitvā*.

With one more volume of this catalogue series planned to appear by the year 2016, all Sanskrit manuscripts of the Turfan finds will have been described. Apart from the SHT volumes three major text editions have appeared during the last years, namely Mātṛceṭa's *Varṇārhavarṇastotra* by J.-U. Hartmann (VAV; 1987), the *Prātimokṣasūtra* in two volumes by Georg von Simson (PrMoSū; 1986, 2000), and an unknown *Abhidharma* text, the so-called Spitzer Manuscript, by Eli Franco (2004). The first two editions include also the relevant manuscript fragments within the other collections in London, Paris, and St. Petersburg. The keen and continuous interest of scholars world-wide in the texts edited in the SHT volumes is reflected in numerous identifications and suggestions, which can be found in the addenda from part 4 onwards, and in the considerable number of publications — 199 until now — based on Turfan texts.

The Sanskrit manuscripts in the Turfan collection are, however, interesting not only for Sanskrit scholars but also for those working in neighbouring fields of study, since several of the manuscripts contain glosses in Tocharian and Uyghur. In SHT VII 1708, for example (see figure), one finds Tocharian[7] glosses or comments under each line, and in the right margin of both sides Uyghur[8] in Brāhmī script. The Uyghur on the *recto* describes how to handle the omitted text between the last line of the *recto* and the first line of the *verso*. The folio which contains this omitted text has now been identified by Vincent Tournier as SHT VII 1743.[9]



In December 2008 a project for the digitisation of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Turfan Collection was launched by the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, and this was completed in 2013. Most of the images are already available on the database of the International Dunhuang Project (http://idp.bl.uk or http://idp.bbaw.de). Problems might arise in relation to those originals which still have to be restored before digitisation. The capacity of the conservation department in the Berlin State Library is rather limited. To replace broken glass sheets might not be so time-consuming, but the mounting between sheets of glass of the hundreds of fragile birch-bark fragments shrink-wrapped in cellophane, most of which belong to the *Yogavidhi* or to the *Yogalehrbuch* (SHT 150) manu-

7 Cf. Schmidt 1990: 475.
8 Cf. Maue 2009: 12ff.
9 Cf. SHT XI (additions and corrections) 1708.

script, will be rather labour-intensive, as will be the handling of hundreds of poplar-wood fragments.

In order to present a comprehensive survey regarding the contents of the manuscripts,[10] in the following a title index of identified texts will be given which, although provisional, will provide an idea of the literary genres represented in the manuscripts, of the distribution of texts among these genres, and of the predilection for certain texts as indicated by the number of manuscripts in which they occur.

Index of texts in the SHT volume[11]

Pressmarks in bold have been edited completely or partially in the volumes cited. If an edited fragment comprises two catalogue numbers, only the first number is given (for example V **1064** for V **1064** + **1065**).

A. Buddhist literature

1. Vinaya

Adhikaraṇavastu of the Sarvāstivādins VI **1401**(?); VII **1686**(?), **1739**(?)

Bhaiṣajyavastu (stotra of the brahmin Nīlabhūti) I 629d, 629e + XI **4491** (rendering of both frgs. in XI), I 629gr; V **1321**; VII **1764**a; VIII **1804**

Bhaiṣajyavastu of the Sarvāstivādins VI **1407**a(?)

Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtra of the Sarvāstivādins I 44, 539a + V **1071** + X **3209**, I 539b, **539c** + X **3215** + **3216** + **3500**; VI **1560**; X **3952**(?)

Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣavibhaṅga of the Sarvāstivādins I 394, 540, 541, 549; V **1047**a, **1358**; VIII **1843**(?); IX **2850**(?)

Bhikṣuprātimokṣasūtra of the Sarvāstivādins: see *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Sarvāstivādins

Bhikṣuprātimokṣavibhaṅga of the Sarvāstivādins: see *Prātimokṣavibhaṅga* of the Sarvāstivādins

Caṇpāvastu of the Sarvāstivādins V **1049**, **1121**

Carmavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins I **598**(?); IX **2281** + X **4103**

Carmavastu of the Sarvāstivādins I 591

Cīvaravastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins I 551a + X **3295**, I 551b + XII **6479** (rendering of both frgs. in XII), I 551c + IX **2232**, I 551d + IX **2231** + X **3599** + XI **5163**g (rendering of all frgs. in XI), I 551e, f + VII **1724** + XII **5857**, I 551g + VIII **1984** + IX **2222** + X **3518** + **3661** + **4202**; V **1100** + X **3562**; X **3293** + **4225** + XI **5183** (rendering of all frgs. in XI), X **3540**, **3567** + XII **6486** (rendering of both frgs. in XII)

Cīvaravastu of the Sarvāstivādins VI **1353**b(?),c(?)

council (account of the first council): see *Vinayanidāna*

Devadattavastu of the Sarvāstivādins I 552; V 1376 + X **3922** (rendering of both frgs. in X); VI **1295**, **1369**b, **1383** + **1481**; VII **1741**

Ekottaradharma/Vinayottarika of the Sarvāstivādins V **1057**, **1108** + **1086**a

Karmavācanā I 29, 45, 46, I 120 + II **120**, I 121–123, 124(?), 125–128, 129(?), 130(?), 131, **132**, 133(?), 134(?), 135–138, 393, 395, 433, 435, 555, 570, 572, 651, 679 + III **854**b + IX **2031**(?) (rendering of all frgs. in IX), I 764; III **854**(?), **858**; V **1027**, **1028**(?), **1088**a, **1215**v2–6; VI **1484**(?); VII **1655**r4–6; IX **2441**(?), **2567**(?), **3135**; X **3223**, **4128**, **4140**, **4153**; X **3765**(?), **4152**(?); XI **5777**

Karmavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins(?) VI **1388**; X **4279**

Karmavastu of the Sarvāstivādins: see *Caṇpāvastu* of the Sarvāstivādins

Kathāvastu of the *Uttaragrantha* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins V **1068**

Kaṭhinavastu X **3449**, **3916**

[10] Cf. also Sander 1979, 1983, and 1999.

[11] Taken into account is also the as yet unpublished volume SHT XII (up to catalogue number 6614). For fragments from the Turfan Collection kept now in Istanbul cf. Wille 2004.

Kaṭhinavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins I 573 + VI **1437** (rendering of both frgs. in VI); IX **2973**b; XI **4626**a

Kaṭhinavastu of the Sarvāstivādins I 557a, 571

Kośāmbakavastu X **3306**(?)

Kośāmbakavastu of the Sarvāstivādins V **1048**b, **1051**

Kṣudrakavastu of the Sarvāstivādins III **988**(?); V **1036**, **1079**

Nīlabhūti (stotra of the brahmin) I 629d, 629e + XI **4491** (rendering of both frgs. in XI), I 629gr; V **1321**; VII **1764**a; VIII **1804**

Pāṇḍurohiyakavastu of the Sarvāstivādins III **988**(?); V **1048**a

Poṣadhavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins V **1033** + VII **1761** [new rendering of both frgs. in VIII (additions) 1033]; X **3603**

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Prātimokṣasūtra of the Sarvāstivādins: see also *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtra* of the Sarvāstivādins

Prātimokṣavibhaṅga of the Sarvāstivādins I 542 + II **542**, I 543–550, 554, 557b, 559a, 560, 561, 562a, I 563 + VI **1454** + IX **3004**, 564, 565, 567–569, 763; III **988**(?); V **1028**(?), **1037**, **1041**(?), **1043**(?), **1046**(?), **1052**, **1061**(?), **1066**(?), **1072**, **1080**(?), **1085**(?), **1090**(?), **1094**(?), 1097, **1098**, **1106**, **1323**, **1479**(?); VI **1283**, **1345**(?), **1372**(?), **1374**, **1378**(?), **1400**, **1401**(?), **1407**a(?),b, **1444**(?), **1452**(?), **1465**, **1466**(?), **1468**, **1469**, **1471**, **1472**, **1473**(?), **1483**, **1487**, **1489**, **1496**, **1501**, **1518**, **1529**, **1530**, **1536** + XI **4583** (rendering of both frgs. in XI), VI **1570**; VII **1608**a(?), **1686**(?), **1739**(?); IX **2284**(?), **2286**, **2287**(?), **2288**(?), **2850**(?), **3032**(?), **3079**(?); X **3515**(?), **3604**, **3815**(?), **3820**, **3875**, **3888**, **3903**, **3918**(?), **3924**, **4287**(?); XI **4549**, **4577**, **4727**(?), **4771**(?), **4781**(?), **4799**(?), **4868**, **5247**(?); XII **6259**

Prātimokṣavibhaṅga of the Sarvāstivādins: see also *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣavibhaṅga* of the Sarvāstivādins

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Pravāraṇāvastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins VI **1578**; XI **4473**

Pravāraṇāvastu of the Sarvāstivādins V **1091**

Pravrajyāvastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins V **1030**, **1045**g; XII **6124**(?)

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Saṃghabhedavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins I 577(?) + **1163**(?); V **1045**d,f,h,i(?), **1075**, **1083**; VI **1430** + X **4008** (rendering of both frgs. in X) + XI **4524**b + XII **6470**, VI **1431** + X **4199** (rendering of both frgs. in X) + XI **4627**c, VI **1539**(?); VII **1719**a, VII **1719**b + IX **3115** + X **3613** + **6016** [6016 ed. in VIII (additions) 1719], VII **1719**c, VII **1719**d + IX **3116** + X **4016** + XII **5853**; IX **2220**, **2317**, **2341** + X **4338**, IX **3103**; X **3287**, **3458**, **3596**, **3655**, **3665**, **4014**, **4019** + XI **4531**a,c, X **4045**, **4099**, **4106**, **4125**(?), **4283**(?); XI **4400**, **4472**, **4524**d, **4529**b, **4531**c, **4575**; **4606**b; **4607**a,b, **4627**b, **4628**a, **4674**b, **4768**g, **5420**, **5430** + XII **6257** (rendering of both frgs. in XII), XI **5592**(?); XII **6061**, **6065**, **6179**, **6431**(?)

Saṃghabhedavastu of the Sarvāstivādins: see *Devadattavastu* of the Sarvāstivādins

Saṃghāvaśeṣa section in the 10th *Adhyāya* of the *Daśādhyāya-vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins V **1056**; VI **1364**, **1382**

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Udayana story: see *Bhikṣuprātimokṣavibhaṅga* of the Sarvāstivādins (V 1097, 1098; X **3875**)

Upāliparipṛcchā I 553; III **937**; IV **566**(?); V **1038**, **1053**, **1054** [fols. 9,13(?)], **1055**(?), V+VI **1058** + **1412**, V **1064**, **1067**a(?),b, **1160**, **1438**; X **4209**

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Vinayavibhaṅga of the Sarvāstivādins: see *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣavibhaṅga* and *Prātimokṣavibhaṅga* of the Sarvāstivādins

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Kevartisūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) V **1352**d + X **3417** (rendering of both frgs. in X); VI **1491** + X **3805** (rendering of both frgs. in X); IX **2085** + X **3926** (rendering of both frgs. in X); XI **4759**a
Khandhasaṃyutta (text corresponding to a section in) IV **30**
Kṣemakasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) IV **30**c
Kūṭatāṇḍyasūtra/Kūṭatāṇṭhyasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) III **894**b(?), **978**; V **1290**b,c,g; VIII **1878**(?); X **3789**, **3908**; XI **4902**
Lakkhaṇasaṃyutta (text corresponding to a section in) IV **30**
Lokakāmaguṇasutta (text corresponding to) V **1442**; VI **1404**
Lokeccasūtra I (*Dīrghāgama*) III **806**; V **1352**a+b + X **3433** + XI **4879**; VI **1413**; X **3569** + **4254** + XI **4765**b (rendering of all frgs. in XI)
Lokeccasūtra II (*Dīrghāgama*) IV **495**c; VIII **1918**; IX **2330**; X **3829**(?), **3830**; XI **5038**
Madhyamāgama (text corresponding to a sūtra in the Chinese *Madhyamāgama*;[12] arranged according to SHT catalogue numbers) II **163**b,d (sūtra 9), I 409 (sūtra 134), I+IV **412** (sūtras 122–123,131–133,135,138,141), I 413 (sūtra 97), I+IV **558** + V **1162** (sūtra 60), I 562b (sūtra 182), 580a (? sūtra 62), 581 [sūtras 62 (*Bimbasārasūtra*), 97 (*Mahānidānasūtra*), 134 (*Śakra-praśnasūtra*)], 769 + X **3920** (sūtra 204); III **804** (sūtras 132–133), **865** (sūtra 97), **868** (sūtra 97), **872** (sūtra 133), **878**(?) (sūtra 1), **979** (sūtra 180), **1007** (sūtra 133); V **1070** (sūtra 131), **1101** (sūtra 128), **1114** (sūtra 201), **1117** (sūtra 14), **1118** (sūtra 3), **1125** (sūtra 189), **1148** + X **4094** + XI **4617**d + **5650** (sūtra 161), V **1151**v2–5 + VI **1415** (sūtra 134), V **1166** (sūtra 201), V **1279** + IX **2155** (sūtra 205), V **1332**a + VI **1493** + X **3917** (sūtras 203–204), V **1333** (sūtra 70), **1334** (sūtra 70), **1346** (sūtra 184), **1348** (sūtra 12), V 1402 + **1403**a + IX **2082**a (sūtra 20), V **1421** (sūtra 134), V **1422** + X **3355** (sūtra 134), V **1424** (sūtra 131), **1583** (sūtra 154), **1896** (sūtra 132); VI **1210** (sūtra 170), **1238** (sūtra 97), **1244** (sūtra 135), **1246** (sūtra 97), **1252**a (sūtra 163), **1267** (sūtra 8), **1272** (sūtra 97), **1291** (sūtra 133), **1294** (sūtra 97), **1302** (sūtra 133), **1304**a (sūtra 107 or 108), VI **1324** + VII **1720**+ XI **5151** (sūtra 160), VI **1322** (sūtras 6–7), **1329** (sūtra 9), **1344** (? sūtra 8), **1360** (sūtras 46–48), **1370** (sūtra 156), **1379** (sūtras 24–25), **1384** (sūtra 72), **1392** (sūtra 182), **1397** (sūtra 28), **1423** + X **4092** (sūtra 132; rendering of both frgs. in X), VI

[12] The text of a given catalogue number does not necessarily stem from a *Madhyamāgama* manuscript; cf. also Chung and Fukita 2011.

1522 (sūtra 133); VII **1678**a (sūtra 8), **1687**B (sūtra 134), **1701** (sūtra 4), **1721** (sūtra 130), **1770**cA, dA (sūtra 160); VIII **1802** (sūtra 133), **1913** (sūtra 133), **1914** (sūtra 135), **1919**r (sūtra 189), **1919**v (sūtra 173), **1981** + X **4282** (sūtra 118), **1994** (sūtra 156); IX **2047** (sūtra 133), **2067** (sūtra 97), **2932** (sūtra 133); X **3269** (sūtra 161), **3425** (sūtra 161), **3596** (sūtra 63), **3962** (sūtra 161), **4022** (sūtra 131); XI **4504** (? sūtra 62), **4518** (sūtra 97), **4568** (sūtra 132), **4587** (sūtra 161), **4603** (sūtra 97), **4606**a (sūtra 97), **4607**a (sūtra 63), **4753**b (sūtra 158), **4768**g (sūtra 63), **5373** (? sūtra 4), **5394** (? sūtra 4); XII **6033** (sūtra 131)

Madhyamāgama [text corresponding to a sūtra in the Chinese *Madhyamāgama*; arranged according to the sequence of the sūtras in the *Zhong ahan jing* (T 26)] sūtra 3: V **1118**; sūtra 4: VII **1701**, XI **5373** (?), **5394** (?); sūtras 6–7: VI **1322**; sūtra 8: VI **1267**, **1344**(?), VII **1678**a; sūtra 9: II **163**b,d, VI **1329**; sūtra 12: **1348**; sūtra 14: V **1117**; sūtra 20: V 1402 + **1403**a + IX **2082**a; sūtras 24–25: VI **1379**; sūtra 28: VI **1397**; sūtras 46–48: VI **1360**; sūtra 60: I+IV **558** + V **1162**; sūtra 62: I 580a, 581 fols. 116–120 (*Bimbasārasūtra*), XI **4504**(?); sūtra 63: X **3596**, XI **4607**a, **4768**g; sūtra 70: V **1333**, **1334**; sūtra 72: VI **1384**; sūtra 97: I 413, 581 (*Mahānidānasūtra*), III **865**, **868**, VI **1238**, **1246**, **1272**, **1294**, IX **2067**, XI **4518**, **4603**, **4606**a; sūtra 107 or 108: VI **1304**a; sūtra 118: VIII **1981** + X **4282**; sūtras 122–123: IV **412**; sūtra 128: V **1101**; sūtra 130: VII **1721**; sūtra 131: IV **412**, V **1070**, **1424**, X **4022**, XII **6033**; sūtra 132: IV **412**, III **804**, VI **1423** + X **4092** (rendering of both frgs. in X), V **1896,** X **4568**; sūtra 133: IV **412**, III **804**, **872**, **1007**, VI **1291**, **1302**, **1522**, VIII **1802**, **1913**, IX **2047**, **2932**; sūtra 134: I 409, 581 (*Śakrapraśnasūtra*), V **1151**v2–5 + VI **1415**, V **1421**, **1422** + X **3355**, VII **1687**B; sūtra 135: IV **412**, VI **1244**, VIII **1914**; sūtra 138: IV **412**; sūtra 141: IV **412**; sūtra 154(?): V **1583**; sūtra 156: VI **1370**, VIII **1994** sūtra 158: XI **4753**b; sūtra 160: VI **1324** + VII **1720** + XI **5151**, VII **1770**cA, dA; sūtra 161: V **1148** + X **4094** + XI **4617**d + **5650**, X **3269**, **3425**, **3962**, **4587**; sūtra 163: VI **1252**a; sūtra 170: VI **1210**; sūtra 173: VIII **1919**v; sūtra 180: III **979**; sūtra 182: I **562**b, VI **1392**; sūtra 184: V **1346**; sūtra 189: V **1125**, VIII **1919**r; sūtra 201: V **1114**, **1166**; sūtra 203: V **1332**a + VI **1493** + X **3917**; sūtra 204: I 769 + X **3920**, V **1332**a + VI **1493** + X **3917**; sūtra 205: V **1279** + IX **2155**

Maggasaṃyutta (text corresponding to a section in) IV **162**

Mahā-assapurasutta (text corresponding to) I+IV **562**b; VI **1392**

Mahācattarīsakasutta (text corresponding to) V **1125**

Mahāgosiṅgasutta (text corresponding to) V **1346**

Mahāgovindasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) IV 32 (frgs. 61–64); I+IV **165** (frgs. 18, 19.1,2)

Mahallakasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) IV **495**dr4–v5

Mahallisūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) III **805**

Mahānidānasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) I 413, 581; III **865**, **868**; VI **1238**, **1246**, **1272**, **1294**; IX **2067**; XI **4518**, **4603**, **4606**a

Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra including *Mahāsudarśanasūtra* (*Dīrghāgama*) I 9, 151, 168, 169, 170, 177 [cf. also X (additions)], 183, 367, **370**, 377, 399 [cf. also II, VIII and IX (additions)], 400 [cf. also IX (additions)], 402–406, IV **412** (frg. 62), I 415, 417, 421, **425**, **431**, 478, 479, 495a, 498 [cf. also IX (additions)], 510, 512, **513**, 578, 579, **585**, **587** + XII **5890**, I **588**, **592**, **618**, **619**, **684**, 685, **694**, **790**, **791**; II **685**; III **967**; VI **1271**, **1508** + XI **4465**d + XII **6761** (rendering of all frgs. in XI), VI **1512**; VII **1650**; IX **2305**, **2491**, **2508**, **2616**, **2976**; X **3347**, **3431**(?), **3828**(?), **3936**(?), **4145**, **4175**b–g, **4177**b–c, **4319**; XI **4465**d, **4696**, **5258**, **5600**, **5773**, **5783**; XII **6258**, **6304**, **6575** (part of 512i), **6673**

Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra of the Dharmaguptakas V 1024

Mahāsaccakasutta (text corresponding to): see *Kāyabhāvanāsūtra*

Mahāsamājasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) IV **33** (frgs. 31–32), I 177n7, **424**, 581, **680**, **796** (= III **906**a); III **891**, **892**, **894**a + V **1300**a + XI **5501**r2–v6 (rendering of all frgs. in XI), III **906**a–b; V **1513**, **1540**; IX **3134**, **3152**

Mahāsiṃhanādasūtra: see *Romaharṣaṇasūtra*

Mahāsudarśanasūtra: see *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*

Mahātaṇhāsaṃkhayasutta: see *Svātisūtra*

Mahāvadānasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) I 3, 9, 164, 168y2 [cf. also VIII (additions)], 177 [cf. also VI and VII (additions)], 399 [cf. also IX (additions)], 400, 478, 498 [cf. also VI and IX (additions)], 600–602, 652 [cf. also VI and VII (additions)], 686, **691** [rendering in XI (additions)]; II **685**; III

916; IV **165** (frg. 41), **412** (frg. 34); VI **1592**; IX **2009**, **2032**–**2034**, **2172**, **2446**, **2995**; X **4175**a; XI **4550**, **5559**, **5592**(?), **5605**, **5629**
Makkaṭasutta (text corresponding to) IV **162**d8r(?)1–v(?)7
Mālakyasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) V **1279** + IX **2155**
Maṇḍīśasūtra I (*Dīrghāgama*) X **3451**; XI **5698**
Māṇicarasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) V **1138**
Māraduhitaraḥsūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) V **1441**
Māratarjanīyasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) IV **412** (frgs. 8–11); V 1070, **1424**; X **4022**; XII **6033**
Māyājālasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) IV **33** (frgs. 4+6+7, 8+9+10+19+39, 11+12+15, 13, 14, 16, 36, 38, 40–42) [s. VII (additions)], **165** (frgs. 1, 2, 28, 29) [s. VII (additions)]; III **883**b; V **1025**r–v3
Nagarasūtra: see *Nagaropamasūtra I* and *Nidānasaṃyukta* of the *Saṃyuktāgama*
Nagaravindeyyasutta (text corresponding to) VI **1226**; X **3270**, **3273** + XI **4759**b
Nagaropamasūtra I I 153(?), 154a–c, 155(?), 156, 157, 167r1–v2, I+**II** 176 [fols. 9, 10, 12, 13(?)], I 179r–v3, 211v, 366(?), 369(?), 381 fol. 3, 408, 616, 617, 659, I+**II** 690 [cf. VII (additions)], I 692(?), 693, 787; IX **3025**(?); X **3581**(?); XI **4519**(?), **4531**b(?), **4565**(?), **5190**(?); XII **6124**(?)
Nagaropamasūtra II I 3dA2–4, 154d,e, II **176** (fols. 20, 21, 30), **179v3ff.**; III **875**, **905**, **906**c, **909**, **971**; V **1275** + IX **2482**; VII **1675**; IX **2605**; XI **5527**
Nagaropamasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) V **1118**
Nagaropamavyākaraṇa: see *Nagaropamasūtra II*
Nandakovādasūtra VI **1226**; XI **4560**(?)
Nandikasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) IV **162**av5ff.
Nandīpālasūtra X **3596**; XI **4607**a, **4768**g, **5121**(?)
Nidānasaṃyukta of the *Saṃyuktāgama* (sūtras from; ed. NidSa)
"*Abhaya*" (sūtra 25) I 381
"*Acela*" (sūtra 20) I 381
"*Ādi*" (correct "*Vibhaṅga*"; sūtra 16) I 381, 504 (fols. 124–125r5), 688, 696r–v2
"*Bhikṣu*" (sūtra 17) I 381
"*Bhūmika*" (sūtra 22) I 381
"*Bhūtam idam*" (sūtra 24) I 381
"*Brāhmaṇa*" (sūtra 18) I 381, 615
"*Dīpa I*" (sūtra 3) I 158, 381
"*Dṛṣṭisaṃpanna*" (sūtra 23) I 381
"*Dvayaṃ kāṣṭhe*" (sūtra 8) I 381
"*Kāṃsī*" (sūtra 9) I 381
"*Kātyāyana*" (sūtra 19) I 381, 615
"*Kumbha*" (sūtra 10) I+II 51, 381, 689, 695
"*Markaṭa*" (sūtra 7) I 381
"*Naḍakalāpika*" (sūtra 6) I 381, 725
"*Nagara*" (sūtra 5) I 153(?), 155(?), 156(?), 369(?), 381, 408(?), 616r1–v4, 617(?), 659(?), I+**II** 690 [cf. VII (additions)], I 692(?), 693(?), 787(?)
"*Na yuṣmākam*" (sūtra 13) I 381, 616v5
"*Nivṛta*" (sūtra 12) I 381
"*Pratītya*" (sūtra 14) I 381, 785
"*Śūnyatā*" (sūtra 15) I 381
"*Tiṃburuka*" (sūtra 21) I 381
"*Vibhaṅga*" (NidSa: "Ādi"; sūtra 16) I 381, 504 (fols. 124–125r5), 688, 696r–v2
"*Vṛkṣa I* and *II*" (sūtras 1 and 2) I 51, 158, 381
"*Yo vadet*" (sūtra 11) I 381, I+**II** 680a, I 689
Nidānasaṃyutta [text corresponding to *Mahāvaggo* XII.64(4) *atthirāgo*] V **1089**
Pacalāsutta (text corresponding to) IV **412** (frg. 32)
Pañcatrayasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) IV **32** (frgs. 1–6), **33** (frgs. 1–7); III **882**b(?)
Parivrājakasaṃyukta of the *Saṃyuktāgama* (text corresponding to a sūtra in)

Anāthapiṇḍada I 612
Brāhmaṇasatyāni I 612
Dīrghanakha I 612
Kokanada I 612
Parivrājaka Sthavira(?) I 612
Śarabha I 612
Pāṭalakasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) V **1402** + **1403**a + IX **2082**a
Pāṭimātṛsūtra: see *Bhārgavasūtra*
Pātisutta (text corresponding to) X **3299**
Piṅgalātreyasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) X **3979**rz–v4
Potalakasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) V **1332**a + VI **1493** + X **3917**
Prahāṇasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) V **1445**(?)
Prasādanīyasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) IV **32** (frg. 66)
Prāsādikasūtra (*Dīrghagama*) IV **32** (frg. 84), **165** (frg. 43); VIII **1870**
Pratītyasamutpādavibhaṅgasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) I 504; XI **5477**
Pravāraṇasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) V **1193**; VI **1598**r–v3
Premasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) V **1375**b
Pudgalasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) IV **165** (frg. 27); I **422**; III **879**, **996**; V **1359**; VI **1532**; XI **5102**
Puṇyasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) IV **412** (frg. 32)
Purisagatisutta (text corresponding to) VI **1322**
Rāhulovādasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) V **1117**
Rājasūtra: see *Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtra*
Rāmaputrasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) I 769 + X **3920**
Raṃbhakasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) V **1332**a + VI **1493** + X **3917**
Rāṣṭrapālasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) IV **412** (frgs. 11v5–16); III **804**; V **1896**; VI **1423** + X **4092** (rendering of both frgs. in X); XI **4568**; XII **6579**(?)
Rathavinītasutta (text corresponding to) II **163**b,d; VI **1329**
Romaharṣaṇasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) IV **32** (frgs. 41–57), **500** (frg. 5); V **1102**(?)
Rūpiyapātisutta (text corresponding to) X **3299**r1–5
Ṣaḍāyatanavibhaṅgasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) VI **1252**
Śakrapraśnasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) I 409, 581; V **1151**v2–5 + VI **1415**, V **1421**, **1422** + X **3355**; VII **1687**B
Śaktiśatasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) III **947**
Saḷāyatanasaṃyutta (text corresponding to a section in) IV **30**
Sallasutta (text corresponding to) IV **162**d8v(?)8f.
Śalyasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) IV **32** (frgs. 25–33), IV **165** (frg. 6) + IX **2578**, IV **165** (frgs. 7–14), **500** (frg. 3) + X **3274**, IV **500** (frg. 4)
Saṃgrāmajitsūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) V 1183r1–3
Śaṃkarakasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) IV **33** (frg. 28–29,33); **165** (frg. 24–26r, 42,51+58); **180** (frg. 3–4,6 [= IX **2063**e])
Saṃyuktāgama [text corresponding to a sūtra in the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama, Za ahan jing* (T 99)][13] I+IV **30** (sūtras 3–9, 73–75, 103, 130–131, 163, 259–260, 335–339, 342, 508–510, 982?), I+IV +V **50**a, h+j+i (sūtra 1329), I+II+IV **51** (sūtras 283–284, 292, 344, 415–417, 422–424, 440–442, 485–486), I 61 (sūtra 252), 149 (? sūtra 379), 153 (? sūtra 287), 154a–c (sūtra 287), 155 (? sūtra 287), 156 (sūtra 287), 157 (sūtra 287), 158 (sūtras 283–285), **160**br–v5 (sūtra 80), v6 (? sūtra 81), c (sūtra 1077), I+IV **162**a (sūtras 854–855), d8, 9 (sūtras 620–622), I 167 (sūtras 287, 938), I+II **176** fols. 9–13 (? sūtra 287), fol. 70 (sūtra 981), fol. 72v2–5 (sūtra 583), I 178ar–v2 (sūtra 981), 179r–v3 (sūtra 287), 181 (? sūtra 379), **184** (sūtra 979), 241 (sūtra 252), 366b,c (? sūtra 287), 368 (? sūtra 379), 369 (? sūtra 287), **376** (sūtras 81–83), 381 (sūtras 283–303, 343–346), 408 (sūtra 287), 418r1–5 (sūtra 981), 430 (? sūtra 379), 496r (sūtra 981), 499 (sūtras 393?, 981),

[13] For arrangement according to the sequence of the sūtras cf. Chung 2008; the text of a given catalogue number does not necessarily stem from a *Saṃyuktāgama* manuscript.

I+**II** 504 (fols. 124–125r5: sūtra 298, fols. 125r5–126v4: sūtra 348, fols. 126v4–127v1: sūtra 349, fols. 127v1–129r1: sūtra 981, fol. 129r2–v5: sūtra 1257), I 506 (sūtra 981), I+VI **533** (sūtras 723–729, 747), I 581 (sūtra 981), 582 (sūtras 369–371), 612 (sūtras 966–972), **613** (sūtras 831–832), 615 (sūtras 300–301), 616 (sūtras 287–288), 617 (sūtra 287), 630 (? sūtra 252), 659 (sūtra 287), I+II **680**a (sūtras 293, 351), I 681 (sūtra 981), 688 (sūtra 298), 689 (sūtras 292–293), 690 (? sūtra 287), 692 (? sūtra 287), 693 (sūtra 287), 695 (sūtra 292), 696r–v2 (sūtra 298), 723 (? sūtra 252), 724 (sūtra 252), 725a (sūtra 288), 785 (sūtra 296), 787 (sūtra 287); III **876** (sūtra 583), **881** (sūtra 349), **890**a (sūtra 442), **947** (sūtras 400–401), **994** (? sūtra 276); **1001** (sūtra 715); V **1031** (sūtras 983–984), **1089** (sūtras 374–377), **1099** (sūtras 1172–1173), **1101** [? Cf. X (additions)] (sūtra 95), **1107** (sūtra 1106), **1112** (sūtra 1146), 1113 (? sūtra 254), **1120** + **1178** (sūtra 993), **1127** (sūtras 650–652), **1132** (? sūtra 302), **1138** (sūtras 1323–1324), **1140** (sūtras 1213–1215), **1145** (sūtra 506), **1146** (sūtras 506–507), **1152** (sūtras 1169–1170), **1156** + VI **1499** + IX **3121** (sūtras 253, 254), V **1161** (sūtra 1117), **1168** + **1305** (sūtras 378–379), **1174** (= I 612, fol. 157), 1183 (sūtras 1072–1073), **1193** (sūtra 1212), **1250**ar2–v (sūtra 1282), **1250**b (sūtra 995), **1263** (sūtra 583), **1284** (sūtra 583), 1311 + X **4097** (sūtras 312–313), V **1313** (? sūtra 497), **1347** (sūtra 43), **1375** (sūtras 983–985), V 1396 + IX **3056** (sūtra 1073), V 1416 (sūtra 1176), **1441** (sūtra 1092), **1442** (sūtra 234); **1445** (? sūtra 877 or 878); VI **1226** (sūtras 273–282, 304), **1242**b (sūtras 583, 981), **1381** (sūtras 1247–1248), **1393** (sūtras 454–455), **1394** (sūtra 322), **1399** (sūtras 1207–1208), **1404** (sūtra 234), **1457** (sūtras 347–348), **1498** + VIII **1965** (sūtras 393–395), VI **1534** (sūtra 1307), **1572**a (? sūtra 379), **1586** (sūtra 1227), **1598** (sūtra 1212); VII **1644** (sūtras 994–996), **1687**A (sūtra 981); VIII **1839** (sūtra 565), **1863** + X **3576** (sūtras 483, 485–489), VIII **1879** (sūtras 323–333), **1884** (sūtras 485–489, 483), **1950** (sūtras 449–450); IX **2051** (sūtra 743), **2052** (sūtra 272), **2410**b (? sūtra 252), **2436** [sūtra 344; part of I 51g (NidSa Ms. 63/64)], **3025** (? sūtra 287); X **3263** (sūtra 110), **3270** (sūtra 280), **3272** (sūtras 292–293), **3273** + XI **4759**b (sūtra 280), X **3323** (sūtras 290–291), **3581** (? sūtra 287), **3838** (sūtras 454–455), **3865** (sūtras 284–285), **3872** (sūtras 300–301), **3905** + XI **4904** (sūtras 830–831; rendering of both frgs. in XI), X **3907** (sūtras 296–297), **3911** (sūtras 624–627), **3915** (sūtras 369–371), **3932** (sūtras 298–300), **3956** (? sūtra 351), **4121** (sūtra 347), **4125** (? sūtra 379), **4215** (? sūtra 1278), **4233** (sūtras 787–788), **4236** (sūtras 1207–1209), **4283** (? sūtra 379); XI **4395**ir (? sūtra 252), **4437** (sūtra 185 or 591), **4442**(?), **4470**r–v3 (sūtra 344), **4471** (sūtras 393–394), **4484** (sūtra 1146), **4496** (sūtra 980), **4507** (sūtras 979–980), **4519** (? sūtra 287), **4531**b (? sūtra 287), **4560** (? sūtra 276), **4565** (? sūtra 287), **4759**b (sūtra 280), **4763**a (sūtra 622), **4891** (sūtras 403–404), **5029** (sūtra 966; belongs to I 612 fol. 157), **5190** (? sūtra 287), **5262** (? sūtra 566), **5319** (sūtra 343), **5477** (sūtra 298), **5582** (? sūtra 252); XII **5940**A (sūtra 832)

Saṃyuttanikāya (text corresponding to suttas from) X **3299**

Sandakasutta (text corresponding to) III **886**A5–B8, **942**

Saṅgītisūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) I 3, 168 [cf. also VII and IX (additions)], 177 [cf. also VIII and IX (additions)], 367, 411, 416, 426, 427, 429, 498 [cf. also VII–IX (additions)], 505, 589, 594, 597, 608–611, 652 [cf. also VIII and IX (additions)], 685, 687 + X **4305**, I 776, 778, 783; III **895**, **991**; IV **412** (frg. 33); V 1154; VI **1414**, **1559**, **1597**; VII **1654**; VIII **1922**; IX **2214**, **2273**, **2362**, **2787**; X **3684**(?), **3738**, **4175**h, **4178**, **4220**; XI **4597**, **5263**, **5608**; XII **5815**, **6449**, **6465**

Saptasūryasūtra VI **1267**, **1344**(?); VIII **1678**a

Satipaṭṭhānasaṃyutta (text corresponding to a section in) IV **162**

Ṣaṭṣaṭkasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) VI **1226** (frgs. 24v–25)

Sātyakasūtra: see *Kāyabhāvanāsūtra*

Satyasaṃyukta (text corresponding to a sūtra in) II **51**; III **890**a, **947**

Satyasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) I 499v65–82

Śikhālakasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) IV **412** (frgs. 22–31); VI **1244**; VIII **1914** + X **3354** (rendering of both frgs. in X); X **4195**; XI **4589**vc–e

Siṅgālovādasutta: see *Śikhālakasūtra*

Skandhasaṃyukta (text corresponding to a sūtra in) I **376**; IV **30**

Śoṇatāṇḍyasūtra/Śoṇatāṇṭhyasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) III **894**b(?); V **1251** + XII **6549** (rendering of both frgs. in XII), V **1352**c; VIII **1878**(?); X **3762**(?), **3766**(?)

Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) V **1290**a; VI **1525**v3ff.

Śroṇakoṭiviṃśasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) IV **412** (frgs. 6–7)
Śroṇakoṭiviṃśasūtra V 1113, V **1156**bv5 + VI **1499**
Śrutasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) IV **495**dr1–3,e
Sūcilomasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) V **1138**
Sujātaputrasūtra: see *Śikhālakasūtra*
Śukasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) V **1290**d–f
Śukasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) VI **1210**
Sunakṣatrasūtra: see *Śalyasūtra*
Suvaṇṇapātisutta (text corresponding to) X **3299**r5–v
Svāgatasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) I 504; III+IV **881**
Svātisūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) V **1114**, **1166**
Tridaṇḍisūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) X **3979**rx–y
Tṛṣṇāvicaritasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) V **1375**a
Upādāyaparitasyanāsūtra (*Saṃyuktāgma*) V **1347**
Upakkilesasutta (text corresponding to) VI **1384**
Upālisūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) IV **412** (frgs. 17–21); III **804**, **872**, **1007**; VI **1291**, **1302**, **1522**; VIII **1802**, **1913**; IX **2047**, **2932**; X **4193**
Upasenasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) I 61, 241, 630(?), 723, 724; IX **2410**b(?); XI **4395**ir(?), **5582** (?)
Upastabdhasūtra: see *Mahallisūtra*
Vanapatthasutta (text corresponding to) VI **1304**a
Vappasutta (text corresponding to) V **1348**
Vedanāsaṃyukta (text corresponding to a sūtra in) II **51**; IV **30**g
Veṇukātyāyanagotrīsūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) V **1156** + VI **1499** + IX **3121**
Vidyāsthānopamasūtra I 160a, 366a, 497, 499r1–57; IX **2210**A
"*Vīṇā*" in *Saṃyuttanikāya* (text corresponding to) V **1152**
Vratapādasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) V 1107

sūtras (according to the content):
accomplishment (*bhāvanā*) of the fivefold meditation (*paṃcāṅgikasamādhi*) III **990**
Buddha legend; gāthās addressed to Ājīvika Upaga V **1714**r
conversion of *Śroṇakoṭiviṃśa* V 1029
descent of the Buddha from heaven III **835**
exposition on sequences of Buddhist technical terms III **948**
groups of three individuals each (*pudgala*) V **1142**
merits of eating only once a day (*ekāsanabhojana*) II **559**b
methods of self-torment V **1153**
ordination of monks (*ehibhikṣukā*) V **1155**(?); VI **1337**
*puṇyābhiṣyanda*s (passages from) II **163**
Śakra as a weaver feeds Mahākāśyapa (text corresponding to Udāna III.7) V **1035**
stanza of Aśvajit V **1173**, **1190**b3
sūtra on beings enjoying happiness on reaching high levels of meditation V **1149**, **1325**
sūtra of the brahmin girl Vairocanī I **496**
sūtra with Hastaka-Āṭavaka as protagonist V **1128**
sūtra with partial correspondence to the *Araṇavibhaṅgasutta* (~ sūtra 169 in the Chinese *Madhyamāgama*) II **163**a
sūtra reminiscent of *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* V **1184**
sūtra reminiscent of *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* and *Daśabalasūtra* V **1137**, **1167**, **1188**
sūtra titles (enumeration of some) I 364
twenty things not desired III **888**

sūtras (not yet identified) I **24**, 147r, II **163**, I **178**, **496**v, **620**, **789**; III **807**, **808**, **816**, **820**, **834**, **836**, **860**, **862**, **864**, **866**a, **867**, **877**(?), **880**, **882**, **886**, **908**(?), **913**(?), **917**, **927**(?), **928**, **931**b, **932**, **935**, **938–940**, **948**, **950**, **955**, **962**(?), **963**, **965**, **968**, **973**, **980**, **982**(?), **995**, **1004**, **1010**; V **1026**(?), **1032**, **1111**(?), **1116**(?), **1127**, **1129**, **1133**b, **1135**, **1136**b, **1139**, **1143**, **1144**(?), **1151**r1–v1, **1157**(?), **1159**, **1164**, **1169**(?), **1172**, **1180–1182**, **1185**(?), **1187**b,c(?), **1313**(?), **1332**b, **1343**v3–6; VI **1216**av2–6, **1415**r1–v1; VII **1662**, **1735**, **1736**; IX **3066**; X **3313**, **3319**, **3487**, **3762**, **3784**, **3871**, **3873**(?), **3886**(?), **3898**, **3905**, **4047**(?)

b) Non-canonical sūtras

Dharmaśarīrasūtra I 596; III **893**

Dharmaśarīrasūtra(?) (~ T 766) I+IV **623**; VII **1689**

Maitreyavyākaraṇa IX 2013 frgs. 30, 31_2,33

3. Anthologies of religious poems and narratives

a) Anthologies of religious poems

Anavataptagāthā I 48a+dr4–v,b,c,e,f,g, 49, 50c,d, 145cr6–7, 187 fol. (1)2r3–6, 662

Arthavargiyāṇi sūtrāṇi IV **662**a2,c8

Attadaṇḍasutta (text corresponding to) V **662**a2r1–v2

Karmapathagāthā I 48ar1–3

Pārāyaṇa I+IV **50**b,e; V **1375**ar1–2 (quotation from; cf. also V **1031**ar5–v1, **1171**v8–10); VI **1581** + IX **2423**, VI **1582**

Pretāvadāna I+IV **49**

Sāriputtasutta (text corresponding to) V **662**a2v3–8

Sthaviragāthā I 49

Tuvaṭakasutta (text corresponding to) V **662**c8

Udānavarga I 1, 5, 8, 13 (fol. 1 + IX **2007** + XII **6586**; fol. 2 + VIII **1993**), 14, 38, 49, 65–72, 169e6 [cf. SHT XII (additions)], 177m10 [cf. SHT XII (additions)], 247, 248 [additional frg. in IX (additions)], 249–351, 359, 373, 399 (frgs. 1 and 7) [cf. VIII and XII (additions)], 447–472, 481, 490–492, 525–530; 634–637, 663, 664, 726–744, 745v + XI **4395**iv, I 746–760, 797–799, 800 (= X 4119), 801; III **958**; IV 49; VI **1274**, **1293 +** IX **2078** [rendering of both frgs. in XI (additions)], VI **1470**; VII **1631**b, **1649**, **1680**, **1715**, **1786**, **1795**; IX **2007**, **2039**, **2046**, **2074**v, **2077**, **2079**r, **2116**, **2129**, **2198**, **2328**c+d, **2483**, **2484**, **2489**, **2496**, **2499**, **2500**, **2505**, **2510**, **2528**, **2547**a,b, **2548**, **2559**, **2561**, **2563**, **2564**, **2574**, **2599**, **2612**, **2642**, **2652**, **2655**, **2675**, **2701**, **2791**, **2796**, **2842**, **2849**, **2851**, **2855**, **2859**, **2863**, **2873**, **2963**, **3013**; X **4119** (= I 800), **4120**, **4127**, **4149**, **4320**, **4357**(?); XI **4395**a,b, **4408**, **5463** (missing frg. of I 258), **5483**, **5494**, **5500**, **5504**, **5509**h, **5516**, **5518**, **5530**, **5541**, **5558**, **5562**, **5564**, **5567**, **5576**, **5591**, **5599**, **5612**–**5615**, **5632**, **5639**, **5658**, **5714**, **5716**, **5723**, **5732**, **5794**; XII **5820**, **5829**, **5885**, **5946**b,d,e,f, **5948**c, **6255**, **6427**

Uddesavibhaṅgasutta (text corresponding to) V **1141**

Vimānāvadāna I+IV **49**

b) Narratives

Cūḍapanthakāvadāna V **1349**

Dharmapālāvadāna I **35**ar

Dhūma(Dhūpa)-avadāna V **1318**a

Haṃsa-jātaka: see Vinaya: *Devadattavastu* (V 1376 + X **3922**; VII **1741**)

Kṣemāvadāna V **1318**b

Kunālāvadāna VII **1658**; IX **2754**, **2942**; XI **4675**b

Maitreyāvadāna (text corresponding to) V **1126**

Māndhātāvadāna I+IV **558** + V **1162** (corresponds to sūtra 60 in the Chinese *Madhyamāgama*); III **982**a(?)

Mṛga-jātaka: see Vinaya: *Devadattavastu* (V 1376 + X **3922**; VI **1383** + **1481**)

Sahasodgatāvadāna V **1330** + VI **1335** + XI **4488** (rendering of all frgs. in XI), V **1524** + XII **6237**r1–vy (rendering of both frgs. in XII)

Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna VII **1750**; IX **3104**; X **3502**

Śibi-avadāna I **35**av,b

Siṃhalāvadāna V **1425**

Śroṇakoṭikarṇāvadāna I 591 (*Carmavastu* of the Sarvāstivādins), **598** (*Divyāvadāna* or *Carmavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins)

Subhadrāvadāna IX **2115**a

Supriyāvadāna III **873**

Sutasoma story I 26 [fols. 301v1–302,(306?),(309?)]

Svāgatāvadāna: see *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins [V **1124** + IX **2084** (rendering of both frgs. in IX) + XI **4570**]

Valgusvarāvadāna V **1318**c

Virūpāvadāna V 1186a + VI **1494** + X **3218** + XII **6164** [rendering of frg. V + VI in IX (additions) 1186a], V 1186b, V 1186c + IX **2822**, V 1186d–e

Avadāna texts (not yet identified) III **927**(?), **982**(?), **987**; V **1111**(?), **1144**(?), **1165**(?), **1169**(?), **1317**, **1524** + XII **6237**vz (rendering of both frgs. in XII); VII **1677**, **1722**; VIII **1935**; X **3374**, **3582**(?), **3693**

4. Abhidharma, Buddhist technical terms, commentaries, Yoga

a) Abhidharma

Abhidharmadīpavibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti VII **1705**a–d,f–l,n–p, e + X **3264**, m + XII **6322**; VIII **1973**; XII **6325**, **6327**, **6370**, **6374**, **6378**

Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu (*kārikā*) I **624**; VII **1619**, **1751**; X **3280**, **3420**, **4262**, **4289**; XI 5462

Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu V **1109**; VII **1704**, **1708**, **1709**, **1733**, **1738**, **1743**; VIII **1823**, **1824**a; IX **2326**; X **4136**c; XI **4477**, **4578**, **4624**c, **5646**; XII **6614**

Abhidharmakośaṭīkā Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī of Pūrṇavardhana VII **1683**

Caturāgamopadeśa of Pārśva(?) I+IV **649** fol. 363

Dharmaskandha of Śāriputra V **1171** + VI **1458**

Jñānaprasthāna of Kātyāyanīputra III **823**; V **1131** + XI **5292, V 1187**a; VII **1684**, **1707** + X **3504** + **3969**, VII **1744**, **1752**; VIII **1811**, **1812** + XI **5374**, VIII **1813**, **1838**, **1842**, **1849**, **1921**, **1944**, **1982**; IX **3107**; X **3810**, **3860**

Kāraṇaprajñapti of the Prajñaptiśāstra of Maudgalyāyana V **1194** + VIII **1817**; VI **1515**

Karmaprajñapti of the Prajñaptiśāstra of Maudgalyāyana VII **1760**

Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī: see *Abhidharmakośaṭīkā Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī*

Lokaprajñapti of the Prajñaptiśāstra of Maudgalyāyana V **1134** (fol. 39) + **1177**, **1134** (fol. 40) + X **4214** (rendering of both frgs. in X); VI **1344**(?), **1594**b

Nyāyānusāra of Saṃghabhadra VII **1746** + X **3534**; VIII **1885**–**1888**, **1889** + X **4061**, VIII **1890**, **1894**, **1897**(?), **1898**, **1900**, **1917**; X **4191**; XI **4556**, **4750**(?)

Pañcavastuka and *Pañcavastukavibhāṣā* V 1808

Prakaraṇa of Vasumitra I 27 [fols. 298, 302, 305, 306, frgs. e–g; rendering of all frgs. in XI (additions)], I+IV 599; III **925**; V **1318**d, **1808**; VII **1697**; VIII **1810**, **1866**, **1936**, **1963**, **1966**, **1990**; IX **2965**; X **3239**; XII **6476**

Prakaraṇabhāṣya of Vasumitra I+IV **19**–**20**; V 1808b

Saṅgītiparyāya of Mahākauṣṭhila I 767

Vibhāṣā III 811; VI **1362**; VII **1703**; VIII **1830**

Vijñānakāya of Devaśarman VIII **1869**

Abhidharma texts (not yet identified commentary on the *Abhidharmakośakārikā*s) VII **1698**, **1747**; VIII **1903**, **1904**, **1906**, **1907**, **1908**; IX **3278**; X **3278**; XI **5150**

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Abbreviations

FakSHT *Faksimile-Wiedergaben von Sanskrithandschriften aus den Berliner Turfanfunden I: Handschriften zu fünf Sūtras des Dīrghāgama*, hg. von E. Waldschmidt unter Mitarbeit von W. Clawiter, D. Schlingloff und R. L. Waldschmidt, The Hague: Mouton & Co 1963 (Indo-Iranian Facsimiles Series, 1).

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VAV *Das Varṇārhavarṇastotra des Mātṛceṭa*, hg. und übers. von J.-U. Hartmann, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1987 (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, 12).

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The Central Asian Sanskrit Fragments in the Pelliot Collection (Paris)

JENS-UWE HARTMANN (MUNICH) AND KLAUS WILLE (GÖTTINGEN)

In the race for Central Asian artifacts and manuscripts at the beginning of the last century Paul Pelliot (1878–1945)[1] was one of the leading participants. Although at that time only twenty-seven he was chosen to lead a three-man expedition to Central Asia (1906–1909), starting in Kashgar in the west and following the northern route of the ancient Silk Road eastwards. First he spent some weeks in Tumšuq, then conducted archaeological excavations for several months in the area of Kučā, and finally in 1908 he reached Dunhuang where, like Marc Aurel Stein before him, he acquired large amounts of manuscripts from the famous walled-up library cave. The findings and acquisitions during his expedition form the Pelliot Collection of Central Asian manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. Its Sanskrit section consists of manuscripts found mainly at Duldur-āqur, Subaši (both in the Kučā oasis) and Dunhuang.[2]

Pelliot's Sanskrit finds suffered a fate very similar to that of the other Central Asian expeditions: after the initial euphoria the interest of scholars waned, especially when it became clear that the finds consisted mostly of tiresome fragments, and work on the manuscripts came more or less to a standstill. This state of affairs changed only in 1957 when Bernard Pauly began to work on the manuscripts from the northern route of the Silk Road and systematically started to edit them in a series of altogether ten papers published in the *Journal Asiatique*.[3] He also gave a first survey of the collection,[4] which was probably meant as preparatory work for a later catalogue. However, when he left after eleven years, work on the collection was still far from being completed.

A next step was the catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts published by Taijun Inokuchi in 1989.[5] Characterized as "preliminary" in the subtitle, it was rather a simple list of the fragments according to their number on the microfilms prepared by the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The title of an identified text or the reference to an edition was mentioned only in such cases where this information was already available on the cover of the microfilmed manuscript. One part of the collection, altogether 1424 small paper fragments in Northern Turkestan Brāhmī, remained unknown to Inokuchi, because they were kept in three file boxes with the label "Pelliot, Petits fragments Sanskrits sur fiches." Around the same time the authors of the present paper began to study the collection, mostly using the microfilms but also with visits to the originals in the Bibliothèque nationale, one of which led to Monique Cohen, the then Conservateur en chef in the Départment des manuscripts (division orientale), pointing us in the direction of the three file boxes. In 1997 our studies resulted in a description of the Sanskrit manuscripts in Northern Turkestan Brāhmī.[6] This description listed all former identifications and added many new ones, especially among the "petits fragments," and it collected all the previous editions; it forms the basis of the updated survey given here. For a detailed description of the various sections of the Sanskrit collection we refer to that 1997 paper.

Originally the manuscripts had been put between glass panes. After World War II the glass sheets were gradually replaced by cellulose acetate sheets, surely a less fortunate choice, as soon it became evident that these sheets degraded and endangered the manuscripts. Therefore the plastic sheets were removed and the manuscripts mounted in passe-

[1] Cf. Pelliot 2008, Walravens 2001 and Hartmann and Wille 1997: 133, note 5.
[2] For the manuscripts from Dunhuang cf. also Cohen 1996.
[3] Pauly 1957 to 1967.
[4] Pauly 1965a.
[5] Inokuchi 1989.
[6] Hartmann and Wille 1997.

partout like Western drawings.[7] Meanwhile, images of the sections "Pelliot sanscrit Bleu," "Pelliot sanscrit Rouge," "Pelliot sanscrit Stotra," "Pelliot sanscrit Sūtra," "Pelliot sanscrit Pratimoksa," "Pelliot sanscrit Udanavarga," "Pelliot sanscrit Abhidharma," "Pelliot sanscrit textes techniques," and "Pelliot sanscrit don Godfrey" have been made available on the internet by the Bibliothèque nationale.[8] However, there are certain problems: together with the sheets the labels have been removed, and it is not easy to find the correct press mark. Hopefully the original press marks will be added again — especially in all those cases where one press mark comprises several sub-numbers — and not replaced by a new system of running numbers, since this would immediately destroy any connection with the original numbers and necessitate a constant comparison between the old microfilms and the new digital images in order to confirm the old press mark.

Sometimes the removal of a fragment from the plastic sheets has led to serious damage. The worst cases appear to be found among the *Udānavarga* fragments; one example is the fragment 3.30 (P.Skt.Ud.3.30) which is now broken into several pieces, others are the fragments 3.35, 38, 39, 44. There are at least two cases where the internet contains more than the old microfilms: For P.Skt.Pr.8 the respective microfilm lists only two fragments (also in Inokuchi 1989), while the internet version presents another complete folio (folio no. 4[7] ~ PrMoSū NP.10 [= PrMoSū: 188.7–12]). This folio was not available for the edition of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, but now confirms several reconstructions. The fragment P.Skt.Abhi.2 mentioned by Inokuchi 1989: 368 but missing on the microfilm is now included in the internet version.

List of identifications

Remark: the references to the sections ("bleu," "noir," "rouge," etc.) follow the index in Hartmann/Wille 1997.[9]

Abhidharma text (not yet identified) noir; Musée Guimet
Agraprajñapti petit 83; stotra III.7
Anapāraddhastotra of Mātṛceṭa petit 1271(?); stotra III.5
Apannakasūtra (*Dīrghāgama)* bleu 190
Arthavistarasūtra/Arthavistaradharmaparyāya (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu 95, 292; petit 529, 1282
Āṭānāṭikasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu 18.3, 195
Bhaiṣajyavastu of the Sarvāstivādins bleu 23; rouge 12.3–4
Bhārgavasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu 18.5
Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtra bleu 46, 47
Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtra of the Sarvāstivādins rouge 8
Bimbasārasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) bleu 352(?)
Brahmajālasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu 35, 258; petit 19, 1400
Buddhastotra bleu 90 (Vasantatilakā), 229 (Vasantatilakā); stotra III.7 (Mattamayūrī), III.14(?)
Candrasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) bleu 384, 435 fol. 44v, **449A**; petit 809
Carmavastu of the Sarvāstivādins bleu 11, 12, 336
Catuṣpariṣatsūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu 16, 28, 60.1–4, 96, 140, 177, 238, 257, 259, 277, 304, 349, 351, 352(?), 395, 407–408, 428; petit 800, 1389

[7] Brandt 1996.
[8] http://gallica.bnf.fr/Search?ArianeWireIndex=index&q=sanscrit&p=1&lang=fr.
[9] Fragments identified after publication of this paper are marked in bold. Recently the following editions have been published: Chung/Wille 2002 (bleu 23; rouge 12.3–4); Vogel/Wille 2002 (re-edition: rouge 12.2); Fukita 2003 (re-edition: bleu 296–298, 344–345, 350; PKNS 182(A)); Chung 2004 (re-edition: rouge 11.1–3, 12.2, 13.1–7); Yamabe 2006 (re-edition: rouge 9.1–6); Zin/Schlingloff 2007 (re-edition: rouge 5.1–7); Hartmann 2008 (petit 1383; stotra III.13–14); Chung 2009 (bleu 444.4–7; rouge 14.4v3–7v2); Tudkeao 2010 (vert 8); Chung 2010 (bleu 51); Hartmann 2011 (bleu 334r).

Darśanapañcāśa<tka>stava of Vasumitra bleu **125(?)**, **249(?)**; petit **1236(?)**, **1383**; stotra III.13–14
Daśabalasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) bleu 189.1–2, 373, 437, 439, **441.1v5–2**, 442–444, **447B**, **448B**; petit 1024, 1334; rouge 14.4–7
Daśottarasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu 59, 144A, **182**, 200, 334, 337; petit 161, 171; Sūtra DS 1, 3, 4
dhāraṇī (not yet identified) bleu 20, 21, 36, 39, 130(?), 131(?), 150(?), 163(?), 183, 216, 231, 239, 240, 393, 435, 446; rouge 1, 3.3–5, 4.1
Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) bleu 57, 76r, 414
Dharmaśarīrasūtra fragments divers D.A. G
Dhvajāgrasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) bleu 13r3–v, 61, **219**, 434.2r2–v6; petit 913
Diśāsauvastikasūtra(?) rouge 4.1–2
donation formula bleu 376; petit 301, 547; fragments divers D.A. B(?)
Ekaśatakarman of the Mūlasarvāstivādins vert 20–22, 33
Guṇāparyantastotra of Triratnadāsa petit 737, 972, 1238, 1303, 1305; stotra III.4
Jñānaprasthāna of Kātyāyanīputra Abhidharma 1 and 2
Kāmaṭhikasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu 18.2
Karmavācanā bleu 3, 9, 37, 40, 64, 69, 102, 108, 165, 192, 193.1, 214, 215, 233, 305, 355, 376, 411, 426; petit 1, 881(?), 984(?); vert 20–21, 33; fragments divers D.A. A
Kāśyapasiṃhanādasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu 98(?), 340, 377
Kātantra of Śarvavarman textes techniques II.1
Kāyabhāvanāsūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu 18.4, 81
Kūṭatāṇḍyasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu 341; bloc des feuillets 1(?), 2A(?)
Liṅgaviśeṣavidhi of Vararuci textes techniques II.1,1–1,2
Lokeccasūtra I (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu **65**; petit **1337**
Lokeccasūtra I–II (*Dīrghāgama*) PKNS **13+516** (Skt./Toch. bil. word list)[10]
Madhyamāgama bleu 22 (sūtra 140)
Mahāgovindasūtra (Dīrghāgama) bleu 343
Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī petit 1311
Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra including *Mahāsudarśanasūtra* (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu 54, **70**, 83, 99, 162, 178, 342, **389**; petit 295, 347, 458, 987, 1180, 1192; Sūtra 1; PKNS (ed. Couvreur 1967b) 313, 741(A), 914
Mahāsahasrapramardinī bleu 385
Mahāsamājasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu 17, 156; petit 21–23, 169, 521, 1140
Mahāsudarśanasūtra: see *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*
Mahāśūnyatādharmaparyāya (*Saṃyuktāgama*) bleu 51
Mahāvadānasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu 296–298, 344–345, 350; PKNS (ed. Couvreur 1967b) 182(A)
maṅgala verses rouge 4.2
medical texts (not yet identified) textes techniques I
Munayastava bleu 164, 268; petit 1159, 1370, 1386; stotra III.11–13; PKNS (ed. Couvreur 1966) 587b3–4
Nagaropamasūtra I bleu 67, 71, 73–75, 76v, 77–80, 252, 276, 384r, 438, 440; petit 693, 1295, 1297; rouge 14.7–12
Nagaropamasūtra II bleu 129, 434.1 and 434.3–4; petit 340, 606, 1365
Nidānasaṃyukta of the *Saṃyuktāgama* (sūtra from) bleu 51 (sūtra 297)
Nīlabhūti (stotra of the brahmin) bleu 105, 137, 390–392; petit 571, 860, 875, 890, 968, 1181
Piṅgalātreyasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu **65**; petit **1337**
Pitāputrasamāgama (parallel to) rouge 2
Poṣathavastu of the Sarvāstivādins bleu 25

[10] Ed. Couvreur 1967a: 154f.; W. Couvreur referred for line a1–2 to the *Saṃghabhedavastu*; for a1 cf. DĀG 380v4f.: *puruṣo mahāśailaṃ parvatam abhiruhya* (SBV II 248.6: *mahāśailaparvatam*); a2 = DĀG 381r8: *amukaṃ grāmam āgatas* (SBV II 249.19: *amuṃ grāmam āgataḥ*); a3 = DĀG 381v1, 3, 4, 8: *pariśuddhe* or DĀG 381v5, 7: *viśuddhenā°*; a5 = DĀG 383v7, 384r7, v6 etc.: *vibhajati vivṛṇotu*; b1 = DĀG 384r4: *tadyathā lohitya puruṣa anicchantīm apīcched*; b4 = DĀG 385r7: *adhigantās teṣā<ṃ> phalāntarāyaṃ*; b5 = DĀG 385v1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8: *niśritya*.

Prajñāpāramitā text vert **42**[11]**, 43**(?)
Prasādapratibhodbhava (= *Śatapañcāśatka*) of Mātṛceṭa bleu 107, 117, 168, 169, 287, 303, 378, 422; petit 48, 56, 69, 95(?), 107, 113, 157, 165, 182, 428, 439, 468, 470, 483, 495, 513(?), 516, 525, 527, 559, 604, 666, 720, 829, 831, 838, 843, 869, 877, 891, 960, 969, 1003, 1006, 1021, 1044, 1046, 1103, 1119, 1154, 1173, 1175, 1183, 1205, 1215, 1226, 1286, 1347, 1373, 1415; stotra I (cf. the survey in Inokuchi 1989: 469–471), III.1; PKNS (ed. Couvreur 1966) 255, 587a-b2
Prāsādikasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu **18.1**
Prātimokṣasūtra of the Mūlasarvāstivādins bleu 271; petit 134(?), 213, 649, 821(?), 1026(?), 1106, 1113(?), 1137(?)
Prātimokṣasūtra of the Sarvāstivādins: cf. also Pelliot Sanskrit: Prātimokṣasūtra (survey in Inokuchi 1989: 464–467)[12]
Intro. bleu 103; petit 630, 765, 905, 907, 939, 999, 1042, 1115, 1143, 1323
Intro.–Pār. petit 784
Pār. bleu 201; petit 6a
SA. bleu 8, 111, 261, 412, 413, 417, 420, 425; petit 26, 155, 402, 453, 454, 496, 546, 550, 578, 602, 681, 823, 855, 871, 889, 894, 902, 923, 955, 1060, 1254, 1276, 1420
SA.–Aniy. petit 1073
Aniy. bleu 109
Aniy.–NP. petit 1194
NP. bleu 7, 115, 135, 191, 207, 210, 225, 306, 421; petit 2, 31, 89, 116, 136, 469, 501, 762, 767, 835, 839, 935, 990, 1020, 1112, 1117, 1220, 1259, 1267(?), 1281, 1302, 1327, 1353–1355; vert 28
NP.Concl.–Pāt.? bleu 209
Pāt. bleu 29, 205, 223, 273, 307, 379, 380, 423; petit 162, 582, 609, 632, 826, 830, 865(?), 884, 1027, 1089, 1090, 1224, 1247, 1269, 1315, 1344, 1346, 1397, 1418
Pāt.–Pratid. petit 1310
Pratid. petit 135, 1319
Pratid.–Śai. petit 1011; vert 60
Śai petit 114, 211, 490(?), 532, 615, 616, 861, 685, 1066, 1235, 1243, 1258, 1419
Śai–AŚ.Intro. petit 1292
Concl. bleu 53, 180; petit 1156
Concl. verses bleu 285, 427; petit 51, 881, 984, 1209, 1421
Concl. verses–colophon bleu 383
Prātimokṣasūtra (not yet identified) petit 1256
Prātimokṣasūtra(?) petit 76, 739, 755, 1000, 1105, 1296
Prātimokṣasūtra: see also *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtra*
Prātimokṣavibhaṅga of the Sarvāstivādins bleu 43–45, 68(?), 116; petit 184; rouge 7, 10.1–6
Pravāraṇasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) bleu 13r1–2, 62, 119, 248; rouge 14.1–4
Pravāraṇāvastu of the Sarvāstivādins bleu 396, 398; rouge 12.1
Pravrajyāvastu of the Sarvāstivadins: see *Upasaṃpadāvastu*
Rāhulastava stotra III.12
rakṣā text (verses with *dhāraṇī*) bleu 435 fol. 41–43, 44r
rakṣā text with snake charm bleu 434.2r1–2
Ratnaketuparivarta vert **8**
rolled amulet fragments divers D.A. **I frg. b and c**[13]
Śakrapraśnasūtra vert **51 rd–v**(?)

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[11] Cf. ŚsP II-2 137f. or PvsP II–III 4f.

[12] An additional complete folio of Pell.Skt.PrMoSū 8 (folio number 4[7] ~ PrMoSū NP.10 = PrMoSū p. 188.7–12) is given in http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60002078/f21.image.r=sanscrit.langFR, which is not yet edited.

[13] Frg. b: */// vimalaviśuddhe svāhā ///*; frg. c: */// stṛddhve sarvaṃ tathā + + + + + + + jvala jvala garbha saṃndhara āyuṃ mama śrīnavasurendrasya saṃśodhaya pāpaṃ [sa]rvatathāgatoṣṇīṣa-vima ///*; same text as in those ed. by von Hinüber 1981: 166f.

Śalyasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) vert 26, 27
Samādhirājasūtra Mss. Godfrey A
Saṃghastava bleu 282; stotra III.9–11
Saṃyuktāgama bleu 1r1–5 (sūtra 1077), 13r1–2 (sūtra 1212), 13r3–v (sūtra 981), 38 (sūtras 1111–1112), 51 (sūtra 297), 61 (sūtra 981), 62 (sūtra 1212), 67 (sūtra 287), 71 (sūtra 287), 73–75 (sūtra 287), 76v (sūtra 287), 77–80 (sūtra 287), 119 (sūtra 1212), 189.1–2 (sūtra 684), 219 (sūtra 981), 248 (sūtra 1212), 252 (sūtra 287), 276 (sūtra 287), 352 (sūtra 1074), 373 (sūtra 684), 384r (sūtra 287), 384v (sūtra 583), 434.2r2–v6 (sūtra 981), 435 (sūtra 583), 437 (sūtra 684), 438 (sūtra 287), 439 (sūtra 684), 440 (sūtra 287), 441.1r1–v4 (sūtra 34), 441.1v5–2 (sūtra 701), 444.4–7 (sūtra 703), 449A (sūtra 583); rouge 14.1–4v3 (sūtra 1212), 14.4v3-7v2 (sūtra 684), 14.7–12 (sūtra 287); petit 693 (sūtra 287), 809 (sūtra 583), 913 (sūtra 981), 1024 (sūtra 701), 1295 (sūtra 287), 1297 (sūtra 287), 1334 (sūtra 701)
Saṅgītisūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) bleu 170, 381; Sūtra DS 2, SS 1
Śatapañcāśatka: see *Prasādapratibhodbhava*
ṣaṭ saṃrañjanīyāḥ dharmāḥ (text with) bleu **339a, b** (from v2 on unknown text)
Śīlaskandha (fragments with expressions from) vert 23
snake charm bleu **449B**(?)
Śroṇakoṭikarṇāvadāna (*Carmavastu* of the Sarvāstivādins) bleu 11, 12, 336
stotra bleu 90 (Vasantatilakā), 229 (Vasantatilakā); stotra III.1 (Anuṣṭubh), III.2 (Vaṃśastha), III.3 (Pṛthvī), III.6 (anthology)
stotra: see also *Buddhastotra*, Nīlabhūti
syllabary petit 1094, 1405–1414; textes techniques III
Tripusabhallikasūtra rouge 3.1
Udānavarga: see also Pelliot Sanskrit: Udānavarga and Udānavarga Fragments sur bois (survey in Inokuchi 1989: 453–463)
Udānavarga chapter 1
1.10–11 petit 710; 1.12–16 bleu 101; 1.14–21 petit 707; 1.21–29 bleu 453; 1.34–2.2 petit 122; 1.36–40 petit 1261; 1.37–2.1 petit 966; 1.37–2.3 petit 1232, 1233; 1.38–42 petit 1262; 1.42–2.5 petit 518
Udānavarga chapter 2
2.3–10 petit 551; 2.5–8 petit 447; 2.7–16 petit 452; 2.18–3.7 bleu 118; 2.20–3.10 petit 1086
Udānavarga chapter 3
3.2–12 petit 583; 3.12a–f petit 159(?)
Udānavarga chapter 4
4.4–12 petit 1372; 4.22–27 petit 11; 4.26–38 petit 344; 4.29–37 petit 1328
Udānavarga chapter 5
5.1–7 petit 1128; 5.5–22 petit 33; 5.9–17 petit 341; 5.10–14 petit 1265; 5.16–20 petit 188; 5.18–24 petit 716; 5.18–6.6 petit 141; 5.19–6.6 petit 599; 5.20–25 petit 320; 5.21–6.3 petit 727; 5.23–6.15 petit 187; 5.26–6.13 petit 713
Udānavarga chapter 6
6.1–9 petit 718; 6.5–12 bleu 157; 6.6–9 petit 1329; 6.6–10 petit 797; 6.12–18 petit 179; 6.15–7.5 petit 1318; 6.16–7.4 petit 893; 6.18–7.9 petit 789
Udānavarga chapter 7
7.5–7 petit 1132; 7.8–8.3 petit 4; 7.11–12 petit 1104; 7.11–8.6 petit 1392; 7.12–8.11 bleu 368
Udānavarga chapter 8
8.3–6 petit 807
Udānavarga chapter 9
9.8–10.1 petit 1048; 9.8–12.3 bleu 203
Udānavarga chapter 10
10.3–8 bleu 284; 10.4–15 petit 1242; 10.14–uddāna petit 1075; 10.uddāna–11.11 petit 1198;

Udānavarga chapter 11
11.9–12.2 petit 1087, 1184, 1402; 11.13–12.7 bleu 418; 11.13–12.7 or 8 petit 58; 11.15–12.6 petit 1019
Udānavarga chapter 12
12.6–16 bleu 241; 12.7–15 petit 1032; 12.8–16 petit 522; 12.14–16 petit 1136; 12.16–13.1 petit 1240; 12.17–20 petit 1061; 12.18–13.7 petit 1031
Udānavarga chapter 13
13.10–18 bleu 243; 13.11–17 bleu 357
Udānavarga chapter 14
14.3–12 bleu 86, 167; 14.10–15.3 petit 705
Udānavarga chapter 15
15.3–13(?) petit 446; 15.4–13(?) petit 1131; 15.10–? petit 332
Udānavarga chapter 16
16.17–24 bleu 286
Udānavarga chapter 17
17.3–10 bleu 433; 17.5–8 bleu 266; 17.8–18.2 petit 656
Udānavarga chapter 19
19.14–20.3 petit 1416 (to the same Ms. belongs Pell.Skt.Ud.27)
Udānavarga chapter 20
20.3–16 petit 355; 20.9–19 petit 1317; 20.16–21.5 bleu 92; 20.19–21.2 petit 1245; 20.20–21.8 petit 17; 20.21–21.4 petit 168; 20.22–21.5 petit 1308
Udānavarga chapter 21
21.13–22.7 petit 791, 805; 21.16–22.2 petit 1148; 21.17–22.5 petit 387; 21.17–22.7 petit 178;
Udānavarga chapter 22
22.10–23.2 petit 735; 22.11–18 PKNS 230 (Skt./Toch. bil.; ed. Pinault 1994); 22.19–23.6(?) petit 1403; 22.26–23.8 petit 116
Udānavarga chapter 23
23.3–12 petit 1064; 23.4–12(?) petit 1050, 1053; 23.8–10 petit 682; 23.11–26 petit 186; 23.16–24.3 petit 1422
Udānavarga chapter 24
24.3–10 petit 1287; 24.3–11 petit 1366; 24.6–15 petit 701; 24.6–17 petit 367; 24.12–21 bleu 270; 24.15–24 petit 1424; 24.17(?)–25(?) petit 1107; 24.19–24 bleu 132; 24.22–23 petit 733; 24.30–25.6 bleu 295
Udānavarga chapter 26
26.2–13 petit 1374; 26.3–12 bleu 415; 26.10–18 petit 1277; 26.14–20 petit 717; 26.14–26 bleu 187; 26.16–19 petit 1077; 26.21–27.3 bleu **124;** 26.25–27.3 bleu 281, 283; 26.28–27.8 petit 1108; 26.31–27.7 petit 1133; 26.col–27.11 petit 167
Udānavarga chapter 27
27.6–20 petit 1324; 27.10–21(?) petit 409; 27.11–20 petit 631; 27.14–19 petit 109; 27.20A–21(?) petit 862; 27.28–32 petit 833
Udānavarga chapter 28
28.10–24 petit 123; 28.17–29 bleu 84; 28.19–26 petit 1249; 28.20–29 petit 1343; 28.23–26 petit 786; 28.25–30 petit 1174; 28.26–30 petit 180; 28.35–38 bleu 185 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 28.40–29.12 petit 752, 1284
Udānavarga chapter 29
29.8–13 petit 785; 29.9–19 bleu 335; 29.15C–16E(?) petit 1283; 29.16–16E petit 478; 29.16–30(?) petit 1350; 29.21–30 petit 3; 29.23–29 bleu 234; 29.25(?)–40 petit 354; 29.47–30.3 petit 610; 29.67–30.9 petit 1228
Udānavarga chapter 30
30.4–12 bleu 184; 30.6–9 petit 146; 30.6 or 7–24 petit 1234; 30.11–14 petit 1076; 30.20–30 petit 207; 30.21–26 petit 1340; 30.21–34 petit 1230; 30.23–34 petit 152; 30.26–31 petit 1248; 30.26–32 petit 149; 30.26–37 petit 129, 1018; 30.48–51 petit 607

Udānavarga chapter 31
31.6–19 petit 329, 1172; 31.17(?)–28 petit 1385; 31.33–44 petit 815; 31.38–49 petit 1109; 31.43–47 petit 754; 31.44–52 petit 694; 31.50–57 petit 113;
Udānavarga chapter 32
32.2–12 petit 10; 32.5–9 petit 444; 32.15–27 petit 978; 32.22–36 petit 677; 32.28–38 petit 588; 32.32–36 petit 1369; 32.32–41 petit 1212; 32.34–38 petit 1398; 32.62(?)–68(?) petit 1207; 32.64–73 petit 849; 32.65–72 petit 475; 32.66–68 bleu 288; 32.66–72 petit 817; 32.76–33.2 petit 703; 32.76(?)–33.2 petit 846; 32.~70 petit 714; 32.81–33.13 petit 288
Udānavarga chapter 33
33.2–12 petit 67; 33.9–16(?) petit 1423; 33.28–37 or 38 petit 706; 33.53–60 petit 1404; 33.53–61 bleu 254; 33.55–80 petit 68; 33.57–64 petit 193; 33.58–62 petit 538; 33.59–62 petit 1241; 33.59–63 petit 1401; 33.60–72 petit 1294; 33.61–70 petit 37; 33.62–75 vert 7; 33.~65 bleu 452; 33.71–74 petit 353; 33.76–end bleu 206, 278; 33.78(?)–uddāna petit 1316; 33.? bleu 431 (comment "XXXIII. *Brāhmaṇavarga*")
Upālisūtra Musée Guimet (ed. Nakatani 1986)
Upasaṃpadāvastu of the Sarvāstivādins rouge 11.1–3, 12.2, 13.1–7
Upasenasūtra bleu **449B**(?)
Vairocanīsūtra rouge 3.3
Vaiśālīgāthāstava stotra III.8
Varṇārhavarṇa of Mātṛceṭa bleu 2, 120, 179, 193.2, 196, 237, 253, 255, 260, 263, 265, 269, 290, 353, 382, 419, 424, 451; petit 71, 97, 127, 130, 139, 144, 154, 156, 181, 185, 218, 220, 286, 287, 448, 449, 513(?), 520, 552, 554, 562, 570, 584, 589, 590, 591, 605, 647, 650, 653, 657, 669, 673, 680, 740, 741, 748, 751, 753, 770, 779, 796, 803, 804, 814, 819, 828, 834, 842(?), 852, 857, 859, 878, 892, 899, 903, 929, 934(?) 941, 947, 964, 977, 988, 992, 1010, 1016, 1070, 1120, 1135, 1152, 1195, 1196, 1227, 1275, 1313, 1314, 1357, 1364, 1375; stotra II (survey in Inokuchi 1989: 468f.); PKNS (ed. Couvreur 1966) 384, 787, 1039, 1127
Varṇārhavarṇa of Mātṛceṭa (commentary on) PKNS (ed. Couvreur 1966) 414 (Skt./Toch. bil.)
verses bleu 9 (Śikhariṇī), 17; petit 787
Vibhāṣā bleu 333
vidyā text bleu 48
Vidyāsthānopamasūtra bleu 375, **447A**, **448A**
Vinayavibhaṅga of the Dharmaguptakas bleu 49(?), 50, 66, 70(?), 198.2, 363–367, 410
Vinayavibhaṅga of the Sarvāstivādins: see *Prātimokṣavibhaṅga*
Yoga manual (= *Yogalehrbuch*) rouge 9
Yogaśataka Pelliot koutchéen 2A–C = old Pelliot 3510.46&48 (Skt./Toch. bil.; ed. Lévi 1911; ident. and re-ed. Filliozat 1948)

Abbreviations

DĀG	recently discovered manuscript of the *Dīrghāgama* (cf. Jens-Uwe Hartmann, "Contents and Structure of the *Dīrghāgama* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins," *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2003* (2004): 119–137).
PKNSP	P(elliot) K(outchéen) N(ouvelle) S(érie).
PrMoSū	*Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins*, nach Vorarbeiten von Else Lüders und Herbert Härtel hg. und übers. von G. von Simson, 2 vols, Göttingen 1986, 2000: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, 11).
PvsP II–III	*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā II–III*, ed. Takayasu Kimura, Tokyo: Sankibo Busshorin 1986.
SBV	*The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, 2 vols, ed. R. Gnoli, Roma 1977–1978 (Serie Orientale Roma, 49).
ŚsP II-2	*Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā II-2*, ed. Takayasu Kimura, Tokyo: Sankibo Busshorin 2010.

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Survey of the Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Hoernle, Stein, and Skrine Collections of the British Library (London)

Klaus Wille (Göttingen)

Until 2005 only some hundred Sanskrit fragments had been digitised by the British Library and were available in the database of the International Dunhuang Project (http://idp.bl.uk). Then Seishi Karashima, Tokyo, initiated a project to edit the Sanskrit fragments — Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments (BLSF) — and raised the funds for the digitisation of the remaining fragments.[1] In 2005 the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University, Tokyo, and the British Library agreed to digitise the entire collection of Sanskrit manuscript fragments from Central Asia. The project resulted not only in the digitization of the images, but also in printed editions published in successive BLSF volumes. The first two appeared in 2006 and 2009, the third is scheduled for 2013. So far, this project was mainly funded by the Open Research Centre Project 2004–2008, but according to Seishi Karashima, Soka University is willing to take over the funding, since the digitisation has not yet been completed. There are about 9100 manuscript fragments, of which about 6000 have already been digitised. The remaining fragments include very tiny pieces which contain only parts of akṣaras.[2]

The first general survey of the different collections in the British Library was given by Ursula Sims-Williams and Prods Oktor Skjærvø in Skjærvø 2002. The recent papers by Ursula Sims-Williams, "The papers of the Central Asian scholar and Sanskritist Rudolf Hoernle" (2006) and "The British Library Hoernle Collection, part 1" (2009), offer comprehensive information about the formation and investigation of the Hoernle collection in the British Library.[3] The latter paper contains a survey of the pressmarks (pp. 12–18), also showing which parts have already been edited. One part of the collection, namely the consignment 149 (now the current pressmark Or.15009) consisting for the most part of Sanskrit fragments in Northern Turkestan Brāhmī, has been studied by Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Klaus Wille (Hartmann and Wille 1992) on the basis of a microfilm; this paper listed a considerable number of new identifications and demonstrated very clearly the extent to which that part of the collection coincides with the German Turfan collection.

Previously, the most comprehensive catalogues were concerned with the Stein collection. The Sanskrit manuscript finds of the first and second expeditions were described, occasionally identified and transliterated by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle in *Ancient Khotan*[4] and *Serindia*[5] and those of the third expedition by F. E. Pargiter in *Innermost Asia*,[6] always arranged according the site marks. An old handlist by Lionel D. Barnett for the pressmarks Or.8212/1–195 can be found on the IDP web site under "catalogue search" [List of Manuscripts in Languages of Central Asia and Sanskrit (Barnett)].[7]

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[1] Cf. S. Karashima (BLSF I: 273).

[2] Ursula Sims-Williams, personal communication.

[3] Some of the Weber manuscripts which were found near Kučā and purchased by Hoernle himself are now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Sims-Williams 2006, note 11). This library houses the famous Bower manuscript as well (Bodleian MS. Sansk.c.17, no. 1090 in *Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol. 2, Oxford 1905: 110f.).

[4] AKh: 294–297, 438–440.

[5] Ser III: 1432–1442.

[6] InAs II: 1017–1028.

[7] Lionel D. Barnett, *British museum handlist only*, London: Unpublished, No date [with the note: "This catalogue was compiled as a handlist for the manuscripts in languages of Central Asia and Sanskrit

Only recently has the Skrine collection become known.[8] Clarmont Percival Skrine, British Consul General in Kashgar from 1922 to 1924, presented several Khotanese and Sanskrit manuscripts to the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts of the British Museum in 1925.[9] Among the Sanskrit manuscripts there are 40 folios and fragments of the famous so-called Kashgar manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, formerly assigned to the Stein collection.[10]

As a result of the recently recommenced intensive work on the Sanskrit material, so far two volumes of the new series BLSF have been published. Transliterations of the fragments published in BLSF I and II — even though with minor mistakes — are now also to be found in the IDP database side by side with the respective images. Due to the process of digitisation most of the fragments which were formerly known only by their site mark had to be renumbered, and every fragment got its own pressmark. For example the thirty-four folios of the Farhād-Bēg ms. of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (Stein F.xii.7) got the pressmarks IOL San 482–515.[11] Therefore it is planned to give a concordance of the site marks with the pressmarks.

Basically the manuscripts were arranged according to their (presumed) languages. This led to unavoidable mistakes, especially when the fragments were small and the scripts very similar. A case in point are the scripts used on the Northern Route of the Silk Road for Sanskrit and Tocharian, and therefore a fairly large number of Sanskrit fragments is found among the Tocharian manuscripts and vice versa. Transliterations of the IOL Tocharian fragments are now available in the IDP database, see under "catalogue search": *An edition of the Tocharian fragments IOL Toch 1 – IOL Toch 822* (Peyrot),[12] and *An edition of the Tocharian fragments IOL Toch 853 – IOL Toch 1247* (Tamai).[13] Except for IOL Toch 285–307 from the Stein collection, the fragments belong to different consignments of the Hoernle collection.

1. Identified Sanskrit fragments among the Tocharian

There are 65 identified Sanskrit fragments in the Tocharian section IOL Toch, of which 27 have already been edited by me.[14] Recently I was able to identify the following fragments: IOL Toch 59r1–3 (Saund 7.48b–49d), 249A (verses[15] and donation formula), 283 [*Śroṇakoṭīviṃśasūtra*, cf. the parallel SBV II 144f.; for a parallel cf. the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama*, sūtra 254 (T 99, II 63a2–19); ident. together with Jin-il Chung], 325 (Uv 3.7e–12e), 454 (PrMoSū Pāt.14–15), 455 (PrMoSū SA.7–8 or 9), 645 (NagSū II.6), 683 (PrMoSū Pāt.33–34), 688 (*Guṇāparyantastotra* of Triratnadāsa, verses 3d–8a), 736 (VAV 2.39–52; ident. J.-U. Hartmann), 773 (donation formula, cf. SHT I 396r3), 784 (*Kūṭatāṇḍyasūtra*, cf. DĀG fol. 404r1–7), 818 (*Prasādanīyasūtra*, cf. DĀG fol. 296r6–v8), 834 (VAV 2.24-28; ident.

in the British Museum (now in the British Library)"].

[8] Cf. Skjærvø 2002: lxi–lxii, and, in more detail, Waugh and Sims-Williams 2010.

[9] Now in the British Library, pressmarks Or.9609–9616. For a description see Waugh and Sims-Williams 2010: 82–87.

[10] Cf. Saddhp(C): xiif.

[11] Of fol. 39 there is only one small fragment extant which is unfortunately digitised together with fol. 38 on IOL San 515.

[12] Michaël Peyrot, *An edition of the Tocharian fragments IOL Toch 1 – IOL Toch 822 in the India Office Library, London*, London: IDP 2007. No transliterations are given of IOL Toch 309–352 and 355–359.

[13] Tatsushi Tamai, *An edition of the Tocharian fragments IOL Toch 853 – IOL Toch 1247 in the India Office Library, London*, London: IDP 2007. Digitised images of IOL Toch 823–852 are not yet available.

[14] Wille 2005: 50–60: IOL Toch 309, 311–312, 321, 323, 329, 330–331, 333 (only ident.), 334, 341, 343, 346(a), 352, 355 (only ident.), 356–358, 399–400, 419, 525, 588, 701, 741, 782, 816.

[15] There are remains of three verses; the second (A2) is identical with the third verse in Pauly 1960: 524–529, and the third (A3) preserves Jm 3.22.

J.-U. Hartmann), 859 (PPU 99a–102), 913 (PrMoSū Śai.C9–15), 929 (PPU 58c–64c), 966 (PPU 84d–103c), 967 (ĀṭānSū 63–67), 971 (CPS 16.8–17.1), 973 (PPU 79c–93a), 989(a) (CPS 24o.1–p.5 or 12), 992 (Uv 28.15c–30c), 997 (PrMoSū SA.5–6), 1072 [Uv 33.15d–59d(?)], 1126 (Uv 18.13b–21a), 1131 (*Munayastava* 3c–4c), 1134 (PrMoSū Pat.57–58), 1185 (Uv 3.3b–6a), 1197 (KaVā 69, 83), 1203 (PrMoSū introduction IV), 1233 (Uv 4.18–29b).

2. Not yet identified Sanskrit fragments in the Tocharian section

These are IOL Toch 284, 300, 310, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319 (verses), 320, 322, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 332, 335, 336, 337, 339, 340, 342, 344, 345, 350, 351, 359, 420, 432, 438, 510, 555(?), 556(?), 703 (verses), 817, 820, 875 (1 side), 886 (1 side), 894, 903 (verses), 930 (1 side), 977, 1030, 1062, 1115(?), 1127, 1245.

3. Identified Sanskrit/Tocharian bilinguals in the Tocharian section

There are 54 identified bilinguals in the section IOL Toch.[16] Recently I could identify fifteen additional fragments: 83 (KaVā 97ff.), 125A (KaVā 90f.), 196 (*poṣatha* calendar; cf. SHT VII 1656), 198 (*poṣatha* calendar), 364 (KaVā 32), 702 (Uv 26.29–27.3d), 774 (VAV 2.66b–71a), 868 (*poṣatha* calendar),[17] 926 (Uv 32.48a–53d/32.54d–55cff.), 928 (Uv 4.1d–5d), 931 [Uv 16.11a(?)–16c(?)], 979 (Uv 10.16b–11.2b), 981 (KaVā 97; cf. IOL Toch 142), 988 (Uv 6.11b–14d), 1020 (Uv 30col.–31.2b).

4. Not yet identified Sanskrit/Tocharian bilinguals in the Tocharian section

IOL Toch 64, 87(?), 148, 175, 180v, 188, 191, 227, 229, 255, 338, 347, 360, 421, 427, 546, 578, 587, 595, 596, 630, 689, 690 (verses), 694, 796, 782rc–v, 890, 927, 933, 945(?), 954, 976, 984.

5. Tocharian fragments in Sanskrit sections

IOL San 1084; Or.15003/107, 306, 327; Or.15004/3, 4, 20, 21, 110, 113, 118, 119; Or. 15009/662r.

***

In the following pages four overviews are given which list the manuscripts according to their find-spots. The first lists the identified texts from Khotan, including the manuscripts of other collections in order to show the whole range of Sanskrit literature attested so far on the Southern Route of the Silk Road.[18] The second list comprises the manuscript fragments from the Northern Route, the third those from Dunhuang, and the fourth the manuscripts acquired by Stein in Gilgit[19] in 1931. It includes Sanskrit Khotanese manuscripts found outside Khotan and also fragments from other collections. Fragments marked by * are not yet edited and, if not otherwise stated, they are identified by me; those marked by (?) are not yet verified. For additional identified fragments see Shin'ichiro Hori's contribution in this volume, pp. 260ff. For the edited fragments with the pressmarks Or.15001–15004, 15007–15010, and 15015 see Sims-Williams 2009 and the Abbreviations list below.

[16] Several *Udānavarga* fragments have been identified and edited by Peyrot 2008 (the references are not yet in the IDP data base): IOL Toch. 926, 928, 931, 979, 988, and 1020.

[17] Cf. also Malzahn 2007: 91.

[18] Pressmarks are cited as far as they are known. This is an updated version of the list given in Wille 2009: 31–33.

[19] Cf. the report "Archæological Discoveries in the Hindukush" in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1931: 863&865.

I. List of identified Sanskrit manuscripts from Khotan

Poetical works

Anaparāddhastotra of Mātṛceṭa IOL San 1388* (verses 13c–15d; cf. Wille 2005, frg. 73)

Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa (verses resembling) IOL San 1233+1234 (ed. La Vallée Poussin 1911a: 770–772)

Guṇāparyantastotra of Triratnadāsa IOL San 1387 (ed. La Vallée Poussin 1911b: 1064–1067); Or.12637/41 (Skt./Khot.; ed. Skjærvø 2002)

Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā of Kumāralāta IOL San 761 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 68), 1242* (to the same folio belongs IOL San 761), 1256* (to the same ms. belongs IOL San 761); Or.15010/130 (to the same ms. belongs IOL San 761)

Rāhulastava IOL San 794 (one side; ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 169)

Medical works

Kha.i.319.c(3)?*; Or.8212/1858+1859*

Syllabary

Or.8212/8(1)*, 1647(B)*, 1651(B)*; Or.9616/27*; Or.15010/100, 147

Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna and related texts

Ajitasenavyākaraṇa IOL San 701*, 1202 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 69); SI P/63 (ed. BB 34: 157–184)

Anakṣarakaraṇḍakavairocanagarbhasūtra IOL San 423* (ident. P. Harrison, Sept. 2012)

Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇī H.144 SA 1 (original missing; ed. Hoernle 1916a: 86f.); IOL San 1015(?)*, 1460, 1461 [both frgs. ed. Matsuda 1988, frgs. A 18, 19; ident. S. Hori (cf. Habata 2007, note 19)]; Or.15010/2, 183; SHT III 1014, XI 4370, 4378; SI l/16*; Otani Lüshun (? Ed. Karashima 2003, frg. 5)

Aṣṭabuddhakasūtra Or.15010/66, 110

Bhadrakalpikasūtra Or.8212/1696*, Chinese private collection [ed. DUAN 2009 (re-ed. as BH 4-11); to the same folio belongs Or.8212/1696]

Bhadrapālasūtra: see *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra*

Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra SHT XI 4393

Bodhisatvapiṭakasūtra IOL San 1072(?)*

Buddhanāmasūtra (T 447) BH 4-33

Buddhanāmasūtra (TT 928, T 443) cf. Wille 1996 (§ 6.2), 1999; IOL San 184*, 1088A+B (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 70); Or.12637/42 (ed. KT V: 327, No. 700; ident. Wille 2005, note 33); Or.15001/26; SHT XI 4444

Buddhoṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī IOL Khot S.46, lines 1–11 (ed. KT V: 368, No. 729)

Candragarbhasūtra Or.15011/20 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 103–108); SI P/90b.2,3,4 (ed. Hori 2011)

Dharmaśarīrasūtra SI P/69 (ed. BB 33: 65–76)

dhāraṇī (not yet identified) Or.15009/304

Diśāsauvāstikasūtra SHT XI 4376, 4391

Dvādaśadaṇḍakanāmāṣṭaśatavimalīkaraṇā: see *Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa*

Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra IOL San 1244*; Or.15010/74(?), 85, 93, 98, 119(?); SI P/83d*+IOL San 669* +Or.15010/93+IOL San 113*+1154* (Hori 2011); SHT I 531

Hastikakṣyasūtra Or.15009/672*

Jñānolkadhāraṇī Or.15009/259; SHT XI 4369; BH 4-227

Karmāvaraṇaviśuddhisūtra SI P/67.4 (ed. Hori 2011)

Kāśyapaparivarta cf. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2002; Mannerheim 3 (ed. Karashima 2004, frg. 1); IOL San 51* (ident. S. Karashima), 101*, 673*; Or.8212/1775(F)*; Or.15010/17, 18, 38; SI P/20.2 (ed. Karashima/Vorobyova 2007, frg. 2)

Lalitavistara Or.15010/48

Laṅkāvatārasūtra IOL San 191*, 787*

Mahādaṇḍanāmadhāraṇī Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Peking (ed. GUAN 2012, frg. 2)

Mahāmeghasūtra SI P/76 (ed. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja/Temkin 2003; identified Hori 2011)

Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra cf. Matsuda 1988 and Habata 2007, 2009; SI P/83b* (Hori 2011), P/153* (Hori 2011)

Mahāsāhasrapramardanī SHT XI 4373

Mahāśitavatī: see *Mahādaṇḍanāmadhāraṇī*

Paramārthadharmavijayasūtra Or.15010/134

Prajñāpāramitā texts

Adhyardhaśatikā Or.8672B/8 [ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 181; there wrong pressmark Or. 8672B(1)]; Crosby 114f.+18f.+194f. (ed. Wille 2006c, frg. 1); SI P/4 (Skt./Khot. bilingual; ed. SDT III: 24–34), P/123n* (Hori 2011)

Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā IOL San 1156(?)*; Or.15012/6*; ed. Bidyabinod 1927 (the whereabouts of the originals is unknown); ed. Konow 1942 (the whereabouts of the originals is unknown)

Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā BH 4-147

Kauśikaprajñāpāramitāsūtra IOL Khot S.3 (ed. KT V: 356–359, No. 727)

Larger Prajñāpāramitā IOL San 534 (ed. Kudo 2006a); Or.8212/174 (side A of one frg. ed. Bongard-Levin 1993a); Or.15001/3(?), 6, 9, 23, 24; Or.15009/5, 13, 28, 42(?), 233, 236, 239(?), 243, 251, 253, 260, 278, 288, 290–292, 297, 299, 300, 301, 311; Or.15010/19, 23, 26, 27, 31, 35, 37, 39, 41, 44v, 49, 50, 53a, 54, 55, 56, 57, 70, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 91, 95, 97, 99, 101, 104, 108, 115, 120, 121, 123, 131(?), 144, 149, 160(?), 165, 169, 177, 189, 190, 200; Or.15012/3*, 4* (both frgs. ident. Brāhmī Club, Tokyo); Or.15015/251; Crosby 254/255*, 260/261* (cf. Wille 2006c); SI M/16.4* (Hori 2011); SI P/19.1 (ed. S. Watanabe 1993), 3 (ed. Bongard-Levin/Hori 1996), P/72g1+2* (Hori 2011), P/83l*, m*, n* (Hori 2011), P/84e* (Hori 2011), P/87a* (Hori 2011); SHT X 4301, 4353; XI 4364, 4454 frgs. b–d

Pañcapāramitānirdeśasūtra Or.15010/61; SI P/146 (ed. Bongard-Levin/Watanabe 1997); Mannerheim 9 (ed. Karashima 2004, frg. 2)

Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Or.8212/165* (ident. K. Watanabe 1912: D.iii.7); Or. 15008/42; Or.15009/675, 678; Or.15012/1*, 2*, 7* (all frgs. ident. Brāhmī Club, Tokyo), 21+25+30 (ed. K. Watanabe 1912), 23*, 24*, 28*, 38*–41*, 43*, 44* (all frgs. ident. K. Watanabe 1912); SI P/147a.1 (ed. Bongard-Levin 1993b), 2 (ed. Bongard-Levin/Kimura 1995); Mannerheim 7, 8 (both frgs. ed. Karashima 2005); Chinese private collection (ed. Ye 2010, frgs. 10–15; frg. 13 re-ed. as BH 4-15); BH 4-32, 4-143, 4-146, 4-161

Prajñāpāramitāstotra of Rahulabhadra IOL San 913 (ed. Suzuki 2006); Or.8212/1649(F)*

Suvikrāntavikrāmiparipṛcchā Or.8212/1665(C)*; Or.15009/1, 224, 232, 305, 317; Or.15010/16, 87; Or.15012/5* (ident. Brāhmī Club, Tokyo); Chinese private collection (ed. Ye 2010, frg. 16).

Vajracchedikā IOL San 382–387, 419–422, 424–427 (all fourteen frgs. ed. Hoernle 1916a: 176–195), IOL San 2014*; Or.8212/18, 20 (both frgs. ed. Harrison 2009, frg. 1); Or.15009/247 (ed. Harrison 2009, frg. 3); Or.15010/4, 94, 113, 126 (all frgs. ed. Harrison 2009, frgs. 4–7); Or.15012/26 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 77); SI P/81 (ed. Bongard-Levin 1988); Otani Lüshun (? Ed. MS IV: 73–76)

not yet identified (The *Sadāprarudita* story) Or.15009/312; Or.15010/84, 86, 124, 195; Chinese private collection (ed. Ye 2010, frg.17; re-ed. as BH 4-19)

not yet identified Or.15001/2(?), 17(?), 32(?), 36(?); Or.15008/29(?), 32(?), 34(?); Or.15009/-2(?), 3(?), 8(?), 24(?), 27(?), 30(?), 31(?), 33(?), 40(?), 225(?), 234(?), 303(?), 318(?), 320(?); Or.15010/25(?), 140(?), 158, 163(?), 182(?), 199(?), 202(?); Or.15013/68(?)*; BH 4-18, 4-24

Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra (= *Bhadrapālasūtra*) Or.15008/47; Or.15009/257, 258; Or. 15010/15; Or.15011/16 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 88–93); Crosby 252/253 [ed. Wille 2006c; ident. P. Harrison (Jan. 2007)].

Ratnagotravibhāga-Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra IOL Khot S.5 (ed. KT V: 237–239, No. 526); Pelliot 2740 (ed. KT V: 241–242, No. 527)

Ratnaketuparivarta IOL San 535 (ed. Karashima 2006c), 664 (ed. Hartmann/Tudkeao 2009, frg. 2), 729 (ed. Karashima 2006c), 819 (ed. Karashima 2006c), 820 (ed. Karashima 2006c), 934 (ed.

Tudkeao 2010), 936 (ed. Tudkeao 2010), 1099 (ed. Tudkeao 2010), 1223–1230 (ed. Tudkeao 2010), 1235 (ed. Tudkeao 2010), 1236 (ed. Tudkeao 2010), 1464 (ed. Tudkeao 2010), 1478 (ed. Tudkeao 2010); Or.8212/1 (ed. Tudkeao 2010), 65(2) (ed. Tudkeao 2010), 1620(D)*, 1621(E)*, 1644(C)*; Or.15009/306; Or.15010/33, 47 (ed. Hartmann and Tudkeao 2009, frg. 1), 59, 67, 68 (ed. Hartmann and Tudkeao 2009, frg. 3), 103, 154, 210; Or.15011/19 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 100–103); 3 complete folios without pressmark (Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library; ed. Tudkeao 2010); Otani (Ryukoku) 625 (ed. MS IV: 77; ident. Hori 2003, re-ed. Tudkeao 2010); Pell.Skt. vert 8 (ed. Tudkeao 2010); Huntington J (ed. Tudkeao 2010); SI P/83k* (Hori 2011), P/86 (Hori 2011); Chinese private collection [ed. Saerji 2008 (re-ed. as BH 4-50), 2010 (re-ed. as BH 4-7 and 4-29) and 2011 (re-ed. without BH signature and BH 4-4, 4-5, 4-6, 4-8, 4-17, 4-26+22, 4-28)]; BH 4-12, 4-21)

Ratnarāśisūtra Or.8212/24(2)* (ident. Ser III: 1439: Kha.i.304); Or.15011/22 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 116–121); SI P/20.1 (ed. Karashima/Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2007, frg. 1)

Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra cf. Yuyama 1970; Saddhp(C); SMSR I: 14–25; Wille 2000, 2004a; IOL San 7*, 32*, 40*, 53*, 70*, 71*, 77*, 117*, 187*, 195*, 197*, 212 (ed. BLSF II 344–346), 214*, 225*, 256*, 259*, 264*, 270*, 283*, 325*, 365*, 374*, 482–487 (re-ed. Karashima 2006a), 488–515 [ed. Saddhp(C): 234–258], 516 [ed. Saddhp(C): 268], 546*, 548 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 72), 586*, 587*, 650 (ed. Karashima 2006b), 654*, 682 [ed. Saddhp(C): 281: I fol. 51], 720 [ed. Saddhp(C): 273f.: Kha.i.102], 723 (ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 167; there wrongly Kha.i.105 instead of 103), 730*, 813 [ed. Saddhp(C): 274: Kha.i.174], 818 (ed. BLSF II: 118f.), 837 [ed. Saddhp(C): 275], 839 [ed. Saddhp(C): 274f.], 853 [ed. Saddhp(C): 276: Kha.i.185.c], 859 [ed. Saddhp(C): 276: Kha.i.186], 898*, 933 [ed. Saddhp(C): 269f.: Kha.i.214], 939 [ed. Saddhp(C): 291: XXII fol. 66], 948*, 952 [ed. Saddhp(C): 295: XXVII fol. 67], 957 [ed. Saddhp(C): 295: XXI,XXV fol. 67], 962 [ed. Saddhp(C): 277f.: Kha.i.311.a], 969 [ed. Saddhp(C): 290: XX fol. 69 (H 267/268)], 972 [ed. Saddhp(C): 290: XX, fol. 69 (H 265/266)], 1004 [ed. Saddhp(C): 285: VIII–IX fol. 71], 1019 [ed. Saddhp(C): 296: XX fol. 75,80 (left frg.)], 1020 [ed. Saddhp(C): 298: VI fol. 75], 1021 [ed. Saddhp(C): 277: Kha.ix.18 (left frg.)], 1023 [ed. Saddhp(C): 277: Kha.ix.18 (right frg.)], 1024 [ed. Saddhp(C): 281: I fol. 75], 1025 [ed. Saddhp(C): 287: XVII fol. 76], 1026 [Saddhp(C): 283: III fol. 76], 1027 [ed. Saddhp(C): 284: VI fol. 76], 1028 [ed. Saddhp(C): 285: VIII fol. 76], 1031 [ed. Saddhp(C): 284: V fol. 76], 1032 [ed. Saddhp(C): 298: VI fol. 76], 1033 [ed. Saddhp(C): 294: 1 frg. of XXVI fols. 77,83)], 1034*, 1040 [ed. Saddhp(C): 280: I fol. 77], 1045 [ed. Saddhp(C): 283: right frg. of III fol. 78], 1046–1047 [ed. Saddhp(C): 281f.: I fol. 78 (to the same folio belongs Kha.ix.27 (all frgs. ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 178)], 1049 [ed. Saddhp(C): 282f.: III fol. 78], 1050 [ed. Saddhp(C): 288: left frg. of XVIII fols. 78–77], 1051 [ed. Saddhp(C): 283: left frg. of III fol. 78], 1055*, 1058 [ed. Saddhp(C): 297: 1 frg. of XX fols. 81,84,81], 1059 [ed. Saddhp(C): 297: 1 frg. of XX fols. 81,84,81], 1060 [ed. Saddhp(C): 296: 1 frg. of XX fols. 83,81], 1062 [ed. Saddhp(C): 296: 1 frg. of XX fols. 83,81], 1063 [ed. Saddhp(C): 289f.: 1 frg. of XX fols. 83–82], 1064 [ed. Saddhp(C): 291f.: 1 frg. of XXII fols. 80,83], 1065 [ed. Saddhp(C): 294: 1 frg. of XXVI fols. 77,83], 1067 [ed. Saddhp(C): 280: 1 frg. of I fol. 83 (Ka 24a6ff.; line 1–3)], 1069 [ed. Saddhp(C): 280: 1 frg. of I fol. 83 (Ka 24a6ff.; line 3–6)], 1070 [ed. Saddhp(C): 280: I fol. 83 (Ka 19b3ff.)], 1081 [ed. Saddhp(C): 293: XXIV fol. 84], 1082 [ed. Saddhp(C): 289: XIX fol. 84 (H 255/256)], 1097*, 1138 [ed. BLSF II: 273], 1151*, 1191 [ed. Saddhp(C): 292f.: XXIV fol. 72], 1232 [ed. Saddhp(C): 279], 1243*, 1353*, 1401 [ed. Saddhp(C): 278: Kha.0013], 1421–28 [ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 178], 1429 [ed. Wille 2006a, frgm. 177], 1430–31 [ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 178], 1505*; Or.8212/6(14)+25(3)+(4) [ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 163; there wrong pressmark 25(1)+(3)], 26(2) [ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 171], 33(3) [ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 175], 63(6) [ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 168], 1622(A)*, 1650(A)*, (B)*, 1653(B)*, (C)*, 1703*, 1705*, 1734(G)*; Or.8672B/5 [ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 182; there wrong pressmark Or.8672B(2)], 6 [ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 183; there wrong pressmark Or.8672B(3)], C/3 [ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 184]; Or.9610/1, 2 (both frgs. ed. Wille 1997, frg. 1, 2); Or.15000/555(1) [ed. Saddhp(C): 270: Kha.i.134], 556(1, 2) [both frgs. ed. Saddhp(C): 272: Kha.ix.16a], 557(1, 2) [both frgs. ed. Saddhp(C): 276 (H 179/180) and p. 289 (H 185/186)], 559(1) [ed. Saddhp(C): 269: Kha.ix.23]; Or.15001/4, 11–14, 16, 22, 25, 29(?), 31, 35(?); Or.15006/4*, 5*, 6*, 7*, 9*, 19*, 65*, 66 [ed. Wille 2005, frg. 79], 71*, 73*, 75*, 76*, 81*, 82*, 86*; Or.15008/30, 39, 48, 49, 51; Or.15009/6, 9, 23, 25, 34, 39, 219, 220, 223, 226–

228, 231, 237, 240, 245, 249, 250, 264, 266–270, 272, 274, 277, 281, 293–295, 302, 307, 308, 316, 322; Or.15010/12, 14, 22, 36, 45, 52, 58, 64, 73, 78, 83, 88, 96, 107, 111, 116, 122, 129, 132, 133, 135, 138, 143, 153, 157, 166, 173(?), 187, 203, 208; Or.15011/28–31 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 139–152); Or.15012/18*, 19*, 27 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 76); Crosby 38f. (ed. Wille 2006c, frg. 4); Otani (Ryukoku) 623 (ed. Karashima 2003, frg. 3); Otani (Lüshun) 20.1554/26–4*, 5*, 6*, 7*, 8*; Mannerheim 5 (ed. Wille 2001); Huang 8 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 80); SI L/14* (ident. Wille 1998, note 6); P/67.2 (ed. Karashima/Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2008), 3a*, b*, v*, g*, d* (Hori 2011), 8a+b* (Hori 2011), 10b* (Hori 2011), P/68 (ed. Kudo/Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2007), P/126a* (Hori 2011), P/151* (Hori 2011); SHT XI 4374, 4454 frg. a; Chinese private collection (ed. Ye 2010, frgs. 2–7; frg. 2 re-ed. as BH 4-10, frg. 7 as BH 4-34); Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Peking (ed. Guan 2012, frg. 1); BH 1-28, 4-20, 4-220

Samādhirājasūtra Or.8212/7(1)+Or.6403/B2(2; Hoernle M.3) (ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 162), 1649(B)*; Or.15010/32; Pell.Skt. Mss. Godfrey A*; SI P/67.11 (ed. BB 34: 265; re-ed. Matsumura 1993: 137–141), P/85 (ed. BB 34: 265), P/116d1+2* (Hori 2011), d5+6+3+4* (Hori 2011), P/124a+b+v* (Hori 2011); SHT XI 4382, 4459

Saṃghāṭasūtra SI P/67.5* (Hori 2011)

Sarvabuddhaviṣayāvatārajñānālokālaṃkārasūtra IOL San 428–481 (ed. Karashima/Wille 2006); Or.8212/47(A–C) (ed. Karashima/Wille 2006, foll. 10, 12, 11)

Sarvapuṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra Or.15010/42[20]

Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānavyūha Or.8212/1665(B)* (cf. GM I 69.16–70.9)

Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha Or.15006/35* (beginning of sūtra, cf. STTS 1.2–13)

Sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣasitātapatrānāma-aparājitā-mahāpratyaṅgirā-(mahāvidyārajñī) IOL Khot S.46, lines 12–195 (ed. KT V: 368–376, No. 729); Or.8210/S.2529 (ed. KT V: 359–367, No. 728); Or.8212/44(A–C) (ed. Wille 2004b: 387, Appendix); Or.15011/12 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 52–57)

Sarvavaitulyasaṃgrahasūtra/Sarvavaidalyasaṃgrahasūtra IOL San 1457 (ed. Matsuda 1988, frg. A 13); Or.15010/43

Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa Otāni Lüshun (? Ed. Karashima 2003, frg. 4)

Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra (Smaller) Or.15009/41

Sumukhasūtra/Sumukhadhāraṇī cf. Wille 1996 (§ 6.4; not all known frgs. are edited yet), 2006c (note 10); IOL San 189*, 989*; Or.8212/5* [cf. Wille 1996, note 36: D.iv.1,2 (CA)], 44(D)* (cf. Wille 1996, note 36: Kha.1.97), 1409 (ed. InAs II: 1018f.: Domoko 0122; ident. Wille 1996, note 36), 1615*, 1652(C)*; Crosby 74f.+266f. (ed. Wille 2006c, frg. 2, fol. 4), 134f.+152f. (ed. Wille 2006c, frg. 2, fol. 11); SI P/71b* (Hori 2011), P/116z* (Hori 2011); SHT XI 4365

Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra IOL San 130*, 529 (ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 179), 557 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 71; there wrong pressmark 553), 915*; Or.8212/15(3) (ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 165), 33(2) (ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 174), 67.1, 4 (both frgs. ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 170.1, 2), 1653(A)*; Or.15001/1; Or.15009/284, 289; Or.15010/51, 60, 71, 102, 106, 207; Or.15011/24 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 125–132); Crosby 262f. (ed. Wille 2006c, frg. 3); SI P/84d* (Hori 2011); SHT XI 4368; private collection* (ident. K. Matsuda, Dec. 2011)[21]

Sūryagarbhasūtra Or.15011/23 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 121–125)[22]

Sūtrasamuccaya ascribed to Nāgārjuna IOL San 964, 966 (ed. Karashima 2009)

Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra cf. Skjærvø 2004, 2009; IOL San 373*, 663*; Or.8212/34(2) (ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 164), 1620(A)*, 1655(C)*, 1704*; Or.9610/3 (ed. Wille 1997, frg. 3); SI P/83a* (Hori 2011), P/91* (Hori 2011); SHT XI 4388; Otāni (Ryukoku) 622, 624 (both frgs. ed. Karashima 2003, frg. 1, 2); Chinese private collection (ed. Ye 2010, frgs. 8, 9; re-ed. as BH 4-1, 4-14); BH 4-27

Śrāvakayāna texts

Anirud(dh)asūtra SI P/80 (ed. Karashima/Vorobyova 2007, frg. 3)

Arthavargiyāṇi sūtrāṇi: see *Suttanipāta*

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[20] Two more fragments belong to this folio; cf. S. Hori's contribution in this volume, p. 262.

[21] Photo http://jinajik.net/2010/09/9th-century-ms-fragments/ and http://bbs.sssc.cn/viewthread.php?tid=899087; recto: 20100531_cdcb..., verso: 20090208_d… (last accessed August 2012).

[22] Ident. Y. Kurumiya, *Ratnaketuparivarta*, Kyoto 1979: 179.

Avadānaśataka Chinese private collection (ed. YE 2010, frg. 1; re-ed. as BH 4-234)

Prātimokṣasūtra IOL San (all frgs. ed. Wille 2009a: 49–65) 1000, 1001, 1006, 1007, 1010, 1014; Crosby (all frgs. ed. Wille 2009a: 49–65) 30f., 64f., 70f., 124f., 130f., 132f., 142f., 168f., 222f., 230f., 264f.+162f.

Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśasūtra Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Peking (ed. Guan 2012, frg. 3)

Saṃyuktāgama Or.8212/103A (ed. La Vallée Poussin 1913a; Chung 2009a), B*, Or.8212/39* (to the same ms. belongs Or.8212/103; cf. Wille 2006a, frg. 176), Or.8212/1942* (to the same ms. belongs Or.8212/103)

Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna Or.8212/67.26* (ident. Brāhmī Club, Tokyo); Or.15010/6, 20

sūtra (parallel to Chinese *Madhyamāgama* sūtra 123 or Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama* sūtra 254)[23] Or. 15011/27 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 166–175)

Suttanipāta (Skt. version of) IOL San 517–521 (ed. Hoernle 1916b; 517: frg. V, 518: frg. IV, 519: frg. I, 520: frg. III, 521: frg. II)

Udānavarga Or.8212/6(7) (ed. Wille 2006a, frg. 172); Or.15009/265 [to the same manuscript belongs Or.8212/6(7)]

Upasampadājñapti(?) Or.15010/90

II. List of identified Sanskrit manuscripts from the Northern Route of the Silk Road

Abhayarājakumārasūtra Or.15009/100

Abhidharma(?) Or.15007/331, 366; Or.15009/92, 161, 193; Or.15012/31*

Agraprajñapti Or.15008/15; Or.15009/163

Ambāṣṭasūtra/*Ambāṣṭhasūtra* (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15007/83r; Or.15015/179

Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇīsūtra Or.15009/46+275, 47, 50, 279, 282

Anaparāddhastotra of Mātṛceṭa Or.15009/44 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 149, 416, 428; IOL Toch 180r1-4 (Skt./Toch. bil. = IOL Toch 1502), 782ra–b (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 32)

Aṅgulimālasūtra Or.15009/390+510r2ff.

Aṅguttaranikāya (parallel to) Or.15009/54 (AN III 363.5–20), 61 (AN V 322f.), 64 (AN IV 225–228), 498* (AN III 25f. §§ 25–28)

anthology(?) Or.15002/33*

Apannakasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15003/44; Or.15007/267+369+505; Or.15009/624

Arthavistarasūtra/Arthavistaradharmaparyāya (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.8212/1667(D) (ed. InAs: 1025, frg. III; ident. Wille 2005, frg. 1), 1669(G)* (ident. Wille 2005, frg. 3); Or.15003/323; Or.15007/71, 211ra–va, 334v, 540, 570; Or.15009/152, 189, 391, 417, 494, 495, 552, 559; Or.15014/429; IOL Toch 77 (Skt./Toch. bil.)

Āśīviṣopamasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) Or.15009/252

Āṭānāṭi(ka)hṛdaya Or.15002/31*; Or.15008/24v; Or.15009/601+Or.15014/547v4–8

Āṭānāṭikasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15002/31*; Or.15004/100; Or.15007/527, 705; Or.15008/24r; Or.15009/562, 601+Or.15014/547rt–v3; Or.15011/7 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 24–27); IOL Toch 355 (ident. Wille 2005, frg. 21), 967

Bhaiṣajyavastu (stotra of the brahmin Nīlabhūti) Or.15008/7; Or.15009/196

Bhārgavasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15003/230; Or.15007/328; Or.15009/363, 448, 518, 640; Or.15014/185

Bhikṣuprātimokṣavibhaṅga Or.15009/604

Bimbasārasūtra Or.15004/98; Or.15007/156; Or.15009/420(?), 632(?)

blessings Or.15003/191; Or.15009/119+131

Bodharājakumārasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15004/76; Or.15009/106, 187

Brahmajālasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15009/217; Or.15012/32 (ed. Hartmann 1989, frg. b)

Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa Or.15009/45

Buddhastotra Or.15007/650(?)

Candropamasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) Or.15011/8r5–6 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 40–44)

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[23] Reference by Jin-il Chung.

Caṅgīsūtra/Caṅkīsūtra: see *Kāmaṭhikasūtra*

Catuṣpariṣatsūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15002/1*, 15*, 36*; Or.15003/7, 35, 47, 51, 69, 74, 88, 101+227, 154+155, 194, 276, 279, 328; Or.15004/28, 98; Or.15007/28, 153, 217, 220+223, 243, 249, 250, 260, 297, 332, 374, 562(?), 602, 617; Or.15009/75, 88, 154+155, 165, 171, 204, 349+634, 351(?), 377, 418, 419+558, 420(?), 456, 511, 626, 632(?); Or.15014/65, 69, 86, 157, 274, 315, 405(?), 410, 470, 501;Or.15015/171, 178, 188, 305; IOL Toch 243, 400 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 26), 971, 989(A)

commentary to a sūtra passage (*anuttaro bhiṣac chalyāhartā*) Or.15009/127

Daśabalasūtra Or.15004/68+77; Or.15007/64; Or.15009/378 (ed. Chung 2009b: 22), 421, 429; Or.15014/351

Daśottarasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15003/33, 46, 142, 195, 250, 254; Or.15004/61, 64+65+66; Or.15007/79+263, 312, 334r, 495.1, 619; Or.15009/89v, 164, 216, 379, 388, 430, 431, 432, 519, 520, 542, 652; Or.15014/332, 485; Or.15015/96, 215; IOL Toch 770

dhāraṇī and vidyā against pains of the eyes Or.15009/471

dhāraṇī (not yet identified) Or.15007/234; Or.15009/198; Or.15014/121

Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra Or.15003/154+155, 279, 328; Or.15004/28; Or.15007/535vb–e, 562(?); Or.15009/171, 405

Dharmaśarīrasūtra Or.15015/301

Dhvajāgrasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) Or.15003/171; Or.15004/79+80; Or.15007/288; Or.15009/352

Diśāsauvāstikasūtra Or.15009/347[24]

dogmatic terms Or.15003/18

donation formula Or.15002/29(?)*; Or.15007/88, 350; Or.15008/10; Or.15009/262, 435, 524, 595; Or.15014/160, 557(?); IOL Toch 249A, 773

Ekottarikāgama Or.15009/54 (AN III 363.5–20), Or.15009/498 (AN III 25f. §§ 25–28)

epithets of the Buddha Or.15009/139

Gośṛṅgaśālavanasūtra Or.15009/422

Guṇāparyantastotra of Triratnadāsa Or.15009/58, 122, 586, 659; IOL Toch 688

Kāmaṭhikasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15014/559

Kāraṇavādisūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15014/494r

Karmavācanā Or.15002/16*, 38(?)*; Or.15003/84, 121 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 258(? Skt./Toch. bil.); Or.15007/131, 347(?), 353, 557(?), 718; Or.15009/87, 141, 359, 392 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 465, 497, 499, 655; Or.15014/154, 166, 346; Or. 15015/193; IOL Toch 81B (Skt./Toch. bil.), 83 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 125 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 142 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 164 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 981 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 1197

Kāśyapasiṃhanādasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15003/77(?); Or.15007/295+296; Or.15009/433, 612

Kātantra (commentary to) Or.15004/62

Kāvya anthology Or.15009/460

Kāyabhāvanāsūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15003/24

Kevartisūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15007/3+714; Or.15015/93

Kūṭatāṇḍyasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15007/20, 45, 85; Or.15009/580; IOL Toch 784

Lokeccasūtra I (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15008/8+Or.15009/79+437

Madhyamāgama (text corresponding to a sūtra in the Chinese *Madhyamāgama*)[25] Or.15003/23 (sūtra 133); Or.15009/63v4–7 (sūtra 23), 64 (sūtra 124), 140 (sūtra 97), 375 (sūtra 191), 422 (sūtra 184), 480 (sūtra 128), 549 (sūtra 134), 570 (sūtra 97); Or. 15011/6 (sūtra 133), 10 (sūtra 170), 11 (sūtra 170) [all frgs. ed. Hoernle 1916a: 27–35, 46–52]

Mahāgovindasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15003/43+93; Or.15007/261; Or.15009/364, 568; Or.15014/577; Or.15015/ 168

Mahallasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15007/690; Or.15009/466

Mahānidānasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) Or.15007/269, 620; Or.15009/140, 570

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[24] Ident. K. Wille; cf. A. Yakup, *Dišastvustik: Eine altuigurische Bearbeitung einer Legende aus dem Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra*, Wiesbaden 2006: 108–110 (ms. 22a–27b).

[25] The text of a given catalogue number does not necessarily stem from a *Madhyamāgama* manuscript; cf. also Chung and Fukita 2011.

Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15002/2*, 34*, 39*; Or.15003/32, 42, 89, 127, 222, 236; Or.15004/50, 85, 115 ; Or.15007/24+IOL San 1162, Or.15007/33, 205, 212, 279+358, 463, 576; Or.15009/104+457, 129+365, 134, 159, 210, 353, 393, 394, 403, 461, 482, 521, 546, 550, 553, 599, 628; Or.15014/112, 163, 169, 200, 280, 418, 500, 530, 576, 618; Or.15015/177; IOL San 1085 (ed. La Vallée Poussin 1913b: 855 = MPS ms. 254/255); IOL Toch 71, 357 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 23), 769

Mahāsāhasrapramardinī Or.15009/107

Mahāsamājasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15009/350, 500*; Or.15014/99

Mahāsīhanādasutta (parallel to): see *Romaharṣaṇasūtra*

Mahāsuññatasutta (parallel to) Or.15009/375

Mahāvadānasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15002/14*; Or.15003/89, 100, 261; Or.15004/32; Or.15007/141, 494, 574, 678, 734, 740, 743; Or.15008/1; Or.15009/81, 132, 138, 329, 339, 404, 452, 522, 582, 641; Or.15014/377, 535; Or.15015/255

Mahāvibhāṣā Or.15009/161(?)

Mātṛkā: Pratisaṃyuktakhaṇḍaka in the *Uttaragrantha* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins[26] Or.15003/178; Or.15009/195, 271

Mātṛkā: Vṛttakhaṇḍaka in the *Uttaragrantha* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins[27] Or.15007/504; Or.15009/48, 57, 443; Or.15011/1 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 4–8), 2 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 12–16)

Māyājālasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15009/573

Munayastava Or.15002/37ra–d*; Or.15004/31; Or.15007/298, 525; Or.15009/605; Or.15014/612; IOL Toch 1131(?)

Nagarasūtra: see *Nagaropamasūtra I*

Nagaropamasūtra I (*Saṃyuktāgama*) Or.15007/364(?), 499; Or.15009/85, 175(?), 191, 212, 405, 637, 661, 670

Nagaropamasūtra I–II Or.15014/108

Nagaropamasūtra II Or.15003/147, 196; Or.15014/97, 192; IOL Toch 352 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 20), 645

Nīlabhūti (stotra of the brahmin; *Bhaiṣajyavastu*) Or.15008/7; Or.15009/196

Pañcatrayasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15007/368; Or.15009/148, 321, 406, 573, 642

Pañcavastuka Or.15009/94(?)

Paramārthaśūnyatādharmaparyāya Or.15003/126A (ident. P. Skilling March 2010)

poṣatha calendar IOL Toch 196 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 198 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 868a+b (Skt./Toch. bil.)

Poṣathavastu of the Sarvāstivādins Or.15007/347(?); Or.15009/465[28]

Pradakṣiṇāgāthā Or.15008/6+Or.15009/354; Or.15009/380+646

Prakaraṇa of Vasumitra Or.15009/51, 170

Prasādanīyasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15007/235, 548; Or.15009/59, 137, 406, 408, 565; IOL Toch 818

Prasādapratibhodbhava (= *Śatapañcāśatka*) of Mātṛceṭa Or.15002/23*; Or.15003/124, 143, 162, 219, 256, 266, 274, 289, 300; Or.15004/29, 42, 81; Or.15007/92, 124, 164, 291, 292, 321, 340, 356, 370r–vb, 376, 467, 487, 502, 512, 565, 567, 569.1, 618, 683, 689, 719, 736, 746; Or.15008/26+28; Or.15009/55, 60, 114, 116, 123, 162, 211, 215, 286, 331, 337+572, 395, 407, 459, 469, 501, 541, 551, 560; Or.15011/13 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 60–64); Or.15014/54, 64, 164, 174, 195, 311, 508; Or.15015/161, 318; IOL San 416 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 67f.), 417 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 66f.), 418 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 70–73), 1083 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 77–80); IOL Toch 16 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 35, 187 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 311 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 8), 312 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 9), 419 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 27), 741 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 31), 859, 929, 966; Stein Khora.005b (original not yet found; ed. Hoernle 1916a: 73–75)

[26] Identification by Shayne Clarke (personal communication); cf. Chung 2002: 96, § X.1.2: H.149.252 (= Or.15009/195).

[27] Except for Or.15007/504 identification by Shayne Clarke (personal communication); cf. Chung 2002: 97, § X.1.3.: H.149.x.16 (= Or.15011/1); H.149.267 (= Or.15009/48); H.149.add. unnumbered (= Or.15009/443).

[28] This fragment does not stem from the *Poṣadhavastu* as stated in Hu-von Hinüber 1994 (pp. 78ff.) but from a *Karmavācanā* collection; cf. Chung 2002: 90, note 21.

Prāsādikasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15014/279

Prātimokṣasūtra of the Mūlasarvāstivādins Or.15003/296; Or.15007/539(?); Or.15009/645

Prātimokṣasūtra of the Sarvāstivādins Or.8212/1669(F) (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 2), 1670(B) (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 4); Or.15000/559(4) (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 34); Or.15002/3*, 7*; Or.15003/3, 11, 22, 26, 37, 52, 60, 62, 66, 95, 125, 150, 152, 229, 243, 249, 251, 262, 280, 281, 288, 303; Or.15004/16(?), 45, 47, 48(?), 55, 63, 92, 94, 96; Or.15007/41, 78, 82, 179, 184, 294, 311, 339, 367, 464(?), 485, 506.1, 508, 533, 564, 609, 610, 614, 615, 622, 635, 643, 648, 681, 691, 694, 720, 724, 739, 742+Or.15014/506; Or.15008/9, 13, 14, 21; Or.15009/66, 70, 74, 82, 96, 97, 102, 113, 115, 124, 147, 172, 179, 181, 194, 203, 207, 332, 341, 396, 415, 423, 424, 434, 455, 473, 488, 523, 535, 545, 567, 581, 584, 592, 614, 639, 645, 650, 653, 656; Or.15014/51, 52, 94, 95, 98, 119, 136, 170, 172, 181, 270, 305, 343, 402, 408, 411, 418, 464, 469, 522, 531, 564; Or.15015/222, 259, 282; IOL Toch 309 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 7), 454, 683, 819, 913, 973, 997, 1134, 1203

Pratisaṃyuktakhaṇḍaka (*vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins) Or.15009/195

Pravāraṇasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) Or.15003/158r; Or.15004/1; Or.15009/191; Or.15011/9 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 36–40); Or.15014/134, 511

Pṛṣṭapālasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15003/99; Or.15007/83v, 277, 299; Or.15009/512; IOL Toch 333 (ed. Melzer 2010: 82)

Pudgalasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15003/221; Or.15009/315, 633; Or.15015/169

Rāhulastava Or.15002/37re–v*; Or.15003/168; Or.15004/87; Or.15009/501; Or.15014/424

Romaharṣaṇasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15009/65, 144, 409

Śakrapraśnasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) Or.15009/549

Śaktisūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) Or.15011/8r1–5 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 40–46)

Śalyasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15002/19+32 (ed. Hartmann/Wille forthcoming); Or.15004/54(?); Or.15007/ 300

Samādhirājasūtra(?) Or.15003/134

Saṃghabhedavastu(?) IOL Toch 283

Saṃghastotrastava Or.15004/82; Or.15009/502

Saṃyuktāgama [text corresponding to a sūtra in the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama*, *Za ahan jing* (T 99)][29] Or.15002/13* (sūtras 3–6); Or.15003/1A (sūtra 1307), 126A (sūtra 335; ident. P. Skilling March 2010), 154+155 (sūtra 379), 158r (sūtra 1212), 171 (sūtra 981), 279 (sūtra 379), 328 (sūtra 379)*; Or.15004/1 (sūtra 1212), 28 (sūtra 379), 33+40 (sūtras 356–358), 68+77 (sūtra 684), 79+80 (sūtra 981); Or.15007/69 (sūtra 346), 106 (sūtra 292), 288 (sūtra 981), 364 (sūtra 287), 499 (sūtra 287), 507 (sūtra 254), 535 (sūtras 378–379); Or.15009/49 (sūtra 506), 61 (sūtras 925–926), 63r–v3 (sūtra 345), 71 (sūtra 351), 77 (sūtra 552), 85 (sūtra 287), 166 (sūtra 287), 168 (sūtra 308), 171 (sūtra 379), 175+212 (sūtra 287), 191 (sūtra 1212 and 287), 206 (sūtras 467–469), 252 (sūtra 1172), 340 (sūtra 296), 351 (sūtra 34), 352 (sūtra 981), 378 (sūtra 703), 390+510r2ff. (sūtra 1077), 397 (sūtra 455), 405 (sūtra 287), 420(?) (sūtra 1074), 421 (sūtra 684), 429 (sūtra 684), 446 (sūtras 403–404), 450 (sūtras 864–871), 453 (sūtra 351), 493+Or.15003/204 (sūtra 344), Or.15009/571 (sūtra 298), 637 (sūtra 287), 661 (sūtra 287), 662 (sūtra 252), 670 (sūtra 287); Or.15011/8 (sūtra 1136, 1255) (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 40–46), 9 (sūtra 1212) (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 36–40); Or.15014/35 (sūtra 343), 134 (sūtra 1212), 405 (? sūtra 379); Or.15015/217 (sūtra 298); IOL Toch 283 (? sūtra 254), 816 (sūtra 302) (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 33)

Sandakasutta (parallel to *S.* in *Majjhimanikāya)* Or.15003/53; Or.15009/647

Saṅgītisūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15002/21*, 25*; Or.15003/34, 131, 135, 182, 198, 242, 260; Or. 15004/86; Or.15007/87, 102, 211vb–e, 693+Or.15009/91; Or.15009/154, 342, 343, 391, 503; Or.15011/4, 5 (both frgs. ed. Hoernle 1916a: 16–24); Or.15015/256

Śaṅkarakasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15009/561

Śatapañcāśatka: see *Prasādapratibhodbhava*

Saundarananda of Aśvaghoṣa IOL Toch 59r1–3 (Saund 7.48–49)

Smṛtyupasthānasūtra Or.15009/451

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[29] For arrangement according to the sequence of the sūtras cf. Chung 2008; the text of a given catalogue number does not necessarily stem from a *Saṃyuktāgama* manuscript.

Śoṇatāṇḍyasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15009/73+126+Or.15007/335
Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15003/30
Śroṇakoṭīviṃśasūtra (*Saṃyuktāgama*) Or.15007/507; IOL Toch 283
Śrutasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15014/145, 494v
stotra Or.15003/282; Or.15008/2; Or.15009/95Ba–b, 608
Śukasūtra (*Dīrghāgama*) Or.15009/156
Śukasūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) Or.15011/10, 11 (both frgs. ed. Hoernle 1916a: 46–52)
Supriyāvadāna Or. 15002/6*
sūtra with passages from the *pratītyasamutpāda* formula Or.15007/747; Or.15008/27
sūtra with passages from the 9 *satvāvāsas* Or.15007/247
sūtra with passages from the *samādhiskandha* Or.15003/96
sūtra with passages from the *śīlaskandha* Or.15007/130; Or.15009/68; Or.15014/573
sūtra with passages from the 8 *vimokṣa*s Or.15007/626
sūtra with passages from the 8 *vīryārambhavastu*s Or.15007/572
sūtra (not yet identified) Or.15009/49
syllabary Or.8212/1681(C)Ab–B*; Or.15003/304, 305, 306+Or.15007/154; Or.15007/74A, 148, 348, 534; Or.15009/504; Or.15014/1

Udānavarga chapter 1

1.1–5: Or.15014/515; Or.15015/181; 1.1–9: Or.15003/228; 1.2–6: IOL Toch 38 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 1.2–9: Or.15014/130; 1.3–4: Or.15014/493; 1.3–7: Or.15014/523; 1.3–10: Or. 15009/182; 1.4–6: Or.15014/304; 1.6–16: Or.15003/238; 1.12–22: Or.15014/307; 1.12–26: Or.15009/629; 1.12–30: Or.15007/251; 1.12–32: Or.15003/217; 1.17–24: Or.15007/571; 1.18–28: Or.15003/82; 1.19–29: Or.15009/93; 1.21–2.6: Or.8212/1662; 1.23–27: Or.15014/272; 1.23–36: Or.15009/323; 1.25–34: Or.15009/438; 1.27–37: IOL Toch 233+368 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 1.31–33: Or.15007/308 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 1.35–42: Or.15015/118; 1.35–2.5: Or.15015/122; 1.37–2.7: Or.15009/458, 603; 1.38–2.7: Or.15008/16; 1.39–2.8: Or.15007/38; 1.39–2.10: Or.15015/230; 1.41–2.5: Or.15003/213; 1.42–2.3: IOL Toch 862 (Skt./Toch. bil.)

Udānavarga chapter 2

2.2–9: IOL Toch 716 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 2.2–12 Or.15009/53; 2.4–7: IOL Toch 765 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 2.8–12: IOL Toch 554 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 2.8–18: Or.15014/567; 2.9–15: Or.15003/78; 2.9–18: Or.15009/654; 2.10–14: Or.15003/277; 2.12–18: Or.15007/627; 2.12–20: IOL Toch 152 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 2.12–3.2: Or.15009/591; 2.13–18: Or.15004/35; 2.14–18: IOL Toch 371 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 2.14–20: Or.15002/35*; 2.15–3.6: Or.15007/233; 2.17–3.4: Or.15003/190; 2.18–20: IOL Toch 267 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 2.18–3.1: IOL Toch 1027 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 2.18–3.2: IOL Toch 715 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 2.19–3.9: Or.15003/200; 2.20–3.5(?): Or.15003/207

Udānavarga chapter 3

3.3–6: IOL Toch 1185; 3.7–12: IOL Toch 325; 3.8–15: Or.15015/203; 3.8–17: Or.15007/161; 3.13–4.6: Or.15009/398; 3.16–4.2: Or.15003/132

Udānavarga chapter 4

4.1–5: IOL Toch 221 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 928 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 4.2–4: Or.15007/214 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 4.4–8: Or.15015/219; 4.4(?)–9: Or.15007/406; 4.6–9: IOL Toch 479 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 4.10–27: Or.15007/346; 4.18–29: IOL Toch 1233; 4.21–30: Or.15009/183; 4.22–31: Or.15007/556; 4.23–27: Or.15003/112; 4.23–32: IOL Toch 525 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 29); 4.25–32(?): Or.15014/378; 4.30–5.3: Or.15014/250; 4.37–5.2: Or.15007/307

Udānavarga chapter 5

5.2–15: Or.15009/454; 5.4–14: Or.15009/344; 5.10–12: Or.15014/70 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 5.10–15: Or.15007/656; 5.13–20: Or.15009/525; 5.15–27: Or.15014/73; 5.16–6.2: IOL Toch 701 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 30); 5.16–6.3: Or.15014/507; 5.18–6.2: Or.15007/209; 5.21–26: IOL Toch 341 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 17); 5.25–26: IOL Toch 560 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 5.27–6.9: Or.15010/5 (Skt./Toch. bil.)

Udānavarga chapter 6

6.6–12: Or.15007/649; 6.9–20: Or.15009/333; 6.10–13: Or.15007/318 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 6.11–15: IOL Toch 988 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 6.13–7.3: Or.15010/9

Udānavarga chapter 7

7.1–12: Or.15015/304; 7.5–8.3: Or.15009/566; 7.7–8.1: Or.15014/548; 7.8–8.7: Or.15009/324; 7.11–8.4: Or.15009/56

Udānavarga chapter 8

8.1–8: Or.15009/607; 8.5–11: Or.15009/218; 8.5–9.2: Or.15010/8; 8.7–9.3: Or.15007/302+365; 8.11–9.5: Or.15007/630+IOL Toch 228 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 8.11–9.6: Or.15009/399; 8.15–9.7: Or.15004/37+Or. 15007/377

Udānavarga chapter 9

9.7–18: Or.15014/495; 9.8–15: Or.15009/665; 9.11–18: IOL Toch 457 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 9.15–10.3: Or.15009/462; 9.16–10.10: Or.15009/155; 9.16–10.11: Or.15009/635; 9.19–10.1: Or.15015/124

Udānavarga chapter 10

10.1–7: Or.15007/580; 10.1–12: Or.15008/4; 10.1–14: Or.15009/160; 10.4–11: IOL Toch 572 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 10.5–Kolophon: Or.15009/208; 10.11–11.5: Or.15007/386; 10.13–16: IOL Toch 26 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 10.15–11.2: IOL Toch 979 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 10.15–11.11: Or.15014/132

Udānavarga chapter 11

11.1–12.1: Or.15014/538; 11.8–13: IOL Toch 807 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 11.9–12.4: Or.15003/68; Or.15007/22; 11.11–15: IOL Toch 505 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 11.12–12.2: Or.15007/545

Udānavarga chapter 12

12.7–17: Or.15003/148; 12.8–13: IOL Toch 122 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 772 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 12.9(?)–17: Or.15007/5; 12.10–19: Or.15009/439; 12.19–13.13: Or.15008/18+Or.15009/80

Udānavarga chapter 13

13.4–8: Or.15007/703; 13.6–14.1: Or.15007/68; 13.8–12: IOL Toch 579 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 13.8–13: IOL Toch 1187 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 13.8–14.2: Or.15003/225; 13.8–17: Or.15007/341; 13.11–17: Or.15003/184

Udānavarga chapter 14

14.9–15.3: Or.15014/89; 14.12–15.3: Or.15009/598

Udānavarga chapter 15

15.13–24: Or.15009/578; 15.16B–16.1: Or.15004/53; 15.23–16.5: Or.15014/558

Udānavarga chapter 16

16.3–16: Or.15002/11*; 16.4–9: IOL Toch 267 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 16.7 or 8–21: Or.15003/113; 16.11(?)–16: IOL Toch 931 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 16.13–24: Or.15009/348+491; 16.15–24: Or. 15002/42*; 16.16–24: Or.15003/137; 16.17–17.4: Or.15009/334; 16.20–17.1: Or.15009/296 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 16.21–17.7: Or.15009/173; 16.21–17.7: Or.15014/261

Udānavarga chapter 17

17.1–10: Or.15003/170; 17.4–18.5: Or.15009/526; 17.6–18.2: Or. 15002/27*; 17.7–18.1: IOL Toch 52 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 17.11–18.11: Or.15009/449; 17.col.–18.3: Or.15015/108

Udānavarga chapter 18

18.1–17: IOL Toch 356 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 22); 18.3–15: Or.15009/668; 18.6–14: Or.15009/472; 18.6–16: Or.15007/513; 18.13–21: IOL Toch 1126; 18.17–19.3: Or.15009/99+631; 18.20–19.10: Or.15008/19

Udānavarga chapter 19

19.1–8: Or.15002/8*; 19.2–6: Or.15003/57

Udānavarga chapter 20

20.9–21.5: Or.15009/145; 20.12–uddāna: Or.15009/188; 20.13–21.1: Or.15010/10; 20.13–20: IOL Toch 809+1244 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 20.17–21.2: Or.15009/202; 20.19–21.12: Or.15007/699

Udānavarga chapter 21

21.5–7: Or.15007/31; 21.8–16: Or.15009/400; 21.8–22.6: Or.15015/125; 21.12–18: IOL Toch 330 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 13); 21.15–22.7: Or.15014/257; 21.17–22.15: Or.15009/505; 21.18–22.4: Or.15003/129

Udānavarga chapter 22

22.2–9: IOL Toch 70 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 22.2–14: IOL Toch 149 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 22.15–23.3: Or.15007/309

Udānavarga chapter 23

23.1–15: Or.15007/359; 23.6–26: Or.15009/381; 23.10–14: Or.15007/696; 23.10–22(?): Or.15007/362; 23.10–23: Or. 15009/86; 23.10–24.5: Or.15014/479; 23.11–26(?): Or.15015/228, 299; 23.11(?)–24.1: Or.15007/271; 23.12–24: Or.8212/ 1673(A) (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 5); 23.13–26(?): Or.15007/7; 23.17–24.2: Or.15009/150; 23.21–24.7: Or.15009/663; 23.25–24.15: Or.15007/717; 23.col–24.7 IOL Toch 308 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 23.col–24.8: Or.15014/74

Udānavarga chapter 24

24.1–16: Or.15009/169; 24.2(?)–15(?): Or.15007/59; 24.3–14: Or.15009/455; 24.8–17 Or.15003/73; ~ 24.10: Or.15015/233; 24.15–27(?): Or.15014/321; 24.16–19: Or.15014/430; 24.20–29: Or.15009/128; 24.20D–30: Or.15009/325; 24.20E–26: Or.15007/688 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 24.21–29: Or. 15007/265; 24.27–25.7: Or.15009/382; 24.28–30: IOL Toch 329 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 12); 24.30–25.6: IOL Toch 884 (Skt./Toch. bil.)

Udānavarga chapter 25

25.2–19: Or.15014/43; 25.4–17: Or.15009/527; 25.6–15: Or.15009/547; 25.7–18: Or.15007/733; 25.8–14: IOL Toch 225 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 25.15–23: Or.15004/46; 25.23–26.5: Or.15009/576; 25.24–26.7: Or.15015/49; 25.25–26.8: Or.15014/505

Udānavarga chapter 26

26.9–23: Or.15009/440; 26.17–30: Or.15008/25; 26.18–31: Or.15009/447; 26.29–27.3: IOL Toch 702 (Skt./Toch. bil.)

Udānavarga chapter 27

27.8–13: IOL Toch 103 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 27.9–20: Or.15009/587; 27.10–20: Or.15009/355; 27.11d–?: Or.15003/16; 27.14–20: Or.15014/201+205; 27.14–22C: Or.15007/70; 27.15–22B: Or.15007/521; 27.17–22: Or.15009/153; 27.17(?)–26(?): Or.15007/680; 27.25–32: Or.15009/167; 27.25–35: Or.15007/144; 27.27–36: Or.15007/129; 27.28–40: Or.15007/276+338; 27.32–40: Or.15014/175; 27.33–28.4: Or.15009/657; 27.39–28.9: Or.15008/20+Or.15003/119

Udānavarga chapter 28

28.10–26: Or.15009/214+486; 28.11–26: Or. 15002/17*; 28.13–27: Or.15009/366+IOL Toch 399 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 25); 28.15–30: IOL Toch 992; 28.18–24: Or.15007/529; 28.18(?)–28: Or.15004/26; 28.28–31: IOL Toch 331 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 14); 28.31–29.2: Or.15007/552; 28.34–29.1: Or.15014/96; 28.37–29.11: Or.15009/356+506; 28.39–29.9: Or.15009/130

Udānavarga chapter 29

29.3–10: Or.15003/301; 29.4–10: Or.15007/143; 29.4–11: Or.15007/634; 29.6–13: Or.15003/263+Or.15007/333; 29.8–18: Or.15009/528; 29.12–21: IOL Toch 766 (Skt./Toch. bil.); ~ 29.14: Or.15015/97 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 29.19–30: IOL Toch 588 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 29); 29.21–27: Or.15003/259; 29.21–29: Or.15003/211; 29.27–42: Or.15009/664; 29.29–33: Or.15009/644; 29.31–42: Or.15009/425; 29.39–45: Or.15007/349; 29.40–47: Or.15015/94; 29.44–50: Or.15003/185; 29.47–57: Or.15007/732; 29.52–30.2: Or. 15015/191; 29.54–57: IOL Toch 1243 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 29.55–30.4: H.149.add.169 (missing; IOL 17A 189, 1st row, 2nd frg.); 29.57–30.6: IOL Toch 367 (Skt./Toch. bil.)

Udānavarga chapter 30

30.5–12: Or.15007/252; 30.6–10: Or.15009/529 (possibly the same folio Or.15014/173); 30.6–11: Or.15014/173; 30.6–11: Or.15003/97; 30.7–11: Or.15015/309; 30.12–19: Or.15003/139; 30.10–21: Or.15009/564; 30.10–25: Or.15007/57; 30.20–26: IOL Toch 54 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 30.22–25: Or.15003/94; 30.22–30: Or.15007/248; 30.22–31: Or.15009/474; 30.23–37: Or.15007/497; 30.32–41: H.149.211 (missing; IOL 17A 153; 1st row, middle; different frg. H.149.211 = IOL Toch 61); 30.36–40 or 41: Or.15003/180; 30.36–46: Or.15009/ 326; 30.36–49: Or.15014/81; 30.40–31.4: Or.15003/86+149; 30.40–31.7: Or.15014/390; 30.42–colophon: IOL Toch 323 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 11); 30.43(?)–51: Or.15003/226; 30.44–52: Or.15007/561; 30.52–31.2: IOL Toch 1020 (Skt./Toch. bil.)

Udānavarga chapter 31

31.4–12: Or.15003/165; 31.13–27: Or.15009/180; 31.17–25: Or.15007/711; 31.20–27: Or.15009/72; 31.20–33: Or.15003/ 278; 31.20–35: Or.15009/192; 31.23–32: IOL Toch 75 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 31.24–30: IOL Toch 346(a) (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 10); 31.25–32: IOL Toch 206 (Skt./

Toch. bil.); 31.29–33: Or. 15009/602; 31.29–35: Or.15009/569+574; 31.33–41: Or.15014/425; 31.36–42: Or.15003/269; 31.39–54: Or.15010/7; 31.41–51: Or.15009/548; 31.46–59: Or.15014/575; 31.48–57: Or.15009/205; 31.49–56: IOL Toch 39 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 31.51–57: Or.15007/325; 31.51–32.1: Or.15007/522; 31.57–32.8: Or.15003/92; 31.60–32.4: IOL Toch 569 (Skt./Toch. bil.)

Udānavarga chapter 32

32.1–6: Or.15007/293; 32.6–14: Or.15009/648; 32.7–21: Or.15007/357; 32.11–18: Or.15007/160A; 32.12–15: Or.15003/81; 32.12–22: IOL Toch 164 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 32.13–23: Or.15002/10*; 32.14–27: Or.15009/117; 32.17–27: Or.15003/240; 32.20–25: Or.15014/357; 32.23–35: Or.15009/621; 32.28–40: Or.15003/181; 32.29–43: Or.15009/530; 32.34–41: Or.15007/239; 32.39–50: Or.15007/155; 32.48–57: Or.15009/98; 32.48(?)–61(?): Or.15007/218.1; 32.49–55: IOL Toch 926 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 32.54–63: Or.15009/413; 32.55–64: Or.15009/357; 32.55–70(?): Or.15003/294; 32.57–68: Or.15009/197; 32.58–69: Or.15009/669; 32.59–69: Or.15009/146+531; 32.60–69: Or.15008/5; 32.60–70: Or.15009/111; 32.60–71: Or.15009/609; 32.61–64: Or.15003/246; 32.61–71: Or.15009/508+585; ~ 32.68: Or. 15015/229; 32.68–77: Or.15009/507, 660; 32.69–76: Or.15014/574; 32.72–81: Or.15009/483; 32.75–81: H.add.149.70 (missing; IOL 17A 189, 2nd row, middle); 32.75–33.5: Or.15009/190; 32.81–33.7: Or.15003/41

Udānavarga chapter 33

33.1–10: Or.15003/64; 33.2–12: Or.15010/11; 33.5–16: Or.15007/29; 33.8–12: Or.15003/75; 33.8–15: Or.15009/367; 33.10–17: Or.15009/186; 33.10–22: Or.15014/566; 33.14–24: Or.15007/523; 33.15–22: Or.15009/ 90; 33.15–59(?): IOL Toch 1072; ~ 33.17: Or.15015/133; 33.17–25: Or.15003/212; 33.20–30: IOL Toch 45 (Skt./Toch. bil.); 33.22–26: Or.15014/631; 33.23–28: Or.15007/644; 33.28–35: Or.15007/157; 33.31–42: Or.15007/303; 33.35–45: Or.15003/166; 33.38–46: Or.15003/330; 33.39–43: Or.15007/547; 33.41–69: Or.15009/62; 33.43–57: Or.15007/32; 33.48–60: Or.15009/577; 33.~50: IOL Toch 358 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 24); 33.50–65 Or.15014/509; 33.57–73(?): Or.15007/631; 33.59–67: Or.15009/69; 33.60–69: Or.15009/627; 33.64–75: Or.15007/232; Or.15009/597; 33.64–76: Or.15009/492; 33.65–76: Or.15009/178; 33.65–76: Or.15009/412; 33.67–78: Or.15015/253; 33.67–83(?): Or. 15007/194; 33.74–82: Or.15009/667; 33.74–83(?): Or.15014/177; 33.74–uddāna: Or.15009/110; 33.76–83 Or.15009/441; 33.uddāna: Or.15007/289r

Udgatāstotra Or.15009/666; IOL Toch 321 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 10)

Upālipariprcchā (*vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins) Or.15009/330

Upālisūtra (*Madhyamāgama*) Or.15003/23; Or.15011/6 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 27–35)

Upasenasūtra Or.15009/662

Uttaragrantha of the Mūlasarvāstivādins: see *Mātṛkā*

Vajracchedikā Or.15009/46+275 (ed. Harrison 2009, frg. 2)

Varṇārhavarṇa of Mātṛceṭa Or.15002/26*; Or.15003/13, 17, 28, 29+38+215, 49, 67, 71, 98, 114, 164, 193, 234, 283, 292; Or.15004/38, 39; Or.15007/25+268, 40, 99, 162, 189, 236r1, 278, 289v, 316, 330, 343, 345, 530 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 532, 600, 698, 722; Or.15009/101, 108, 120, 136, 143, 151, 201, 209, 215, 335 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 336, 345, 358, 368, 369, 370, 372, 376, 383, 442, 481, 487, 490, 509, 532, 541, 543, 544, 556, 589, 593, 594, 596, 600, 605, 610, 617, 619, 643; Or.15011/14, 15 (both frgs. ed. Hoernle 1916a: 80–84; re-ed. VAV ms. L23 and 41); Or.15014/29, 46, 90, 116, 126, 165, 168+498, 194, 216, 303, 341, 554, 562, 608, 650; Or.15015/56, 62, 232, 306; IOL San 1083 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 77–80; re-ed. VAV ms. L1); IOL Toch 74 (Skt./Toch. bil.) 202 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 203 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 334 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 16), 343 (ed. Wille 2005, frg. 18), 736, 774 (Skt./Toch. bil.), 834*

Vastrāvadāna Or.15004/102

verses Or.15007/236r2–v, 337; Or.15009/142, 373, 411, 425, 477, 615, 651, 671; Or.15015/296

Vidyāsthānopamasūtra Or.15007/336v; Or.15009/83

vidyā text Or.15009/630

Vinaya Or.15002/30*; Or.15009/52, 57, 109, 118, 174, 384, 410, 554, 555, 606;

Vinayamātṛkā (Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins) Or.15009/328

Vinayavibhaṅga of the Mūlasarvāstivādins Or.15014/161, 338

Vinayavibhaṅga of the Sarvāstivādins: see *Bhikṣuprātimokṣavibhaṅga*

Yoga manual Or.15002/20+28 (ed. Hartmann 2006b, frg. 1); Or.15003/31(?), 257 (ed. Hartmann 2006b, frg. 2); Or.15007/231 (to the same folio belongs Or.15009/374), 692; Or.15009/374, 485 (both frgs. ed. Hartmann 2006a); Or.15014/156

III. List of identified Sanskrit manuscripts from Dunhuang[30]

anthology IOL San 393–395 (ed. La Vallée Pousin 1913b: 848f.)
Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā IOL San 1492.0–68*[31]
Caityacatuṣkasūtra IOL San 396 (re-ed. Kudo 2006b)
charm against snake-bites[32] IOL San 378 (r6–v6 ed. La Vallée Pousin 1911a: 776f.)
Darśanapañcāśatstava of Vasumitra[32] IOL San 363 (ed. Hartmann 2008, ms. 7/8)
Daśabalasūtra[32] IOL San 364 (re-ed. Chung 2009b: 5f.)
dhāraṇī IOL San 397 (ed. Kudo 2006c)
Karmavācanā IOL San 398, 400, 404 (ed. La Vallée Pousin 1913b: 846f.)
Maitreyaparipṛcchā IOL San 391+392 (ed. La Vallée Poussin 1911b: 1077–1079)
Nagaropamasūtra II [32] IOL San 376–378r5 (re-ed. NagSū: 61–64)
Nīlakaṇṭhadhāraṇī Or.8212/175 (in Brāhmī and Sogdian script ; ed. La Vallée Poussin/Gauthiot 1912: 629–645)
Prasādapratibhodbhava[32] IOL San 416–418 (ed. Hoernle 1916a: 64–73)
Prātimokṣasūtra IOL San 399, 401–403, 405, 406 (re-ed. Pauly 1966: 268–270)
Tripusabhallikasūtra IOL San 396 (re-ed. Kudo 2006b)
Udānavarga[32] IOL San 379–381, 407–415 (ed. La Vallée Pousin 1912: 355–373)

IV. List of identified Sanskrit manuscripts from Gilgit[33]

Vinayavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins Or.11878A [*Pravrajyāvastu*, foll. 43–53r10: ed. Vogel/Wille 1996 and 2002 (facsimiles in GBM 686–707[34]); *Poṣadhavastu*, fol. 53v: ed. HU-von Hinüber 1994)
Saddharmapūṇḍarīkasūtra Or.11878B (ed. Watanabe 1975, vol. 2, Group C)

Abbreviations

AKh M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan*, 2 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press 1907 [repr. New York: Hacker Art Books 1975].

ĀṭānSū *Bruchstücke des Āṭānāṭikasūtra aus dem zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon der Buddhisten*, ed. H. Hoffmann, Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft 1939 (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, 5) [repr. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden 1987 (Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie, 3)].

BB 33 G. M. Bongard-Levin i M. I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja, *Pamjatniki indijskoj pis'mennosti iz central'noj azii*, Vypusk 1, Moskva: Izdat. Nauka 1985 (Pamjatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka 73.1; Bibliotheca Buddhica, 33).

BB 34 G. M. Bongard-Levin i M. I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja, *Pamjatniki indijskoj pis'mennosti iz central'noj azii*, Vypusk 2, Moskva: Izdat. Nauka 1990 (Pamjatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka 73.2; Bibliotheca Buddhica, 34).

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[30] Excluded are those in Southern Turkestan Brāhmī, for which see list I: *Kauśikaprajñāpāramitāsūtra*; *Ratnagotravibhāga-Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*; *Sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣasitātapatrānāma-aparājitā-mahā-pratyaṅgirā-(mahāvidyārajñī)* IOL Khot S.46, lines 12–195; Or.8210/S.2529.

[31] Written in Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I and identified by E. Conze (1950).

[32] It belongs to a composite manuscript which is divided among the collections in London and Paris; cf. NagSū: 19–21.

[33] Cf. the description of the mss. by L. D. Barnett in *The British Museum Quarterly* 16.3 (1951): 68f.

[34] These facsimiles are not reproduced in GBM(rev.).

BB 40	G. M. Bongard-Levin, M. I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja i E. N. Temkin, *Pamjatniki indijskoj pis'mennosti iz central'noj azii*, Vypusk 3, Moskva: Izdat. Vostochnaya Literatura RAN 2004 (Pamjatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka 73.3; Bibliotheca Buddhica, 40).
BH	Sanskrit fragments edited in: *Xinjiang Manuscripts Preserved in the National Library of China: Sanskrit Fragments and Kharoṣṭhī Documents,* eds. Duan Qing, Zhang Zhiqing, Shanghai 2013 (Series of Sanskrit Manuscripts & Buddhist Literature, 3).
BLSF	*Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, 2 vols., ed. S. Karashima and K. Wille, Tokyo: Meiwa Printing Company 2006, 2009.
CPS	*Das Catuṣpariṣatsūtra: Eine kanonische Lehrschrift über die Begründung der buddhistischen Gemeinde*, ed. E. Waldschmidt, Teil 1–3, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1952–62 (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, 1952.2, 1956.1, 1960.1).
DĀG	Recently discovered manuscript of the *Dīrghāgama* (cf. J.-U. Hartmann's contribution in this volume).
GBM	*Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts (Facsimile Edition)*, ed. by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, 10 pts., New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture/Jayyed Press 1959–1974 (Śata-Piṭaka Series, 10)
GBM(rev.)	*Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts: revised and enlarged compact facsimile edition*, ed. by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, 3 pts., Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications 1995 (Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica Series, 150–152).
GM	*Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt, 4 vols., Calcutta, Srinagar 1939–1959.
Huntington	Central Asian manuscripts in the Huntington Collection (New Haven).
IDP	International Dunhuang Project, British Library, London: http://idp.bl.uk
InAs	Sir Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Īrān*, 5 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press 1928.
IOL	India Office Library.
IOL 17A	Microfilm of the India Office Library "Sanskrit mss. Stein and Hoernle;" see Skjærvø 2002: xxxvi.
IOL Toch	See IDP "Search catalogue": Michaël Peyrot, *An edition of the Tocharian fragments IOL Toch 1 — IOL Toch 822 in the India Office Library, London*, London: IDP 2007. Tatsushi Tamai, *An edition of the Tocharian fragments IOL Toch 853 — IOL Toch 1247 in the India Office Library, London*, London: IDP 2007.
Jm	[Jātakamālā] = A. Hanisch, *Āryaśūras Jātakamālā: Philologische Untersuchungen zu den Legenden 1 bis 15*, 2 vols., Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag 2005 (Indica et Tibetica, 43).
KaVā	H. Härtel, *Karmavācanā: Formulare für den Gebrauch im buddhistischen Gemeindeleben aus ostturkistanischen Sanskrit-Handschriften*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1956 (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, 3).
KT V	*Indo-Scythian Studies being Khotanese Texts*, vol. V, ed. by H. W. Bailey, Cambridge: University Press 1963.
MPS	*Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra: Text in Sanskrit und Tibetisch, verglichen mit dem Pāli nebst einer Übersetzung der chinesischen Entsprechung im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins*, auf Grund von Turfan-Handschriften hg. und bearbeitet E. Waldschmidt, Teil 1–3, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1950–1951 (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst [up to 1949: Phil.-Hist.Kl.] 1949.1, 1950.2,3).
MS IV	*Monumenta Serindica (Saiiki-bunka-kenkyū), Vol. IV: Buddhist Manuscripts and Secular Documents of the Ancient Languages in Central Asia*, Kyoto 1961.
NagSū	G. Bongard-Levin, D. Boucher, T. Fukita, K. Wille, "The Nagaropamasūtra: An Apotropaic Text from the Saṃyuktāgama," A Transliteration, Reconstruction, and Translation of the Central Asian Sanskrit Manuscripts, *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen III*, Göttingen: Vanden-

	hoeck & Ruprecht 1996 (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 6): 7–131.
Or.15001	Fragments of Or.15001 are edited in Wille 2009a: 34–49.
Or.15002	Identifications of Or.15002 in Wille 2005: 61f.
Or.15003	Fragments of Or.15003/1–289 are edited in Wille 2006b; Or.15003/290–333 will be edited in BLSF III (forthcoming).
Or.15004	Fragments of Or.15004 are edited in Wille 2009b.
Or.15006	Fragments of Or.15006 will be edited in a future BLSF volume.
Or.15007	Fragments of Or.15007 will be edited in BLSF III (forthcoming).
Or.15008	Fragments of Or.15008 will be edited in BLSF III (forthcoming).
Or.15009	Fragments of Or.15009/1–350 are edited in BLSF II: 105–334, "The Sanskrit Fragments Or.15009 in the Hoernle Collection": Or.15009/1–50 by YE Shaoyong, Or.15009/51–90 by Jundo Nagashima, Or.15009/91–100 by Jiro Hirabayashi, Or.15009/101–150 by Noriyuki Kudo, Or.15009/151–200 by Gudrun Melzer, Or.15009/201–250 by YE Shaoyong, Or.15009/251–290 by Jundo Nagashima, Or.15009/291–300 by Jiro Hirabayashi, Or.15009/301–350 by Takamichi Fukita, Or.15009/351–678 will be edited in BLSF III (forthcoming).
Or.15010	Fragments of Or.15010 are edited in Karashima 2009b.
Or.15014	Fragments of Or.15014 will be edited in a future BLSF volume
Or.15015	Fragments of Or.15015 will be edited in BLSF III (forthcoming).
Pāt.	Pātāyantika-dharma of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*.
Pell.Skt.	Central Asian manuscripts in the Pelliot Collection (Paris) with the pressmark **Pell**iot **S**ans**krit**.
PPU	[*Prasādapratibhodbhava*] = *The Śatapañcāśatka of Mātṛceṭa*, ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1951.
PrMoSū	*Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins*, Nach Vorarbeiten von Else Lüders und Herbert Härtel hg. und übers. von G. von Simson, 2 vols., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1986 and 2000 (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, 11).
SA.	Saṃghāvaśeṣa-dharma of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*.
Śai.	Śaikṣa-dharma of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*.
Saund	Aśvaghoṣa, *Saundarananda*, ed. and transl. by E. H. Johnston, London: Oxford University Press 1928.
SBV	*The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, 2 vols., ed. R. Gnoli, Roma 1977–1978 (Serie Orientale Roma, 49).
Saddhp(C)	*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, Central Asian Manuscripts, Romanized Text*, ed. Hirofumi Toda, Tokushima: Kyoiku Shuppan Center [2]1983.
SDT III	R. E. Emmerick and M. I. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, *Saka Documents Text Volume III: The St. Petersburg collections*, London: BAS Printers 1995 (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicaum, Part II Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia, vol. V Saka).
Ser	Aurel Stein, *Serindia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China*, 5 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press 1921.
SHT	*Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil 1–11, ed. E. Waldschmidt *et al.*, Wiesbaden/Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag 1965, 1968, 1971, 1980, 1985, 1989, 1995, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, X,1–11).
SI L	Central Asian manuscripts in the Lavrov Collection (St. Petersburg) with the pressmark **S**er **I**ndia **L**avrov.
SI M	Central Asian manuscripts in the Malov Collection (St. Petersburg) with the pressmark **S**er **I**ndia **M**alov.
SI P	Central Asian manuscripts in the Petrovsky Collection (St. Petersburg) with the pressmark **S**er **I**ndia **P**etrovsky.

SLLMC	*Sanskrit Lotus Sutra Fragments from the Lüshun Museum Collection: Facsimile Edition and Romanized Text*, ed. Zh. Jiang, Dalian and Tokyo 1997.
SMSR	*Sanskrit manuscripts of Saddharmapuṇḍarīka: Collected from Nepal, Kashmir and Central Asia. Romanized Text and Index*, ed. K. Tsukamoto, R. Taga, R. Mitomo and M. Yamazaki, vols. I–II, Tokyo: Society for the Study of Saddharmapundarika Manuscripts 1986–1988.
STTS	*Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha nāma Mahāyānasūtra*, ed. I. Yamada, New Delhi: Jayyed Press 1981 (Śata-Piṭaka Series, 262).
T	*Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* or *Taishō Issaikyō*, 100 vols., ed. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, Tōkyō 1924ff.
TT	*The Tibetan Tripiṭaka: Peking Edition* (repr.), ed. Daisetz T. Suzuki, 168 vols., Tokyo/Kyoto 1955–1961.
Uv	*Udānavarga*, ed. F. Bernhard, 2 vols., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1965 and 1968 (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, 10).
VAV	*Das Varṇārhavarṇastotra des Mātṛceṭa*, hg. und übers. von J.-U. Hartmann, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1987 (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, 12).

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2006c "Die Sanskrit-Fragmente der Crosby-Sammlung (Washington D.C.)," *Jaina-itihāsa-ratna, Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag*, ed. U. Hüsken, P. Kieffer-Pülz und A. Peters, Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag (Indica et Tibetica, 47): 483–510.
2009a "Buddhist Sanskrit Sources from Khotan," *BLSF* II: 25–72.
2009b "The Sanskrit Fragments Or.15004 in the Hoernle Collection," *BLSF* II: 73–104.

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Further Collections of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Central Asia

Jens-Uwe Hartmann (Munich) and Klaus Wille (Göttingen)

This paper attempts to provide information in three ways: first, by detailing collections and publications of manuscripts not mentioned in any of the other contributions to this volume, second, by adding information on those that are mentioned, and third, by making available the identification of some fragments which have not yet been published. There is not the slightest doubt that this attempt will remain incomplete, since it is extremely difficult to keep track of all the pertinent publications; nonetheless it may serve as an overview and as a preliminary orientation to the complex present-day distribution of relevant manuscripts from Central Asia.

The following list of collections and of single fragments is meant as a general survey. For each collection usually only one bibliographical reference is given, which will direct the interested reader to further sources on its history, contents and precise location.

1. Alphabetical list of collections

Berezovsky Collection in St. Petersburg (Russia)
See Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2006: 63–64 and Wille 2006a: 27, note 1.
Abhidharma SI B/31
Bodharājakumārasūtra SI B/14
Mahābhārata SI B/24.14, 21 (for this fragment cf. now *Mahābhārata* 5.70.59ff.)
Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra SI B/14, 16.5
Mahāvadānasūtra SI B/14
Nandakovādasūtra(?) SI B/16.8
Prātimokṣasūtra SI B/12.1–11 (cf. the description in PrMoSū II: 43f., MSS MA–MK), 19, 20
Saṃghastotrastava SI B/16.3
Saṃyuktāgama SI B/13.1
Saṅgītisūtra SI B/16.11
Udānavarga SI B/13.4+5+6+7+8, 16.4 (Uv 4.10–15; Sanskrit-Tocharian bilingual), 117 (Uv 29.45–51; Sanskrit-Tocharian bilingual)
Varṇārhavarṇastotra SI B/12.21, 16.1
Vinaya or *Karmavācanā* SI B/12.12–14 (ed BB 34: 201–203)

Collection of Literatures from the Western Regions in Beijing (China)
See in this volume Duan Qing, "Indic and Khotanese Manuscripts: Some New Finds and Findings from Xinjiang," pp. 269ff.

Crosby Collection in Washington D.C.
See Wille 2006b: 483–510.
Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Crosby 18f.+114f.+194f.
Buddhanāmasūtra Crosby 28f.+108f.+270f., 50f.+220f., 84f.+170f.
Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* Crosby 254f., 260f. (both fragments unpublished)
Prātimokṣasūtra 30f., 64f., 70f., 124f., 130f., 132f., 142f., 168f., 222f., 230f., 264f.+162f. (all fragments ed. in Wille 2009: 49–65)
Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra (= *Bhadrapālasūtra*) Crosby 252f. (identified by Paul Harrison Jan. 2007)
Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra Crosby 38f.
Sumukhasūtra/Sumukhadhāraṇī Crosby 74f.+266f., 126f., 134f.+152f., 202f., 228f.

Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra Crosby 262f.

Francke/Körber Collection in Munich (Germany)
For this collection see the remarks in Wille 2000: 2–6.
Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra

Hoernle Collection in London (Great Britain)
See in this volume Klaus Wille, "Survey of the Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Hoernle, Stein, and Skrine Collections of the British Library (London)," and Shin'ichirō Hori, "From the Kathmandu Valley to the Tarim Basin," pp. 260ff., esp. pp. 262–263.

Huntington Collection in Yale (USA)
For this collection see Yuyama/Toda 1977, Sam van Schaik 2000/2001: 4, and Waugh/Sims-Williams 2010: 81–82.
Ratnaketuparivarta J
Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra F

Klements Collection in St. Petersburg (Russia)
See Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2006: 66; two Sanskrit block prints.
In addition fragments of a fresco with inscription:
Saṃyuktāgama sūtra 98 (cf. T 99, II 27a22–24; reference by Jin-il Chung); ed. Oldenburg 1907: 816.
Saṃyuktāgama sūtra 1161 (cf. T 99, II 309c26f; reference by Jin-il Chung.) ~ Uv 33.47; ed. Oldenburg 1907: 816.
Saṃyuktāgama KCB 30.2: sūtra 1186 (cf. T 99, II 321b25–27) or 1187 (cf. T 99, II 321c8–11; reference by Jin-il Chung); facsimile in TTSR No. 40[1]
Saṃyuktāgama KCB 31: sūtra 1309 (cf. T 99, II 360b11–14; reference by Jin-il Chung) ~ Uv 20.3; facsimile in TTSR No. 41[2]

Kokhanovsky Collection in St. Petersburg (Russia)
See Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2006: 66; only one Sanskrit fragment.

Kolokolov Collection in St. Petersburg (Russia)
For this collection see Bongard-Levin/Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 1986: 11.
Mahāvadānasūtra SI Kol/2 (cf. Fukita 2003: 179, note 3)
Varṇārhavarṇastotra SI Kol/3.1+2 (cf. edition Hartmann 5.3c–17d; unpublished)

Krotkov Collection in St. Petersburg (Russia)
See Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2006: 62–63 and, in this volume, Shin'ichirō Hori, "From the Kathmandu Valley to the Tarim Basin" pp. 259ff., esp. 262.
Nagaropamasūtra SI 2Kr/9.2, 82.1 (ed. BB 34: 250–254 and Bongard-Levin *et al.* 1996: 50f.)
Prātimokṣasūtra SI 2Kr/82.2
Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna SI Kr.IV/343+Kr.IV/790

Lavrov Collection in St. Petersburg (Russia)
See Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2006: 65–66.

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[1] || *jaṭābharadvājo prāha* || *bahi(r)jaṭā jaṭā antarjaṭābhir jaṭitāḥ prajāḥ pṛṣṭo me gautama (brū)hi kas tāṃ vijaṭayej jaṭaṃ* : · ||; cf. SN I 165.17–20: *ekam antaṃ nisinno jaṭā-bhāradvājo brāhmaṇo Bhagavantaṃ gāthāya ajjhabhāsi* || *Antojaṭā bahijaṭā* || *jatāya jaṭitā pajā* || *taṃ taṃ Gotama pucchāmi* || *ko imam vijaṭaye jaṭan-ti* ||.

[2] (|)| *krodhaṃ hatvā sukhaṃ śete krodhaṃ* [*h*]*atvā na śocante* · *kro*[*dha*]*sya vi*[*ṣa*]*mūlasya madhūraghnasya* ///; cf. Uv 20.3: *krodhaṃ ha(tvā sukhaṃ śe)te kr(o)dhaṃ h(a)tvā na śocati* | *krodhasya viṣamūlasya madhuraghnasya bhikṣavaḥ* | *vadham āryāḥ praśaṃsanti taṃ ca hatvā na śocati* ||.

Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇī SI L/16 (chapter 9–10, cf. Tibetan text Inagaki 1987: 150–154; unpublished;)

Buddhanāmasūtra SI L/2 (cf. remarks in von Hinüber 1987–88: 237, 247, 249)

Cakravartisūtra (T 26, no. 70) SI L/8 (unpublished except some lines by S. Oldenburg)

**Payasvīsūtra* (T 26, no. 71) SI L/8 (unpublished except some lines by S. Oldenburg)

Prātimokṣasūtra L/9[3]

Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra SI L/1, 12, 14 (cf. edition Kern/Nanjio 50.5–52.3; unpublished)

Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra SI L/10, 11

Malov Collection in St. Petersburg (Russia)

See Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 1995: 29–39 and 2006: 67–68 and, in this volume, Shin'ichirō Hori, "From the Kathmandu Valley to the Tarim Basin," pp. 259ff., esp. 262.

Prajñāpāramitā text(?) SI M/16.1, 2

Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra SI M/16.3, 17

Mannerheim Collection in Helsinki (Finland)

See Karashima 2005: 81 with references to other publications on the collection in notes 2 and 3.

Kāśyapaparivarta

Pañcapāramitānirdeśasūtra

Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā

Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra

Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra

Oldenburg Collection in St. Petersburg (Russia)

See Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2006: 64–65.

Ōtani Collection in the Ryūkoku University Library (RUL), Kyōto (Japan) and in the Lüshun Museum (LM), Dalian (China)

See in this volume Shin'ichirō Hori, "From the Kathmandu Valley to the Tarim Basin," pp. 258–259, and Wakahara 2012: 85.

Amaraughaśāsana by Gorakṣanātha RUL 628

Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇī (original missing)

Daśabalasūtra LM 20.1566/6 (ed. Karashima and Jiang 2003: 356–358)

Daśottarasūtra RUL 626

Dharmaśarīrasūtra RUL 627

Ratnaketuparivarta RUL 625

Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra LM 20.1554/29, 39–41, 44, 46, 48, 50[4], 51; 20.1556/15; 20.1558/7; 20.1565/4; 20.1566/5; 20.1568/3; 20.1581/3–5 (all fragments MS A); LM 20.1554/1, 11–15, 17–20; 20.1565/1; 20.1566/3, 4, 10; 20.1581/1, 2, 6; 20.1582/2 (all fragments MS B); LM 20.1562/1, 2; 20.1565/7 (all fragments MS C); LM 20.1567/1–6; 20.1570/1 (all fragments MS D; MSS A–D ed. Jiang 1997); LM 20.1554.26.4–8 (all fragments unpublished; identified by Karashima/Jiang 2003: 331, note 1); RUL 621, 623

Saṃyuktāgama LM 20.1573 (ed. Nasu 2012; no parallels in T 99 or 100)

(Ārya-)Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa (original missing)

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[3] The transliteration of this fragment in BB 40: 339f. contains many typos; cf. therefore Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya/Tyomkin 2000: 25f.; for a new transliteration of v2–7 cf. Wille 2009: 51–53.

[4] To this fragment belong SHT 4447 + Or.15001/11,12,14,25 (ed. Wille 2009: 39–41).

Suvarṇabhāsottama LM 20.1554/8a, b, c, d; 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.1 & 3; 27.4–6; 23, 25, 27; 1558/1; 1564/2 (all fragments ed. Karashima and JIANG 2003); RUL 622, 624
Vajracchedikā (original missing)

Pelliot Collection in Paris (France)
See in this volume Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Klaus Wille, "The Central Asian Sanskrit Fragments in the Pelliot Collection (Paris)."

Petrovsky Collection in St. Petersburg (Russia)
See Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2006: 62 and 68–75 and, in this volume, Shin'ichirō Hori, "From the Kathmandu Valley to the Tarim Basin," pp. 259ff., esp. 261–262.
Buddhanāmasūtra SI P/116e; to the same ms. SI P/71a; ed. Wille 1999, e1: frg. 2, e2: frg. 10; SI P/116m; to the same ms. SI P/71a; ed. Wille 1999, frg. 9.

Skrine Collection in London (Great Britain)
See in this volume Klaus Wille, "Survey of the Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Hoernle, Stein, and Skrine Collections of the British Library (London)."

Stein Collection in London (Great Britain)
See in this volume Klaus Wille, "Survey of the Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Hoernle, Stein, and Skrine Collections of the British Library (London)," and Shin'ichirō Hori, "From the Kathmandu Valley to the Tarim Basin," pp. 260ff., esp. 262–263.

Turfan Collection
a) in Berlin (Germany)
See in this volume Klaus Wille, "Survey of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Turfan Collection (Berlin)."
b) in Istanbul (Turkey)
Cf. Wille 2004.
Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti I.U. No. 23g
Prajñāpāramitā text I.U. No. 18 IIb, c
Sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣasitātapatrānāma-aparājitā-mahāpratyaṅgirā-(mahāvidyārajñī) I.U. No. 15, 18 IId, e, 29d, 31 IIb
Tārā-ekaviṃśatistotra I.U. No. 29b, c, g, h

2.1 Single manuscripts preserved in Russia

Manuscript from Bairam-Ali (Merv) now in St. Petersburg
See Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 1999 and Karashima 2000: 214.

2.2 Single manuscripts preserved in Uzbekistan

Manuscripts from Zang-tepe now housed in the State Museum of History of Uzbekistan, Tashkent; a first report on this collection was published in Bongard-Levin, Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja and Temkin 1965.
Poṣathasthāpanavastu of the *Vinayavastu* (cf. above, p. 146)
Vinayasūtra of Guṇaprabha(?) (cf. above, p. 146)

2.3 Single manuscripts preserved in China

Bai (between Aq-su and Kučā): one fragment

Wenwu caokao ziliao 1954.3 (Peking), on p. 52 a facsimile of one side only: a text enumerating the *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*, cf. for example *Mahāvadānasūtra* (edition Fukita 2003: 84.23ff.).

Bezeklik (excavations in 1980): for this collection see Maue 2012
Amitāyuḥsūtra 80 TBI 596 (Sanskrit-Uygur bilingual; identified by Dieter Maue)
Bhaiṣajyavastu of the Sarvāstivādins 80 TBI 627 (identified by Hirotoshi Ogihara)
Dharmaśarīrasūtra 80 TBI 764+772 (Sanskrit-Uygur bilingual; identified by Dieter Maue)
Karmavācanā 80 TBI 770+38.3+765
fragment with the *pratītyasamutpāda* formula 80 TBI 613.1

Charkhlik (Shanshan): two fragments (Abhidharma and Stotra)
Richard Salomon and Collett Cox: "Two New Fragments of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts from Central Asia," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 11.1 (1988), 141–153. The second fragment was independently edited and identified as a parallel to Mātṛceṭa's *Prasādapratibhodbhava* in J.-U. Hartmann "Neue Aśvaghoṣa- und Mātṛceṭa-Fragmente aus Ostturkistan," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, Göttingen 1988, 88–92.

Dunhuang: Abhidharma fragment?
Qing DUAN and Jinzhang PENG: "A Newly Found Sanskrit Fragment from Dunhuang," *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 6 (2003), 197–206.

Qizil
Richard Salomon and Judith M. Boltz: "A new fragment of the Kaṭhinavastu of the Sarvāstivādavinaya," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108 (1988): 539–544. Cf. Asao Iwamatsu: "Centering a Sanskrit fragment of the Kaṭhinavastu of the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya and its restoration," *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū)* 33.2 (1998), 120–125(391–386).

Šorčuq
a) See HUANG 1958, plate 76, and Waldschmidt 1959: 239 (= 178), no. 8; identified and edited in Wille 2005: 73–74: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (chapter 27 = Ka 449b1–450a7).
b) See HUANG 1958, plate 77; identified and edited Waldschmidt 1959: 240–242 (= 178–179), no. 12: *Saṃyuktāgama* (T 99, no. 1107 = T 100, no. 36).
c) For another three unidentified small fragments see HUANG 1958, plates 76–77, and Waldschmidt 1959: 239 (= 178), nos. 9–11.

For fake manuscripts from Khotan cf. Waldschmidt 1959: 233–238 (= 175–177) and Sims-Williams 2000: 111–129.

Arthur M. Sackler Museum (Beijing): for this collection see Guan 2012
(Ārya-)Mahādaṇḍanāmadhāraṇī (= *Mahāśitavatī*)
Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśasūtra
Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra

National Library (Beijing)
Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā BH 4-147

Avadānaśataka BH 4-234
Bhadrakalpikasūtra BH 4-11
Buddhanāmasūtra (T 447) BH 4-33
Dharmaśarīrasūtra (ed. Dieter Maue and Peter Zieme. 2012. "Two More Leaves of the Dharmaśarīrasūtra in Sanskrit and Uigur," *Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions* 5: 145–155).
Jñānolkadhāraṇī BH 4-227
Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā BH 4-15, 4-32, 4-143, 4-146, 4-161
Prajñāpāramitā (not yet identified) BH 4-18, 4-19, 4-24
Ratnaketuparivarta BH 4-4, 4-5, 4-6, 4-7, 4-8, 4-12, 4-17, 4-21, 4-26+22, 4-28, 4-29, 4-50, without BH signature
Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra BH 1-28, 4-10, 4-20, 4-34, 4-220
Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra BH 4-1, 4-14, 4-27

Three tiny fragments in Brāhmī
RONG Xinjiang, LI Xiao, and MENG Xianshi (eds.), *Xinhuo Tulufan chutu wenxian* [Newly Discovered Turfan Documents], Beijing 2008 (Library of Turfan Studies, 1.2), 2 vols., p. 257.
Cf. the review of WANG Ding in *manuscript cultures* 1 (2008): 24–27.

2.4 Single Manuscripts Preserved in Japan

Fuji Yūrinkan Museum (Kyoto)
Dharmaśarīrasūtra (Sanskrit-Uygur bilingual; ed. Dieter Maue. 2008. "The equanimity of the Tathāgata." In P. Zieme, ed., *Aspects of Research into Central Asian Buddhism: In memoriam Kōgi Kudara*. Turnhout: Brepols 2008 (Silk Road Studies, 16): 179–190).

Kurita Isao (antique dealer, Tokyo; present whereabouts of the fragments unknown)
Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (frgs. I.A, B, C; ed. Sadakata 1999)
Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (frgs. I.Di, ii; ed. Sadakata 1999)
Prātimokṣasūtra of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins (ed. Seishi Karashima, "Fragments of a Manuscript of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāsāṃghika-(Lokottara)vādins (1)," *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 11 (2008): 71–90 and Seishi Karashima, "Manuscript Fragments of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāsāṃghika(-Lokottaravādin)s (2)," *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 16 (2013): 47–90)
Saṃghāṭasūtra (frg. IV.A, B; ed. Sadakata 1999)

Nakamura Collection (Tokyo)
One tiny fragment; see Akira Isobe, ed. 2005. *Nakamura Fusetsu kyūzō Uiki bokusho shūsei: Taitōkuritsu Shodō hakubutsukan shozō*, 3 vols., Tōkyō: Nigensha (Monbukagakushō kagaku-kenkyūhi tokutei ryōiki kenkyū: Higashi-Ajia shuppan bunka no kenkyū, sōkatsuhan; Higashi-Ajia zenpon sōkan 2), Vol. 3: 120, No. 3.

Abbreviations

BB 34 G. M. Bongard-Levin i M. I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja, *Pamjatniki indijskoj pis'mennosti iz central'noj azii*, Vypusk 2. Moskva: Izdat. Nauka 1990 (Pamjatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka 73.2; Bibliotheca Buddhica, 34).
BB 40 G. M. Bongard-Levin, M. I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja i E. N. Temkin, *Pamjatniki indijskoj pis'mennosti iz central'noj azii*, Vypusk 3. Moskva: Izdat. Vostochnaya

Literatura RAN 2004 (Pamjatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka 73.3; Bibliotheca Buddhica, 40).

BH Sanskrit fragments edited in: *Xinjiang Manuscripts Preserved in the National Library of China: Sanskrit Fragments and Kharoṣṭhī Documents,* eds. DUAN Qing, ZHANG Zhiqing. Shanghai 2013 (Series of Sanskrit Manuscripts & Buddhist Literature, 3).

PrMoSū *Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins*, Nach Vorarbeiten von Else Lüders und Herbert Härtel hg. und übers. von G. von Simson, 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1986 and 2000 (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, 11).

SN *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*. Ed. L. Feer, 5 vols. London 1884–1898 (Pali Text Society).

TTSR On the Trail of Texts along the Silk Road. Russian Expeditions Discoveries of Manuscripts in Central Asia. Special Exhibition of Kyoto National Museum. Kyoto 2009.

Uv *Udānavarga*, ed. F. Bernhard, 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1965 and 1968 (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, 10).

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2005. "Two Sanskrit Fragments of the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā in the Mannerheim Collection," *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 8: 81–104.

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From the Kathmandu Valley to the Tarim Basin

SHIN'ICHIRŌ HORI (TOKYO)

In this paper I would like to deal with two topics. In the first part I am concerned with colophons of Nepalese manuscripts, while in the second part I address some collections of Sanskrit manuscripts from Central Asia and identified fragments among them, especially the Ōtani collection in Kyoto and the St. Petersburg collections.

1. Colophons of Nepalese manuscripts

It is by no means unusual to find a colophon written by the scribe at the end of a manuscript from Nepal, since many Nepalese manuscripts are complete ones. By contrast, most Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts are fragmentary and have no colophons. As for the colophons of the Gilgit manuscripts, Oskar von Hinüber (1980) published an in-depth article. However, in the case of Nepalese colophons there are no comparable studies. I propose that we should take better advantage of these valuable materials, which we do not have in the case of fragmentary manuscripts.

Among the various items of information included in Nepalese colophons, the date always draws the greatest attention of users of Nepalese manuscripts. Many catalogues and editions mention the date of the manuscripts they deal with, when the year of the Newar Era[1] is found in their colophons. In most cases the year of the Newar Era is converted to the Christian Era only by the addition of 879 or 880. But the date is very often described in more detailed form in Nepalese colophons: in addition to the year of the Newar Era, some other elements belonging to the date in the traditional Indian calendar such as lunar month, *pakṣa* (half lunar month), *tithi* (lunar day), day of the week, *nakṣatra*, *karaṇa*, and *yoga* are often referred to in colophons. Using these elements, it is possible to establish and verify the exact date of manuscripts. In the past we had to use the complicated tables of Hermann Jacobi, reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften*,[2] in order to convert Indian dates to the Christian Era. Claus Vogel (1974) published a booklet in which he verified the dates of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* manuscripts from Nepal, using Jacobi's tables. Nowadays we can more easily convert the Indian calendar to the Christian Era, using Michio Yano's computer program *pañcāṅga*, which is based upon the *Sūryasiddhānta*. The program is also available on the internet.[3] Since in this program the Indian date should be given as the Śaka or Vikrama Era, we must pay attention to the conversion of the Newar Era beginning with the month of Kārttika[4] as compared with the Śaka or Vikrama Era beginning with the month of Caitra. At any rate it is easier to use this computer program than Jacobi's tables.

Using this program, we can establish and verify the date of manuscripts or we might also question the date in colophons under certain circumstances. Furthermore I am not sure whether radiocarbon dating is necessary for Nepalese manuscripts. I hope that in most cases the results of radiocarbon dating would serve to confirm the correctness of the dates in the colophons. The question to be raised here is the possibility of a later scribe copying a post-colophon in his exemplar. I suppose that it is a very exceptional case in Nepalese manuscripts that a later scribe has copied a post-colophon written by a former scribe. Should a probable case of copying a post-colophon be met with, it would reveal the igno-

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[1] For the Newar Era, see Kielhorn 1888.

[2] Jacobi 1970: 911–1074.

[3] http://www.cc.kyoto-su.ac.jp/~yanom/pancanga/

[4] We should also pay attention to the Āṣāḍha-or-Pauṣa intercalation employed in Nepal before circa 600 in the Newar Era. See Petech 1984: 13–20.

rance of the scribe concerning the manner of completing manuscripts, or an intentional fake. Radiocarbon dating can serve to solve such a problem.

There would be a great many Nepalese manuscripts whose absolute date can be established by the verification of the dates in their colophons. On the basis of dated manuscripts of various periods, it would be possible to describe the history of Nepalese palaeography in detail. As an attempt at a diachronic description of Nepalese palaeography we can refer to the introduction to Cecil Bendall's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*, first published in 1883.[5] His palaeographical description is based upon the Daniel Wright Collection of Nepalese manuscripts in Cambridge. With much more material available now we could study Nepalese palaeography in greater detail. Palaeographical studies based upon dated Nepalese manuscripts would be helpful for estimating the dates of undated manuscripts.

In Nepalese colophons we often find not only dates, but also other interesting information. Nepalese scribes sometimes refer to place or temple names in colophons. In most cases such information indicates directly the place where the manuscript was written. Place or temple names[6] might possibly be useful in estimating the relationship among manuscripts of a certain text, since it is reasonable for a scribe to make a copy of a manuscript available at his side and not to borrow a manuscript from a distance.

Nepalese scribes often refer to their own names in addition to the names of donors. Since catalogues of Nepalese manuscripts very seldom refer to scribe names, it is so far very difficult to find other manuscripts written by a certain scribe. By comparing several manuscripts written by the same scribe, handwriting and mistakes peculiar to the scribe would be clear and such information would help to decipher the manuscripts.

While I have shown how information in Nepalese colophons might be able to contribute primarily to philological studies, it goes without saying that Nepalese colophons have constituted primary sources for Nepalese history. For historians royal names and titles referred to in colophons are very important in estimating the reign dates of kings. Luciano Petech (1984) and D. R. Regmi (1965 and 1966) used colophons in the Middle Ages as well as inscriptions and *vaṃśāvalī*s for their studies of the medieval history of Nepal. However, so far colophons of modern dated manuscripts, especially from the Gorkha period, have very seldom been used.

On this occasion I would like to propose that it is desirable to conduct a systematic and comprehensive survey of Nepalese colophons and to establish a database of the information included in them.[7]

2. Identified Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia

2.1 The Ōtani Collection in the Ryūkoku University Library

The Ōtani Collection in the Ryūkoku University Library contains Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal and Central Asia.[8] Here I refer only to the Central Asian manuscripts collected by the Ōtani expedition at the beginning of the 20th century.

Although the greater part of the Central Asian manuscripts collected by the Ōtani expedition seems to be now in China, especially at the Lüshun Museum, I know of only two published manuscripts, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* fragments edited by Jiang (1997) and the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* fragments edited by Karashima and Jiang (2003).

[5] Bendall 1992: xvii–liv.

[6] Locke 1985 gives very useful information about the temples in the Kathmandu Valley.

[7] As two models for such a database I can refer to the indexes in Lienhard 1988: 205–222 and Pingree 2004: 405–472.

[8] The Sanskrit manuscripts were digitized in Ryukoku CD-ROM 2001. See also Mikogami and Wakahara 2001 and Wakahara 2003.

In the book titled *Saiiki kōko zufu* we find facsimiles of some Sanskrit fragments collected by the Ōtani expedition.[9] These fragments are not in Kyoto and it is not clear where they are now. Among them Karashima (2003) identified and published fragments of the *Āryaśrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa* and the *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇī*.

In the Ryūkoku University Library there are eight Sanskrit fragments numbered 621 to 628.[10] Ariyoshi Sanada (1961: 66–71, 76–78, plates 1–3) published fragments nos. 621 to 627. He identified no. 621 as belonging to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. But nos. 622 to 627 were unidentified. Nos. 622 to 624 were identified as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* and published by Karashima (2000 and 2003). Hori (2003 and 2005) has identified nos. 625 to 628 as follows.

No. 625: *Ratnaketuparivarta*

No. 626: *Daśottarasūtra* of the *Dīrghāgama*

No. 627: *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*

No. 628: Gorakṣanātha's *Amaraughaśāsana*

Nos. 621 to 625 are written in Early Turkestan Brāhmī, type b, according to the classification by Sander[11] and all belong to the Mahāyāna. Therefore it is reasonable to suppose that nos. 621 to 625 were collected on the Southern route, while nos. 626 and 627, written in Northern Turkestan Brāhmī, type b,[12] were perhaps unearthed on the Northern route. Since no. 628, the only non-Buddhist Haṭhayoga text in the collection, is written in Śāradā script on birch bark, it is probable that the manuscript was made originally in Northwestern India. A report of the Ōtani expedition titled *Shin saiiki ki* gives a hint as to the find-spot of this fragment. The facsimile of two larger pieces was published in *Shin saiiki ki* II, plate facing p. 648 with a caption "樺皮に書かれたる異體文字の經典斷片（實物原色版）(fragments of a scripture written on birch bark in variant script; photograph in original colors)." The same plate page includes two photos of the Subaši ruins near Kučā. In *Shin saiiki ki* II (pp. 557–722), diaries of Koichirō Yoshikawa 吉川小一郎 (1885–1978), a member of the Third Ōtani Expedition, were published. On pp. 647–658 he described his stay in Kučā and the excavation at Subaši, and on p. 657 reported a finding of something like a scripture volume with Sanskrit text written on fragmentary leaves (木葉片に梵文ある經冊の如きものを獲) at the Subaši ruins on May 15, 1913. It is not certain whether these fragments refer to the two pieces of no. 628 on the plate. Given that no. 628 is really a finding at Subaši, it is probable that the manuscript was written originally in Northwestern India and brought to Subaši. The fact might be important both for the history and spread of Haṭhayoga and for the religious history of Kučā.

2.2 The St. Petersburg collections

Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, belong to the various collections listed in Bongard-Levin and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya (1986: 9–11). These collections were assembled by various diplomats and scholars before and after the turn of the twentieth century. S. F. Oldenburg began to study and publish Buddhist Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia in the 1890s. But he could not identify many fragments. In the time of the Soviet Union the St. Petersburg collections were accessible only to Soviet scholars except for the so-called

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[9] Kagawa 1915. The digitized images of the book are published on the following site: http://dsr.nii.ac.jp/toyobunko/I-1-E-18/.

[10] All of the eight fragments were digitized in vol. XIV of Ryukoku CD-ROM 2001.

[11] See Sander 1986: 167, plates 15, 16, 17. In Sander (1968: 181–182, Tafel 29–40), the same type is called "Frühe turkistanische Brāhmī (Schrifttypus IV), Alphabet s."

[12] See Sander 1986: 162f, plate 9. In Sander (1968: 182–183, Tafel 29–40), the same type is called "Nordturkistanische Brāhmī, Typ b (Schrifttypus VI), Alphabet u."

Kashgar manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*.[13] V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky, M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, G. M. Bongard-Levin and E. N. Tyomkin were engaged in studying Sanskrit fragments. Publications up to the first half of the 1980s are listed in Bongard-Levin and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 1986. In 1985 many new Sanskrit fragments of the *Mahāyāna-Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* were published with facsimiles in BB 33. The second volume BB 34, published in 1990, also contains many new materials, such as the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, the *Bodharājakumārasūtra*, the *Nagaropamasūtra*, the *Samādhirāja*, the *Vajracchedikā*, and the *Buddhanāmasūtra*. Joint researches of Soviet and non-Soviet scholars began only after *perestroika* and some articles were published as joint researches. Many of the joint articles are reprinted in the third volume BB 40, published in 2004.[14] The third volume contains the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*, the *Śīlapāramitā*, the *Suvarṇabhāsottama*, a Vinaya manuscript from Bairam-Ali and so on. Karashima and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya (2007) published fragments of the *Ratnarāśi* (SI P/20/1), the *Kāśyapaparivarta* (SI P/20/2), and the *Anirud(dh)asūtra* (SI P/80). Kudo and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya (2007) published a *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* fragment (SI P/68). Karashima and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya (2008) published two *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* fragments (SI P/67(2)).

In 1995 the Toyo Bunko began the project for microfilming Central Asian manuscripts in various languages in St. Petersburg in collaboration with the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences.[15] The microfilming was completed in 2002. As far as Sanskrit manuscripts are concerned, the microfilms do not contain all of the fragments in St. Petersburg. Some important collections such as the Berezovsky and Oldenburg Collections and the Merv manuscript were not microfilmed. But the microfilms contain many unpublished Sanskrit fragments, especially from the Petrovsky and Krotkov Collections.

For most of the Sanskrit fragments in the St. Petersburg collections there is no clear find-spot, since the diplomats, N. F. Petrovsky, N. N. Krotkov and so on, did not unearth the fragments, but bought them from local dealers. In the light of script type the majority of the Petrovsky Collection[16] appears to have come from the Southern route, but it also contains fragments from Northern Turkestan. All of the fragments in the Malov Collection in the microfilm are written in Early Turkestan Brāhmī, type b, or Southern Turkestan Brāhmī. In contrast, the majority of the Krotkov Collection seems to come from the Northern route.

2.3 The British Library collections

Since 2002 I have been engaged in investigating the British Library Collections. My independent identifications overlap with BLSF 1 and 2. In the following table I have listed only the fragments not properly identified or dealt with in BLSF.

[13] Lokesh Chandra 1976.

[14] In Bongard-Levin *et al.* 1996, an edition of the *Nagaropamasūtra*, the fragments in St. Petersburg are used, but the edition is not reprinted in BB 40.

[15] On this project, see Sato 1997.

[16] For the Petrovsky Collection, see Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 1999.

A List of Identified Sanskrit Fragments from Central Asia

The St. Petersburg Collections

The Petrovsky Collection

SI P/67, 3a: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka.* KN 60.9–11, 60.12–61.1.
SI P/67, 3б: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. KN 61.1–3, 61.4–9.
SI P/67, 3в: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. KN 41.12–15, 41.16–19.
SI P/67, 3г: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. KN 42.8–12, 42.12–15.
SI P/67, 3д: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. KN 22.1–3, 22.4–7.
SI P/67, 4: *Karmāvaraṇaviśuddhisūtra*.[17] T 1494: 24.1098b17–27.
SI P/67,5: *Saṃghāṭasūtra*. Canevascini 1993: §§2.9–4.9.
SI P/67, 8a+8б: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. KN 354.1–4, 354.5–8.
SI P/67, 10б: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. KN 197.11–198.6, 198.8–199.2.
SI P/68: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. KN 49.5–14, 49.14–50.10.
SI P/71б: *Sumukhadhāraṇī*. T 1139: 20.585b22–585c3.
SI P/72г1+г2: Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*.[18] Kimura 2009: 123.19–124.32.
SI P/75: *Sumukhadhāraṇī*.[19] Fol. 5: T 1139: 20.585a29–b13; fol. 6: 585b13–29; fol. 7: 585b29–c17; fol. 11: 586b10–29; fol. 12: 586b29–c20.
SI P/76: *Mahāmeghasūtra*. T 993: 19.509c22–510a13.
SI P/77: *Sumukhadhāraṇī*.[20] Fol. 9: T 1139: 20.585c2–10, 585c11–16; fol. 16: T 1139: 20.587a9–21, 587a21–b4; fol. 18: T 1139: 20. 587b22–c5.
SI P/83a: *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*. Nobel 1937: 151.8–151.23, 152.1–152.15.
SI P/83 б: *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*.[21] T 374: 12.396a7–b13; T 376: 12.875b3–27.
SI P/83д: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*). See below.
SI P/83к: *Ratnaketuparivarta*. Kurumiya 1978: 162.8–165.7.
SI P/83л: Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*. Kimura 1990: 146.18–147.21, 147.24–148.23.
SI P/83м: Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*. Kimura 1990: 25.27–26.31, 29.31–30.22
SI P/83н: Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*. Kimura 2006: 123.1–125.21.
SI P/84д: *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra*. T 642: 15.632b4–25.
SI P/84e: Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*. Kimura 2009: 149.8–26, 151.7–22.
SI P/86: *Ratnaketuparivarta*. Kurumiya 1978: 14.1–16.14.
SI P/87a: Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*. Kimura 1986: 183.19–31; Kimura 1990: 2.22–3.4.
SI P/90 б.2: *Candragarbhasūtra*.[22] T 397: 13.334a4–b10.
SI P/90 б3: *Candragarbhasūtra*. T 397: 13.308a29–c6.
SI P/90 б4: *Candragarbhasūtra*. T 397: 13.354c16–355a21.
SI P/91: *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*. Nobel 1937: 78.3–79.12, 79.14–80.18.
SI P/116д1,2,3,4,5,6: *Samādhirājasūtra*. д1+д2: Vaidya 1961: 6.8–23; д5+д6+д3+д4: Vaidya 1961: 13.17–14.14, 14.16–15.11.
SI P/116з: *Sumukhadhāraṇī*. T 1139: 20.586a16–21, 23–27.
SI P/123 н: *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*. Tomabechi 2009: 3.7–4.10.
SI P/124a+б+в: *Samādhirājasūtra*. Vaidya 1961: 90.7–91.28.

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[17] The fragment was published in Hori 2011.
[18] For this term, see Bongard-Levin and Hori 1996: 27.
[19] Folio 5r was published in Bongard-Levin and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 1986a. Folio 17 was published in Bongard-Levin 1984.
[20] Folio 13 was published in Bongard-Levin 1994. Folio 17 was published in Bongard-Levin 1981.
[21] Independently identified also by Kazunobu Matsuda. Hiromi Habata will publish this fragment.
[22] The three fragments of the *Candragarbhasūtra*, SI P/90 б2, б3 and б4, were published in Hori 2011.

SI P/126 a: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. KN 12.8–15, 13.10–17.

SI P/151 (two fragments): *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. Fol. 225: KN 349.9–350.4; another fragment with the same call number: KN 370.10–370.13, 371.1–371.5.

SI P/152 1): *Varṇārhavarṇastotra*. Hartmann 1987: 7.17–7.22, colophon (pp. 227–231), 8.1–8.8 (pp. 232–236).

SI P/152 2): *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti*.[23] T 201: 4.291a20–b20.

SI P/153: *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*.[24] T 374: 12.365c23–366a21.

The Malov Collection

SI M/16.4: Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*. Kimura 1990: 134.17–23 or 24–28(?), 135.22–30.

The Krotkov Collection

SI 2Kr/9 (3): *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*. T 766: 17.699b24–27.

SI 2Kr/9 (4): *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti*. T 201: 4.289a24–b28.

SI Kr IV/787: *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*. T 766: 17.699b24–c1.

SI Kr IV/788: *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*. T 766: 17.699b24–28.

SI Kr IV/789 (three fragments from one folio): *Hastaka-Āṭavakasūtra* and *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra*. Line r1–v1: AN I 137.10–138.4, SHT V 1343 V3–R2; line v2–5: CPS II 198a3–20.

SI Kr IV/791: *Pravāraṇāsūtra*.[25]

SI Kr IV/792: *Āṭānāṭikasūtra*. Hoffmann 1939: 69b21–73b7.

SI 4aKr/89: *Nagaropamasūtra*. Bongard-Levin *et al.* 1996: 78.28–79.14.

SI Kr XL/1(1) + SI Kr. XL/1: *Jñānaprasthāna*. T 1543: 26.813b21–c11; T 1544: 26.951 c24–952a9.

The British Library collections

Box 34, Plate 2m: *Vīryapāramitā*. T 220: 7.1050a26–1052a17.

143. S.B. 57 (Or.15010/30?): *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. KN 307.12–309.1, 309.2–310.1.

143a. S.B. 50 (Or.15010/29?) + Or.15010/48: *Lalitavistara*.[26] Hokazono 1994: 400.13–404.23; T 186: 3.492a3–16; T 187: 3.550a12–b5; P 763: Ku 41b1–43a1 (27. 170.5.1–171.3.1).

Or.15010/24 + Or.15010/42 + Or.15010/21: *Sarvapuṇyasamuccayasamādhi*.[27] T 381: 12.984c6–985a27; T 382: 12.1000c3–1001a11; P 802: mDo, Du 113b7–115a8 (vol. 32).

Or.15010/119 + Or.15010/174 + Or.15010/191: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (Chapter 2), folio no. 26.[28] T 278: 9.408a21(=rx)–b2(=rz), 408b6–7(=v1); T 279: 10.30b2–31a18, 31a23–32a8; P 761: vol. 32, Phal chen, Yi 85b5–87b1, Yi 87b2–89a4.

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[23] I gave a paper on the identification of the fragments SI P/152 2) and SI 2Kr/9 (4) (see below) at the 29th German Conference of Oriental Studies, Halle, 23 September 2004. These fragments were published in Hori 2011.

[24] Identified by Kazunobu Matsuda. Hiromi Habata will publish this fragment.

[25] Identified on the basis of Jens-Uwe Hartmann's unpublished edition of this sūtra.

[26] I presented the identification of the fragments at the 13th World Sanskrit Conference, Edinburgh, 10 July 2006.

[27] I presented the identification of the fragments at the 30th German Conference of Oriental Studies, Freiburg im Breisgau, 26 September 2007.

[28] I presented the identification of the fragments of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* at the 3rd Great Buddha Symposium at the Tōdaiji, Nara, 18 December 2004, at the 30th German Conference of Oriental Studies, Freiburg im Breisgau, 26 September 2007, and also at the Second International Huayan Symposium, Boutigny-sur-Essonne, France, 8 August 2008. Thirteen fragments from six folios of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* were published in Hori 2012.

142. S.B. 49 (Or.15010/28?) + Or.15010/197: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (Chapters 2–3), folio no. 27. T 278: 9.408b11–12(=r14–15), 408b14–c8; T 279: 10.32a14–33a2, 33a4–33b11; P 761: vol. 32, Phal chen, Yi 89a6–90b5, Yi 90b6–92b5.

Or.15010/74 + Or.15010/194: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (Chapters 3–4), folio no. 28. T 278: 9.409a14(=r4)–b5(=rz), 409b10(=v2)–15(=v3), 408c23(=vr)–409a8(=vz); T 279: 10. 33b12–c29, 34a3–b22; P 761: vol. 32, Phal chen, Yi 92b7–94b3, Yi 94b3–96a4.

IOL San 539 + Or.15010/109: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Lokottaraparivarta*). T 292: 10.658a 18–b15; T 278: 9.674b8–c6; T 279: 10.318a20–b18; P 761: vol. 32, Phal chen, Si 39b8–40b3.

IOL San 543: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*: Nidānaparivarta). SuI 4.15–21, 4.24–5.5.

IOL San 542 + 545: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*: Nidānaparivarta). SuI 19.3–10, 19.11–19.

IOL San 541B: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*: Nidānaparivarta, Samantabhadra). SuI 32.14–24, 33.1–8.

Or.15010/92: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*: Mañjuśrī). SuI 52.18–53.1, 56.15–25.

IOL San 84: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*: Bhīṣmottaranirghoṣa, Jayoṣmāyatana). SuI 113.15–19, 115.13–16.

IOL San 670: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*: Jayoṣmāyatana). SuI 116.14–17.

SI P/83 д + IOL San 669 + Or.15010/93 + IOL San 113 + IOL San 1154: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*: Sudarśana, Indriyeśvara). SuI 128.16–26, 131.21–132.3, 129.5–11, 131.6–14.

Or.15010/178: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*: Mahāprabha). SuI 161.3–7, 161.9–15.

IOL San 740: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*: Siṃhavijṛmbhitā). SuI 195.22–198.23.

IOL San 1120 + IOL San 94 + 100: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*: Māyā). SuI 436.22–437.5, 437.7–437.17, 436.11, 437.19–437.22, 436.15, 437.25–437.26.

Or.8212/1698f + IOL San 1108: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*: Maitreya). SuI 471.19–472.2, 475.14–475.25, 471.22–472.4, 475.15–475.25.

Kha.i.32 in Plate SS 44 + Or.15010/98 + IOL San 1114: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*: Maitreya). SuI 500.25–501.6, 502.8–502.14, 501.2–501.19, 501.22–502.11, 501.4–501.18, 501.21–502.6.

Or.15010/155: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*: Maitreya), folio no. 382. SuI 504.21–505.4, 506.9–506.18.

Two fragments with the siglum Kha.i.32 in Plate SS 44: *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*: Maitreya). SuI 508.25–509.9, 510.15–510.22.

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Indic and Khotanese Manuscripts: Some New Finds and Findings from Xinjiang[1]

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As is well known, Tibet and Xinjiang are the two regions in the People's Republic of China in which we most expect to find ancient Indic Buddhist manuscripts. In this paper I will report on the state of research at Peking University on manuscripts recently discovered in the area of ancient Khotan, while in his contribution to this volume my colleague Dr Saerji will discuss the manuscripts originating from the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR).

My paper will touch briefly on three topics: first, features of the findings from Xinjiang, or more precisely from Khotan; second, the Sanskrit fragments which have been delivered to us among other scriptures; and third, evidence of the palaeographic influence of Indic manuscripts on Khotanese documents and, conversely, the possibility of using the dated Khotanese documents as a basis for determining the date of some Sanskrit fragments.

1. Some features of the findings from Xinjiang

It can be almost regarded as a rule that manuscripts discovered in the region of Xinjiang will usually surprise us with the variety of their languages and scripts. Once again this rule is attested through the new findings, which consist of texts written on paper and wood in a variety of scripts and languages.

Another noteworthy feature is that the most interesting materials are spread among private collectors, in contrast to the situation in the TAR where Sanskrit manuscripts are mainly located in museums or in monasteries. This feature means firstly that we do not have detailed information about the excavation or the provenance of the materials, and secondly that we do not know when new findings will surface or what type of material is likely to appear. A third point concerning ancient manuscripts in private collections worth raising here is their value and what a fair price would be for buying these manuscripts and fragments.

However, up to now ancient manuscripts have been shown to us in a steady and more or less continuous flow even though every time the amount of manuscript material is not that much. Although the provenance of the manuscripts cannot be determined with any precision, they still possess some inherent connection insofar as they have been found together. On this occasion it may be worth pointing out in passing that in several new Khotanese documents the name of the spot where the royal palace of Khotan was located is mentioned. It is Birgaṃdara, a name familiar from published Khotanese documents from the collections held in the British Library. In one document now preserved in the museum of Xinjiang in Urumqi, Birgaṃdara is referred to as the town of kings.[2] Although the site of Birgaṃdara, the centre of the ancient Khotanese kingdom, has yet to be confirmed through archaeological researches, it is generally known to belong to the ancient Six Towns[3] which

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[1] This article was written as part of the project "Research on newly discovered manuscripts in Sanskrit and Khotanese" of the Research Center of Eastern Literature at Peking University, Project number: 2009JJD770004. I am grateful to Dr. Mark Allon of the University of Sydney, Australia, for not only taking the trouble to correct the English of this paper, but also providing suggestions for improving its content. To the editors of this volume, Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann, I am also indebted for suggestions as to style and content.

[2] The document will be discussed by DUAN Qing in "薩波 Vaisa 之牒 [An Order of Spāta Vaisa]," forthcoming in *A New Collection of Xinjiang Museum*《新疆博物館新獲文獻》, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

[3] On the Six Towns of ancient Khotan, one may refer to ZHANG Guangda and RONG Xinjiang's paper

used to be situated in the wide area designated by local people as “Old Domoko,” which is now included in the territory of modern Cele, an administrative county between the Kunlun mountains and the Taklamakan Desert. According to information provided by the collectors, most of the materials had been just picked up in the abovementioned area, which seems to have been the centre of population of ancient Khotan.

A rough statistical survey carried out by the National Library in Beijing indicates that up until 2009 over five hundred documents and manuscript fragments have come into the Collection of Literatures from the Western Regions. Khotanese manuscripts of Buddhist texts or secular documents constitute the bulk of the new collection. When ordering all the texts according to languages and number of fragments, we get the following sequence:

- Khotanese
- Chinese
- Sanskrit/Brāhmī
- Tibetan (secular documents only)
- Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī (mainly written on wooden tablets)
- Tocharian
- Tumshuquese
- Judaeo-Persian (a paper letter from the end of the 9th century)

Among all these interesting ancient documents, two are of special interest. The first is a record of items purchased and the amount paid. The record itself is written in Khotanese, but sealed with a Sogdian signature. Through this document the role of Khotan as an integral link for the Sogdian caravans on their long and difficult road to China is vividly illustrated.

The second is a beautiful letter written in Judaeo-Persian. We are informed through this letter that a battle occurred between a Tibetan and some other party. A former student of Peking University named ZHANG Zhan, now a PhD candidate at Harvard University under P. O. Skjærvø, has studied this letter and drawn the conclusion that the other side involved in the war consisted of Uyghurs. In his article ZHANG Zhan dated this Judaeo-Persian letter to the year 802. The word for Tibetan is written as *twpyty'n*/*tūpētyān*.[4]

2. Sanskrit fragments

Among the new findings that have come to light since 2003, texts written in Buddhist Sanskrit are quite few, and they are merely fragments at that. Altogether about 50 fragments in different formats and scripts have been found. Among them, several texts have been identified. Below is a list of identified Sanskrit manuscripts in the new collection in Beijing[5]:

Avadānaśataka (only one fragment)
Bhadrakalpikasūtra (*Bdk*) (only one fragment)
Prajñāpāramitā texts
  Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā
  Larger Prajñāpāramitā
  Suvikrāntavikrāmiparipṛcchā

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in Chinese, “唐大曆三年三月典成銑牒跋 [Postscript to the ‘Tablet of the Archivist Chengxian dated to the third month of the third year in the Dali reign period of the Tang’],” in *Collected Inquiries on the History of Khotan* (new editon), Beijing: Renmin University of China Press, 2008, 108–9.

[4] Cf. ZHANG Zhan and SHI Guan, “一件新發現猶太波斯語信劄的斷代與釋讀 [Philological studies on a newly discovered Judaeo-Persian Letter],” in: 敦煌吐魯番研究 *Journal of the Dunhuang and Turfan Studies* 11 (2008), Shanghai: 71–99. The discussion of the date is on p. 81, the word for Tibetan on p. 96.

[5] In the meantime, several fragments have changed ownership. They have been moved from the National Library to the Xinjiang Museum in Urumqi.

Ratnaketuparivarta (*Rkp*) (from 2 different manuscripts)
Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (from different manuscripts)
Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra (from 2 different manuscripts)
Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra.

First of all, the single fragment of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* is noteworthy. To judge from the content, the paper format of the original manuscript must have been quite large, as it matches almost exactly 2 folios (4 pages) of the Tibetan text as printed in the Derge version.[6] For several reasons the fragment deserves to be discussed in detail. I will come back to it later.

As far as the fragments of the *Rkp* are concerned, they apparently came from two manuscripts. Almost every chapter of this text is represented by fragments. Judging from what has survived, and after a preliminary checking of the text, the versions seem to be quite close to the Chinese version named *Baoxing tuoluoni jing* 寶星陀羅尼經, which was translated in the year 629.[7] My colleague Dr. Saerji has worked on these fragments. He already published several fragments together with his Romanized transliteration and the parallel Tibetan and Chinese versions.[8]

Among other unidentified manuscripts is a collection of fragments which was delivered to us as a group. They must have been found together. After a preliminary transcription of the larger of these fragments, it was apparent that the text is composed in verse, and the content, although not identified yet, is to some extent clear: it seems to be a commentary and can be classified as belonging to Abhidharma literature. The appearance of this kind of fragment is of some interest: since the script of this fragment bears palaeographic characteristics quite typical for manuscripts found on the southern route of the Silk Road around ancient Khotan, where no fragments of Abhidharma literature have so far been found, to me it seems to imply that there was a possible existence of Śrāvakayāna Buddhism in this area. This reminds us of some events recorded in Tibetan sources which, though appearing legendary, might have referred to historical facts. As recorded in the *Prophecy of the Li Country*, the Sarvāstivāda school should have existed in ancient Khotan.[9]

For a general review, the few manuscript fragments in Sanskrit which originate from Xinjiang bear resemblance in content and form to other hitherto known collections of Buddhist manuscripts from the southern route, as for instance the Hoernle collection preserved in the British Library. In ancient times Khotan was famous as a rich centre for Buddhist manuscripts. According to Chinese records, a monk called Devendraprajña brought more than one hundred volumes from Khotan when he was summoned to Luoyang by the Empress Wu Zetian in the year 688.[10] The fact that the collection of Sanskrit

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[6] Cf. DUAN Qing, "A fragment of the *Bhadrakalpa-sūtra* in Buddhist Sanskrit from Xinjiang," *Sanskrit Manuscripts in China,* Proceedings of a Panel at the 2008 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies, October 13 to 17, Beijing 2009: 18–41.

[7] According to the 大周刊定眾經目錄 [*The Edited Catalogue of the Great Zhou*], the *Rkp* was translated in the 3rd year of *Zhenguan* (貞觀) of the Tang Dynasty, which is equivalent to 629 CE. T 2153, 55: 379a20.

[8] At least 14 fragments of the *Rkp* have been identified. See Saerji, "A New Fragment of the *Ratnaketuparivarta*," *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 11, 2008: 95–103, and "More Fragments of the *Ratnaketuparivarta* (1)[2 fragments]," ibid., volume 13, 2010: 111–120.

[9] R. E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts concerning Khotan*, Oxford 1967: 45.

[10] "There was a Tripiṭaka Master from Khotan named Tiyunbore — 'Divine Wisdom' in translation — who, having thoroughly studied the Tripiṭaka, was regarded as an extraordinary talent and enjoyed the highest reputation in his country. Then he made a journey to the capital in order to investigate cultural customs, brought with him over a hundred Sanskrit manuscripts and arrived in the Divine Capital in the Chuigong period [the Chuigong period corresponds to CE 685–689]." 有于闐國三藏法師提雲般若, 此云天慧。其人慧悟超倫, 備窮三藏, 在於本國, 獨步一人。後為觀化上京，遂齎梵本百有餘部, 於垂拱年內，屆至神都. The Chinese text is quoted from Fazang 法藏, *Dasheng fajie wuchabie lun shu* 大乘法

fragments recently established at the National Library in Beijing and as well as other collections of findings from Khotan represent a variety of script types and formats indicates that over a large span of time Buddhist manuscripts were maintained by the ancient Khotanese. All the fragments in the Beijing collection must have been written down in different historical periods. In the next section I will discuss some details which may be useful for determining the likely date of their production.

3. Khotanese documents and their possible role for dating Indic Buddhist manuscripts

This volume is more concerned with Indic Buddhist manuscripts. However, the new collection of Khotanese manuscripts at the National Library in Beijing, though not wholly Indic, deserves to be paid attention to. When speaking about objects from Khotan, let us firstly recapitulate the general impression about Khotan itself. The ancient kingdom of Khotan has been designated a trading hub and an active stronghold of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Its doctrinal and practical orientation within the Buddhist world had to some degree determined its attitude to choosing and adopting Indic Buddhist manuscripts from outside. In other words, Khotan was not only a promoter but also a filter of Indian Buddhism as it was finding its way to China. Every fragment of Khotanese is important for documenting the history of Central Asia.[11] From this aspect, the new manuscript discoveries from Khotan in Beijing are of great value for the study of cross-cultural influence as well as several other subjects, such as ethnic and cultural trends and features of Buddhist practice in Khotan and Central Asia.

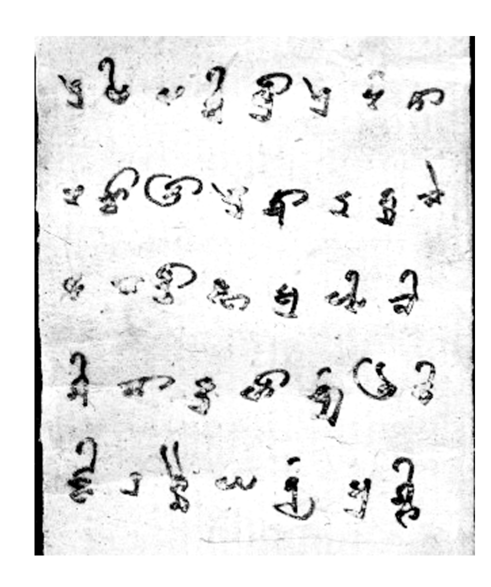
There is another reason why the new collection of Khotanese materials deserves to be mentioned on this occasion. Sometimes, by reading Buddhist Sanskrit fragments and Khotanese documents, I myself had a rough idea that some Khotanese documents may shed light on the dating of Indic manuscripts. It is beyond any doubt that the ancient Khotanese established their own writing system, though it is structured on the basis of Brāhmī characters.[12] The ancient Khotanese scribes seemed to be conscientious about developing their own style of writing certain characters, as for instance in the case of the initial vowels *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o*. This fact can easily be seen with reference to a newly discovered Khotanese amulet which contains a *dhāraṇī* spell spoken by Avalokiteśvara in front of Śākyamuni Buddha for protecting pregnant women against 15 evil *rākṣasī*s.[13] The spell itself is written in Sanskrit and the rest of the text is composed in Khotanese. In the accompanying plate we see first a passage in Khotanese, in which we find the initial *ī* is written as 𑀈 *ī*.

界無差別論疏 [*A Commentary on the *Vaipulyadharmadhātvabhedaśāstra*], T 1838, 44: 63c22–25.

[11] R. E. Emmerick, "The Historical Importance of the Khotanese Manuscripts," *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, ed. J. Harmatta, Budapest 1979: 175.

[12] As early as 1916 Hoernle pointed out that Khotanese possesses its own peculiar style of writing, and the Khotanese script is in several ways distinguished from Sanskrit graphic signs. Cf. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan,* second edition, Delhi 1988: xiv–xvii.

[13] This document is published in DUAN Qing, "于闐語對治十五鬼護身符 [A Khotanese amulet against the Fifteen Demons]," 敦煌吐魯番研究 *Journal of the Dunhuang and Turfan Studies* 11 (2008), Shanghai: 101–120.



9. cu rri satvi ī cu maṃ nā-

10. ma hvāñī cu tvā rakṣa be-

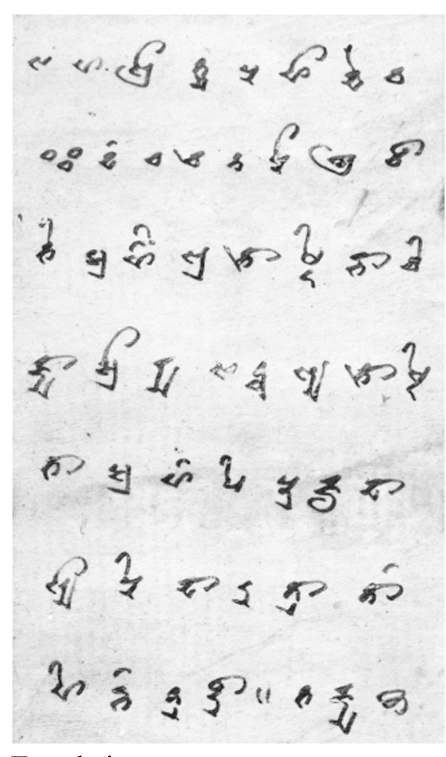
11. da barī aysi bi-

12. śi bāḍa hīvyaṃñe di-

13. jsi rakṣai yanūṃ aśti

Translation:
Whoever the being might be, when he would speak my name, and when he would bring this spell with (him), I will at all times hold him under my aegis and afford him protection.

In contrast, we found in a spell in corrupt Sanskrit an initial *i* written as . Here is a passage of the spell in Sanskrit from the same amulet against the 15 *rākṣaṣī*s:



38. sahasrākṣa mahādeva

39. idaṃ vacanam ābrravī-

40. ti ahau subhāṣi'tā vi-

41. dyā āryasatvasya bhāṣi'-

42. tā ahaṃ pi mudrra dā-

43. syāmi dārakānāṃ

44. hittaṃkarī || tadyathā

Translation:

"The Mahādeva having a thousand eyes spoke this speech: this well-spoken spell (*vidyā*) has been spoken by the Saintly Being (*āryasatva*). I also will give a sign (*mudrā*) for doing benefit to boys. It goes like this (*tadyathā*)..."

With the above example I tried to emphasize the sense one gets from Khotanese manuscripts that the ancient Khotanese did care about their own writing system and consciously distinguished their writing from that of Sanskrit texts. However, in other respects they were also liable to be influenced by scripts used in Sanskrit manuscripts which obviously came from other regions closer to India. By comparing the Sanskrit fragments on the one hand with some Khotanese documents on the other, we can observe that certain *akṣaras*

underwent similar changes. Such an observation might be of some interest for this volume: since Khotanese documents are dateable, some of them even accurately dateable, they may afford a ready point of reference for dating Indic Buddhist manuscripts.

Next, before starting to attempt to compare certain characters, we have to rule out several objective factors which may render such a comparison unfeasible, as for instance: Khotanese Buddhist manuscripts cannot be taken into consideration because Khotanese monasteries had their own tradition for training young monks for writing Buddhist texts, as demonstrated by alphabet sheets in the St. Petersburg collections,[14] the monastic writing tradition therefore differing from that of the secular world. Through Khotanese documents we learn that each settlement of people used to keep their own scribe, who was called a *ka'ra*,[15] whose function was to make records of the statements of all parties involved in cases. Usually the documents written by village scribes are presented in a cursive type and are in fact different from the formal "sūtra" script.[16]

The other crucial factor which may yield a variation of written forms is contingent on different locations. As Lore Sander showed several years ago, despite a regional conformity the smaller locations used to have their own habits of writing certain *akṣaras*. Therefore, when speaking about palaeography, issues of sites and locations of the finds cannot be generalized or ignored. Bearing these two preconditions in mind, I have chosen several documents from the new Khotanese collection in China for investigation.

Example 1:

This is a document written on double wooden tablets which was published at the beginning of the 1990s. Such wooden tablets have a specific name in Khotanese — *pāḍā-*. A *pāḍā-* can be defined in two ways: by contents and by form. As far as contents are concerned, a *pāḍā-* is always a record of an important event involving ownership or sale of persons, whereas its form consists of two wooden tablets fastened together with a hemp string. Texts are written on the inside of the cover and the bottom. Such wooden tablets used for recording important events seem to have a long tradition in ancient Khotan. Also for Buddhist Studies such documents are of interest because in some instances Buddhist monks are involved in the events. They played the role of vendor, or of witnesses, or of agents of justice responsible for delivering a verdict on the deal. Example 1 is a contract for the sale of a young woman and her son.[17] This event happened in the 4th year of the reign of a Khotanese king whose name cannot be read with certainty. However, the document has to do with a famous Khotanese monastery. On the cover of the wooden tablets we read

> *samagṛ gumattīrai bilsaṃgna krriyādarä āśirya pyaṣṭāndä saṃgamuḍräṇa*
>
> "The *ācārya*s on duty of the entire assembly of monks of Gumattīrai signed with the seal of the assembly of monks."

From the Tibetan literary source about Khotan, the *Prophecy of the Li Country*, we learn about a famous monastery named Gumattīra, Hgum-tir in Tibetan, which was the second oldest Buddhist monastery in Khotan.[18] The monastery Gumattīra must have been the most famous Buddhist monastery of ancient Khotan and must have flourished for centuries, for

[14] *Saka Documents VII*: *The St. Petersburg Collections*, edited by R.E. Emmerick and Margarita I. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, London: School of Oriental and African Studies 1993, Plate 129.

[15] Cf. the discussion about the word by R. E. Emmerick and P. O. Skjærvø, *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese III*, Wien 1997: 39–40.

[16] P. O. Skjærvø, *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library: A Complete Catalogue with Texts and Translations*, London 2002: lxxi.

[17] DUAN Qing and WANG Binghua, "新疆出土于闐文木牘文書研究 [A newly discovered Khotanese wooden document from Xinjiang]," 敦煌吐魯番研究 *Journal of the Dunhuang and Turfan Studies* 2 (1997): 1–12.

[18] R. E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan*, London: Oxford University Press 1967: 31.

as early as the end of the 4th century the Chinese pilgrim Faxian, when passing through Khotan on his way to India, stayed in the monastery and left a description of it. According to Faxian, the monastery was large enough to hold 3,000 monks, who went together to the dining hall when hearing the *gaṇḍī* strike and then took their places in strict order. On the other hand, several centuries later, we find the name Gūmattīra mentioned many times in Khotanese manuscripts from the hidden cave of Dunhuang.[19] It is further recorded in this Tibetan source that a Khotanese king named Virya became a patron of Buddhism and ordered the establishment of the Gumattīra monastery. Apart from the Tibetan legend we know nothing certain about the king. The location of the famous monastery is also uncertain. Since it was built under the patronage of the Khotanese royal family, we may infer that the monastery must have been located in the proximity of Birgaṃdara, where the royal palace was situated.

Before we continue to look further at this document of Gumattīra monastery, let us return to the fragmentary leaf of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* in Buddhist Sanskrit. This fragment is thought to bear some features of an earlier time, for instance, the ligature *ryya* and *e* can be traced back to the Kuṣāna period.[20] Moreover, there are two pieces of evidence that indicate that the exemplar upon which the Sanskrit manuscript had been based was probably written in Kharoṣṭhī. In line 5 of the recto side it reads:



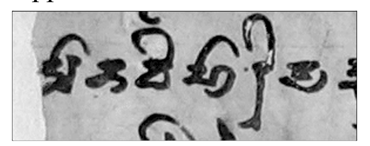
[***ya***] ***ākīr***[***ṇṇa***]***-vihārida apārih***(ā) "(Those) who suffer no loss (when) dwelling in crowds..."

Tibetan equivalent: *ma 'dres par gnas pas (yongs su nyams pa med pa gang yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o)* "By staying without being mixed up, every unimpaired [person] (is regarded as [practicing] patience)."

Chinese version: 遊於擾憒眾鬧之中而不迷誤 (*you yu youkui zhong nao zhi zhong er bu miwu*).

Translation according to the Chinese version: "(Those who) roam about among harassing and muddleheaded crowds, but are not lost (are regarded as (practising) patience.)"

The strange form *vihārida* also appears in the 3rd line of the verso side:



(apra)///***māna-vihārida*** "remaining in the boundless (practices)"

In Tibetan: *tshad med pas gnas pa* (abiding with the boundless)

The question is: what grammatical form does *vihārida* represent? My previous speculation was to take it as a mistake of the scribe who had misread °*da* instead of °*na* of the Kharoṣṭhī script in which the original exemplar would most probably have been written. Therefore, according to my previous suggestion, the correct form must be *vihārinaḥ*, a corrupt form of *vihāriṇaḥ*, the plural of *vihārin-*. However, since we have in this fragment several occurrences of *na-kāra* as well as *ṇa-kāra*, it is unlikely that the scribe made a mistake because he could not distinguish between °*da* and °*na* in the Kharoṣṭhī script. We

[19] As for instance: H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts I–III* (second edition), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1980, II: 121.

[20] For *ryya* cf. Lore Sander, *Paläographisches zu den Sanskrithandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung* (VOHD, Supplement-Bd. 8), Wiesbaden 1968, Tafel 6, line 3 from bottom; for *e* cf. Lore Sander, "A brief paleographical analysis of the Brāhmī manuscripts in volume I" in: Jens Braarvig *et al.*, eds., *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Vol. I (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection I), Hermes Publishing: Oslo, 2000: 286.

have to look for a better solution somewhere else. *Vihārida* could be also a Prakrit form for *viharantaḥ*, nominative plural masculine of the present participle of *viharati* "he dwells," or for *viharatā*, instrumental singular masculine of the present participle of the same word since we have in one place in the Tibetan rendition *gnas pas*, indicating an instrumental in the original Sanskrit version. Anyway, *viharada*, being a Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī form of *viharant* (pres. part.), is attested in Buddhist texts.[21] It seems then to be a more plausible speculation that the *vihārida* under discussion should be a slightly changed form taken from Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī. Bearing in mind that a *Bdk* version in Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī in fact exists,[22] the above speculation seems to be not unfounded. This and the other above-mentioned features lead one further to assume that the *Bdk* fragment can be accounted as the oldest one among all the Sanskrit manuscripts from the region of ancient Khotan.

The *akṣara la* of *Bdk* has attracted my attention because it bears a resemblance to the same *akṣara* as written on the wooden tablets referring to Gumattīra. Compare, for instance, Bdk: la (recto line 3) with Gumattīra (WBH01): la (in the 2nd line of the inside of the under-tablet). However, since the king's name on the wooden tablets is almost illegible, no further conclusion can be drawn than that there existed some resemblance of certain *akṣaras*.

Example 2:

The second example I have chosen for comparison is also a *pāḍā-* recording another slave deal. This one pertains to the new Khotanese collection in Beijing. What makes the document so special is that the vendor was an Ācārya who paid a very high price for the man to be sold. The slave now in his control had to serve not only monks but also craftsmen and their disciples.[23] The whole case took place in Gaysāta, which is famous today as Dandan Oiliq.

This document bears a date: it is written on the 5th day of the first month in the 4th regnal year of the Khotanese king Viśya Väkraṃ. We know this king also from other sources, according to which he ruled from 692.[24] That is to say the document bearing the date of his 4th regnal year may have been written in year 695. This document is interesting for several reasons, firstly for how *la* is written. We compare below two instances of *la.* The first one is taken from the Khotanese document under discussion, the second from one fragment of the *Rkp* that was brought to the collection in the National Library in Beijing at the same time as the Khotanese wooden tablets of the year 695.

la lā (from Khotanese document) la (from *Ratnaketuparivarta*)

Here we see a clear change: what we have seen in *Bdk* as a straight vertical is now written as a curved one, and the change is to be observed in the Khotanese document as well.

Example 3:

However, Khotanese local scribes did not continue without change after being influenced by Sanskrit/Brāhmī for the written style of certain *akṣara*s. On the Khotanese side, a definite change of the form of *la-kāra* seems to have happened around the beginning of the 8th century. The document I will discuss next is also a *pāḍā-* document and belongs to the

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[21] Cf. Mark Allon, *Three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-Type Sūtras*, British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 12 and 14, with a contribution by Andrew Glass, Seattle and London, 2001. For an overview see the word index on p. 334. Andrew Glass, *Four Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama Sūtras*, Senior Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 5, Seattle and London, 2007. For an overview see the word index on p. 248.

[22] I thank Andrew Glass for first alerting me to this. See now in this volume pp. 7, 69, 165.

[23] This document is published as DUAN Qing, "于闐語高僧買奴契約 [A newly found Khotanese Contract written on Wood]," 敦煌吐魯番研究 *Journal of the Dunhuang and Turfan Studies* 11 (2008), Shanghai: 11–27.

[24] P. O. Skjærvø, "Kings of Khotan in the Eighth Century," *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique*, Paris: CNRS 1991: 260.

collection of the National Library in Beijing. The story recorded in it happened in *Birgaṃdara auva*, "the town of Birgaṃdara," which, as mentioned above, is designated in another document as the town of kings. The document actually bears two dates: one is written inside the cover tablet and gives the date as the 9th year of the Khotanese king Viśya Sīhyä. However, another date is found on the bottom side of the under-tablet, referring to year one followed by an explanation:



1. salī 1 ṣi' kṣuṇä ttiña beḍa khu ṣi diṣṇacaṃdrä kṣīra-dāra āstä

"Year 1. This is the reign, at the time when Diṣṇacaṃdrä is sitting as the supervisor of the country."[25]

King Viśya Sīhyä is also a well-known name from other sources. As rightly suggested by Skjærvø, this king could be identified with Yuchi Tiao 尉遲眺 who, according to Chinese records in *Tangshu*, was decapitated in the 13th year of Kaiyuan (725) by the soldiers of Duxian 杜暹, Protector of Anxi.[26] Now with the new document we can win back a part of the lost history of the kingdom of Khotan, viz., that king Viśya Sīhyä had in fact ruled for only 9 years, and that he came to the throne around 716. Although this may be interesting for the history of ancient Khotan, it is the form of *la* written in this document that is worthy of note in this context. By *lā* we see that the stroke above has been lengthened and is more elegant. This form can be observed in many Khotanese documents apparently dated later than this one.

Example 4:

For strengthening this impression I have looked at a document on paper which is not yet published. This paper document was also written at the place named Gaysāta, well-known as the present Dandan Oiliq. People mentioned in this document are familiar to us. The man bearing the name Xilue 悉略, in Khotanese Sīḍaka, is also attested in other Khotanese documents, and lived at the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century. Therefore this one is dated to a later date than the previous three Khotanese documents under investigation. At several points the form of *la* can be observed, as for instance by a personal name, Altāṃ. The vertical part of *la* has on top a rather long flourish to the right and then a curve downwards — this is an even more elegantly developed shape than the one we have seen on the previous *pāḍā-* documents.



Example 4 is of interest in the context of the present discussion because it can help clarify some discrepancies between the three *pāḍā-* documents just mentioned above. As said before, in order to see a palaeographic development one has to choose material that may come from the same location. However, as stated, the three *pāḍā-* documents come from different locations. With Example 4 we may overcome the problem since the document on paper was written in the same place, Gaysāta, as the document in Example 2. Thus this document provides support for the speculation that there was a palaeographic develop-

[25] This document is transcribed, translated and commented on by me in a paper entitled "《舅卖甥女》案牍所映射的于阗历史 [= The Wooden Tablet Concerning Selling his Own Niece — A Historical Reflection of Ancient Khotan]," which is going to be published in《古丝绸之路—东南亚地区的跨文化交流和文化遗产学术研讨会论文集》[= Collection of Papers presented at the Symposium "Ancient Silk Trade Routes — Cross-cultural Exchange and Legacy in Southeast Asia"], 27–28 October 2011, Singapore, forthcoming in Singapore.

[26] P. O. Skjærvø, "The End of Eighth-Century Khotan in Its Texts," *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*, vol. 3 (2009): 131.

ment of the written shape of *la* which can be observed and followed in documents of different periods. A hundred years earlier the *la* was written only with a small curve on the right vertical as we have seen in the *pāḍā-* document mentioned above in Example 2 and the parallel in the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Rkp*. Fifty years later, around the year 746, the curve turned into a lengthened and elegant stroke, as can be viewed in the *pāḍā-* document of Example 3.

At this stage, let us return to the Khotanese amulet mentioned at the beginning of this section. It is quite certain that the completely intact amulet, which has a format approximately 2m long by 7cm wide, represents a certain local cult. In fact it was designed for a single woman named Säväkä so that she might beget sons and so her sons would not be hurt by the 15 *rākṣasī*s. As previously related, the text was assumed to be spoken by Avalokiteśvara. However, despite having a *dhāraṇī* in Sanskrit, the text cannot be claimed to be a rendition from Sanskrit. We found *le* in the *dhāraṇī* in lines 46–48. It is obvious that the written shape of *la* bears already the elegant feature which may have come about at the beginning of the 8th century, as I tried to demonstrate before. Since the amulet was without doubt produced in a Buddhist monastery, it may be inferred that this palaeographic development occurred also in the sphere of Buddhist monasteries in Khotan. On the other hand, in contrast to the cursive tradition of the indigenous Khotanese script briefly touched on above, there was a tradition in Khotanese monasteries of writing Buddhist *sūtras*. As an example of this tradition I present below a line from one folio of the Khotanese *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* which also belongs to the new collection of the National Library of China:[27]

Folio 186, verso, 4th line



rmapālä mṛkala vāchä sucilomä·u sūryamiträ ratanakīyä mahāpraṇālä·nakulä u caṃnda-

"(Dha)rmapāla, Markaṭa, Vāli, Sūciroma and Sūryamitra, Ratnakeśa, Mahāpraṇālin, Nakula and Canda(na)."[28]

Here all the *la*s are written in the formal ductus which is also referred to as "sūtra" script. Actually the tradition of the "sūtra" script itself refers to a range of distinctive types over an extensive period of time.[29] There is certainly a lot of work to be done in order to achieve a clear and solid theory of Khotanese palaeographic development.

For the moment, however, having observed the written shape of *la* in different time periods, and by way of conclusion to this short paper, I would make the following assumptions: (1) the elegant later shape of *la* is a result of an indigenous palaeographic development in Khotan; (2) the development started under the influence of a script used for Buddhist Sanskrit texts; (3) from the 8th century onwards it appears that Sanskrit manuscripts rarely come from the outside to Khotan, resulting in the lack of further influence; and (4) the *Ratnaketuparivarta* might belong to the latest Buddhist manuscripts of which the script influenced Khotanese palaeography.

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[27] The folio is published by me in "Two New Folios of Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*," *Annual Report of the International Research Institute of Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, Tokyo 2007: 325–336.

[28] Cf. R. E. Emmerick, *The Sūtra of Golden Light*, Pali Text Society, Oxford, 1992: 68.

[29] P. O. Skjærvø, *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library: A Complete Catalogue with Texts and Translations*, London 2002: lxxi.

Earlier Inventories of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet
A Synoptic List of Titles[1]

PAUL HARRISON (STANFORD)

The Indian traveller, scholar and writer Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1893–1963) was the first to make a systematic search for Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet, and in the mid-1930s, in a series of papers in the *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (= JBORS), he published the results of his investigations in a more or less consecutive listing of titles, along with very useful notes on the state of the manuscripts, readings of colophons and so on. These papers remain an indispensable historical resource, for various reasons, not the least of them being that some of the manuscripts which Sāṅkṛtyāyana saw have subsequently been moved from place to place. Much of the same material was also seen and photographed by Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984) on his trips to Tibet in the 1930s and 1940s; his reports are similarly valuable for establishing provenance. Work has only recently begun on a systematic catalogue of Tucci's collection of manuscripts and photographs. A preliminary inventory of these made by Francesco Sferra came out in 2000[2] and this was republished in 2008 in a revised and enlarged edition with the title "Sanskrit Manuscripts and Photographs of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Giuseppe Tucci's Collection."

Some decades after the visits of Sāṅkṛtyāyana and Tucci, the task of cataloguing Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet was taken up by the Chinese scholar WANG Sen 王森 (1912–1991). WANG Sen's work, also described in the contribution by Saerji to this volume (see pp. 294–295), was not the result of work in the field, but the inventory of a set of 259 manuscripts gathered up and transported to Beijing in 1960/1961. It may have been compiled in the 1960s, although it bears the date 1985. The consignment sent to Beijing contained some of the same material seen and/or photographed by Sāṅkṛtyāyana and Tucci. Circulating unofficially in the West for many years in very poor photocopies, WANG Sen's catalogue was eventually brought into the public domain in a more legible form when it was reproduced by Haiyan HU-von Hinüber in a 2006 publication. Despite its imperfections, it too remains an important historical resource. The catalogues of LUO Zhao 罗炤 (see the contributions of Saerji and LUO Hong in this volume, pp. 292–293 and 315 respectively) were made later than WANG Sen's, in 1984 and 1985, on the basis of surveys of the collections held in the Norbulingka and the Potala in Lhasa (including the Beijing consignment, which had in the meantime been repatriated). Circulating unofficially in the same way as WANG Sen's list, LUO Zhao's handwritten lists are much more comprehensive, but unfortunately their information cannot be reproduced here.[3] To get a full and accurate idea of what is preserved to this day in China and Tibet one must await the publication of the systematic catalogue of manuscript holdings in the TAR produced last year, which at the time of writing remains under tight official embargo in the PRC (see the introduction, pp. xiv–xv). Hopefully it will one day be made public, and eventually appear online, ideally to be accompanied by online publication of the digital images of the manuscripts themselves, so that scholars the world over may at last have the free and unobstructed access to these materials that is required for the advancement of scholarship in this field.

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[1] I thank Rafal Felbur for his assistance with the input of the data from several of the catalogues used for this paper.

[2] "Sanskrit Manuscripts and Photos of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Giuseppe Tucci's Collection: A Preliminary Report," in Piotr Balcerowicz and Marek Mejor, eds., *On the Understanding of Other Cultures* (Warsaw: Oriental Institute, Warsaw University, 2000): 397–413.

[3] Permission was sought to incorporate the titles from the LUO Zhao lists in this paper, but this was declined.

The synoptic title list published here is merely intended to give a preliminary indication of the scope of the material documented by Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Tucci, and WANG Sen. It is a manifestly imperfect stopgap measure, which can only begin to convey a sense of what has yet to appear. Its incompleteness — which is to say, the incompleteness of the three lists on which it is based — is indicated by the fact that some very important texts which we know to have survived in Tibet do not appear on it, such as the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (see in this volume), the *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra*, and the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna*, to mention just a few sūtras, or many of the commentarial works already published in the series STTAR (see the contributions of LUO Hong and Helmut Krasser in this volume).

The list draws on the following sources, presented here according to the sigla used:

B = Frank Bandurski, "Übersicht über die Göttinger Sammlungen der von Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in Tibet aufgefundenen buddhistischen Sanskrit-Texte," in Frank Bandurski *et al.*, eds., *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994): 9–126.

S = Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, "Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS. in Tibet," *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 21.1 (1935): 21–43; "Second Search of Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS. in Tibet," *JBORS*, 23.1 (1937): 1–57; "Search for Sanskrit MSS. in Tibet, " *JBORS*, 24.4 (1938): 137–163.

T = Francesco Sferra, "Sanskrit Manuscripts and Photographs of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Giuseppe Tucci's Collection," in Francesco Sferra, ed., *Manuscripta Buddhica I: Sanskrit Texts from Giuseppe Tucci's Collection Part I* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2008): 15–78 (annotated list, pp. 41ff.). Here reference is only to sections 3.1A–D, which inventories negatives taken in Sa skya, Ngor, Zha lu Ri phug, and sPos khang tshog pa, and to 3.2A–D, which lists photographs without negatives taken in Sa skya, Ngor, Zha lu, and an unspecified place in Tibet.

W = WANG Sen, *Minzu tushuguan cang fanwen beiye jing mulu* (Beijing, 1985), as published as an appendix to Haiyan HU-von Hinüber, "Some Remarks on the Sanskrit Manuscript of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Prātimokṣasūtra found in Tibet," in Ute Hüsken *et al.*, eds., *Jaina-Itihāsa-Ratna: Festschrift fur Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag* (Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 2006): 283–337 (appendix on pp. 297–334).

The text titles are listed in English alphabetical order, followed by their numbers in the relevant catalogues.[4] The titles are given in their corrected or standard form, regardless of the spelling in the individual catalogues, unless they are too corrupt to restore with confidence. Variant spellings are given only in some cases. Author attributions are normally given as they appear in the lists, and often reflect traditional ascriptions: they are not necessarily correct. Where the same work, or the same manuscript of the work, can be identified in more than one list, the entries are connected by the equal sign (=). Here Bandurski's meticulous work is especially helpful, in that it enables many entries to be lined up in this way, but often insufficient details are given in S or W to permit this to be done with titles that do not appear in B or T. Generally, however, when the folio numbers match, we assume that the same manuscript is in question, but for complete certainty there is, of course, no substitute for a careful inspection of the manuscript itself. Such close examination sometimes results, as we see in Bandurski's catalogue, in a complete overturning of the initial identification, or the discovery that the manuscript contains more than one text.

[4] Sāṅkṛtyāyana's list runs over three articles, published in 1935 (Nos. 1–184), 1937 (Nos. 180–336) and 1938 (Nos. 337–363). It will be evident that some of the numbers at the beginning of the 1937 list overlap those at the end of the 1935 list, i.e. the numbers 180–184 appear twice. For these numbers, therefore, the relevant date is also given, e.g. S182 (1935). Furthermore, at the end of Sāṅkṛtyāyana's 1938 article he describes a small number of manuscripts from sPos khang, some of which are given running numbers previously assigned. These are marked in our list by date and page number, e.g. S (1938), p. 158.

Abhidharmadīpa with Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti B20 & B70c = S248 = T3.1C46 = W24
Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu B22I, IIb = S335 = T3.1B.13
Abhidharmakośakārikā B22IIa, c, d = S105
Abhidharmapradīpa: see Abhidharmadīpa
Abhidharmasamuccaya of Asaṅga B23a = S312 = T3.2C10 = W23
Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya of Sthiramati (or Jinaputra?) B23b = S86; = T3.1B.1
Ābhiprāyikagāthānirdeśa S351
Abhisamācārikā (Mā-L.) B55b = S12 = W5
Abhsamācārikadharma T3.1C43
Abhisamayakrama B38.19 = S137
Abhisamayālaṃkāra S9 & S (1938), p. 163
Abhisamayālaṃkārakārikā W212
Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā of Haribhadra S46; W12
Abhisamayālaṃkāraprajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstra W14
Abhisamayālaṃkāraprajñ(āpāramit)opadeśaśāstra(vṛtti) (Durbodhālokanāmaṭīkā) of Dharmakīrti S45 = T3.2C14
Abhisamayālaṃkāraṭīkā W13
Abhisamayālaṃkāravivṛtti S20
Abhisamayasamuccayaṭīkā S117
Abhisambodhikrama(vivṛtti) of Āryadeva (?) S256 = W132
Acalakramadvaya B42e = S162
Acintyādvayakrama: see next
Acintyādvayakramopadeśa of Āryakuddāliyāda S34 = W144
Acittikā Bhūmi: see Yogācārabhūmi
Adhyardhaśataka of Mātṛceṭa S202 = T3.1A.6
Ādibuddha, etc. S270
Ādikarmāvatāra of Mañjukīrti B47.5 = S53
Ādikarmāvatārapratibaddha of Mañjukīrti B47.7 = S55
Advaitabinduprakaraṇa of Jñānaśrīmitra B24.10 = S347 = T3.1C40 = W49
Advayasamatākalparāja S354 = T3.2C12 (title given as Āryādvayasamatāvijayanāmamahākalparājatantra) = W76 (as Advayasamatāvijayakalpa)
Āgamaprāmāṇyakārikā: see Āgamasiddhikārikā
Āgamasiddhikārikā of Śaṅkaranandana B5b = S175 = T3.1B.17[5]
Ajātaśatrvavadāna B41.Ib = S (1938), pp. 149ff.
Amarakośaṭīkā (Kāmadhenu) of Subhūticandra B46 = S185; B74; S150; S180 (1935)
Amarakośaṭīkā (Kavikāmadhenu): see Amarakośaṭīkā (Kāmadhenu)
Amoghapāśakalpa(rāja) S291 = W69
Amoghapāśalokeśvaramaṇḍala S269 = W100
Aṅgulīdhāraṇīmahāvidyārājñī: see Āryāṅgulī (nāma) dhāraṇī (mahāvidyārājñī)
Aṅgulīkalpa: see Āryāṅgulīkalpa
Anupalabdhirahasya of Jñānaśrīmitra B24.4 = S340 = T3.1C40 = W42
Anuttarasaṃvara of Śākyamitra B29a3 = S96
Anuttarasatvavivṛtti S258 = W134
Anyāpohasiddhikārikā of Śaṅkaranandana S173–175 = T3.1B.17
Āpaduddhāraṇapaddhati W230
Aparapadāvṛtti W164
Aparimitāyuḥstotra B42d

[5] For the confusing situation relating to the Sammelhandschrift in which this and other works of Śaṅkaranandana are found, see Vincent Eltschinger, "Śaṅkaranandana's *Sarvajñasiddhi*: A Preliminary Report," in Francesco Sferra, ed., *Manuscripta Buddhica I: Sanskrit Texts from Giuseppe Tucci's Collection Part I* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2008): 115–155.

Apohaprakaraṇa: see Apohasiddhi
Apohaprakaraṇa of Jñānaśrīmitra B24.6 = S342 = T3.1C40 = W44
Apohasiddhi of Ratnakīrti B25.3 = S22 = T3.2C9 = W53 (second part)
Apohasiddhiprakaraṇa: see Apohasiddhi
Arjunagītā W173
Arthaviniścayadharmaparyāya: see Arthaviniścayasūtra
Arthaviniścayasūtra B30b = S184 (1937); B31a = S87; B31d1 = S47; B32
Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana of Vīryaśrīdatta B31b = S88; B31c = S48 = T3.1B.12; B31d1/d2 = S47
Āryadhvajāgrakeyūrā nāma dhāriṇī T3.2D16
Āryāṅgulī(nāma)dhāraṇī(mahāvidyārājñī) B73.3 = S190
Āryāṅgulīkalpa or Āryāṅgulyāḥ kalpa (Bhagavatyā hṛdayakalpa) B73.4 = S191
Āryasamādhirājasūtragāthā (?) T3.2D17
Aṣṭasāhasrikāpiṇḍārtha of Kambalācārya B75a = S187
Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā B71; B72; S1; S4 (also see Sūtradhāraṇīsaṃgraha); S19; S56; S57; S58; S59; S60; S61; S63; S64; S184 (1935); S214; S215; S226; S287; S288; W2; W3; W209
Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāpañjikā: see Sāratamā
Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra: see Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā
Aṣṭasāhasrikaprajñāpāramitāsūtravṛtti W67
Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāṭīkā S206
Aṣṭaśmaśāna B73.2 = S189
Avayavinirākaraṇa of Paṇḍita Aśoka B25 = S28 = T3.2C9 = W58
Avyayārtha W236
Balicakravidhi B38.31 = S149
Balitattva of Ratnaśīla S357; W73
Balitattvādhikāra B29a6 = S99
Bhagavadgītā W182; W183; W184; W185
Bhagavatyā hṛdayakalpa: see Āryāṅgulīkalpa
Bhairavatantra W232
Bhāṣāvṛtti of Puruṣottamadeva S90
Bhaṭṭārakavajrāsanasādhanopadeśa S31
Bhāvanākrama: see Bodhisattvabhāvanākrama
Bhavaśuddhi of Karuṇābalavajra B38.11 = S129
Bhedābhedaparīkṣā of Jñānaśrīmitra B24.3 = S339 = T3.1C40 = W41
Bhikṣuṇīprakīrṇaka: see Bhikṣuṇīvinaya (Mā-L)
Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣavibhaṅga: see Bhikṣuṇīvinaya (Mā-L)
Bhikṣuṇīvinaya (Mā-L) B55a = S12= T3.1C.39 = W6
Bhikṣuprakīrṇaka: see Bhikṣuṇīvinaya (Mā-L)
Bhikṣuprakīrṇakavinaya: see Bhikṣuṇīvinaya (Mā-L)
Bhikṣuprātimokṣasūtra: see Prātimokṣasūtra
Bhūtaḍāmarabhaṭṭārakasādhana B47.2 = S50
Bhūtaḍāmaramaṇḍalopāyikā of Subhūtipālita B47.3 = S51
Bhūtaḍāmaratantra B47.1 = S49; B49b
Bījahara (?) of Dharmadāsa W167 (title given as Vījahara)
Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva S110; S196; W124; W213
Bodhicittavajragāthāṭīkā S309 = W79 (?)
Bodhisattvabhāvanākrama (I) of Kamalaśīla S267 = T3.1C.37; W97
Bodhisattvabhūmi: see Yogācārabhūmi
Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśakavṛtti of Śāntirakṣita W10
Brahmapurāṇa W235
Bṛhatprāmāṇyakārikā of Śaṅkaranandana S173–175 = T3.1B.17

Buddha...(pūjāvidhi) of Mañjukīrti B47.6 = S54
Buddhanamaskāra, etc. S273
Cakrasaṃvaravivṛtti B53 = S71; S290 = W82
Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra B42a = S106
Cāndravyākaraṇa of Candragomin S204; S205; S286 = W153; W154; W163
Cāndravyākaraṇaṭīkā of Ratnamati B65 = S295 = W149
Cāndravyākaraṇaṭīkā S82
Cāndravyākaraṇaṭīkāpañjikā of Pūrṇacandra B65 = S296 = W149
Cāndravyākaraṇavṛtti of Candragomin S285; S294 = W150
Cāndravyākaraṇavṛtti of Dharmadāsa W222
Catuḥṣaṣtikalā B6b
Caturaṅgasādhanaṭīkā (Sāramañjarī) of Samantabhadra S297 = T3.1C.30 = W83
Caturyoginīsaṃpuṭatantrarāja S355 = T3.2C13 = W74
Chandoratnākara: see Chandoratnākarasvopajñavṛtti
Chandoratnākarasvopajñavṛtti of Ratnākaraśānti B44 & 45b = S89 = T3.1B22
Cintāmayī Bhūmi: see Yogācārabhūmi
Citrādvaitaprakāśavāda of Ratnakīrti B25.9 = S27 = T3.2C9 = W57
Cittādvaitaprakaraṇa: see Citrādvaitaprakāśavāda
Cittādvaitaprakaraṇavāda: see Citrādvaitaprakāśavāda
Cittānandapaṭī of Nāgārjuna T3.2D15
Cittaviśuddhi of Divākaracandra B38.5 = S123
Darśanagrantha: see Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra and Triṃśikāvijñaptibhāṣya
Darśanagrantha S69
Daśabhūmikasūtra S209
Dāsarasāyaṇa & ṭīkā S203 = T3.1A.3 = W38
Daśatattva W70
Dharmadharmatāpravibhāgasūtra S363 (on S (1938), p. 163)
*Dharmadharmatāvibhāgavivṛti of Vairocanarakṣita = T3.1B20
Dharmālaṅkārakārikā of Śaṅkaranandana S173–175 = T3.1B17
Dharmapada B42b, B43 = S159
Dharmasamvāda W169
Dharmottarapradīpa of Durvekamiśra B17, B18a = S74 = T3.1B11
Dhātupaṭha W225
Dohākośa(gīti) of Saraha B16 = S336 = T3.1B14
Dohākośaṭīkā S251
Dravyapadārthasaṃgraha W208
Durgasiṃhavṛtti (?) W223 (listed as Daurgasiṃjñāvṛtti)
Ekajaṭāstotra S163
Ekārathidāna of Ṛṣapaṇaka W188
Ekavṛkṣādiṭīkā S67
Evaṃmāyāpañjikā W142
Gaṇapatihṛdayadhāraṇī S164
Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra S210
Gaṅgāṣṭaka of Śaṅkarācārya W197
Goraṣasata (?) W194
Guhyasamāja S72; S314; W61
Guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā: see Samājamaṇḍalopāyikā
Guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā of Bhadrapāda S208
Guhyasamājapradīpoddyotanaṭīkā: see Pradīpoddyotanaṭīkā
Guhyasamājaṭīkā: see Pradīpoddyotanaṭīkā

Guhyasamājaṭīkā (Candraprabhā) of *Pramuditākaravarman T3.1C.35
Guhyendratilakakalparāja S330 = W117
Guṇāparyanta(stotraṭīkā) of Dignāga S329 = W119
Herukabhaṭṭārakasādhana of Ānandagarbhapāda B38.15 = S133
Herukābhidhānamantroddhāra, etc. S155
Herukasādhana W93
Herukasādhana of Alalavajra B38.14 = S132
Herukasādhana of Dārikapāda S265
Herukasādhana of Garbhapāda B38.13 = S131
Herukasādhanapañjikā B48 = S151
Herukastuti of Kaṇhapā B38.25 = S143
Hetubindvanuṭīkā: see Dharmottarapradīpa
Hetubinduṭīkāloka of Durvekamiśra B18b, B19 = S75 = T3.1B1
Hevajrabalividhi of Divākaracandra B38.6 = S124
Hevajrābhisamayatilaka of Śākyarakṣita B38.8 = S126
Hevajracakraviṃśikā of Saroruhavajra B38.24 = S142
Hevajraḍākinījālamahātantraṭīkā: see Trivajraratnāvalīmālikāpañjikā
Hevajrākhyayuganaddha of Advayavajra B38.2 = S120
(Hevajra)pūjāvidhi of Samādhivajra B38.18 = S136
Hevajrasādhana (Tattvāvatāra) S93
Hevajrasādhana of Anaṅgavajra B38.9 = S127; B38.10 = S128
Hevajrasādhana of Mahadapāda B38.16 = S134
Hevajrasādhana of Jñānavajra B38.17 = S135
Hevajrasādhana of Sahajavajra B38.20 = S138
Hevajrasādhana of Śāśvatavajra B38.21 = S139
Hevajrasādhana (Jñānapradīpa) of Divākaracandra B38.4 = S122
Hevajrasādhanopāyikā of Ratnākaraśānti B73.1 = S188
Hevajrasādhanopāyikā of Saroruhapāda B38.1 = S119
Hevajrasatvavikāśa of Divākaracandra B38.3 = S121
Hevajrastuti B38.22 = S140; B38.23 = S141
Hevajra(tantrapiṇḍārtha)ṭīkā of Vajragarbha B36 = S92 = T3.1B21
Hevajraṭippaṇa of Saroruvajra B37 = S91
Hevajraviśuddhinidhi: see Hevajraviśuddhisādhana
Hevajraviśuddhisādhana of Avadhūtipāda B38.7 = S125
Hevajrayoginīstuti B38.26 = S144
Hitopadeśa W 177; W178; W179; W180; W181; W229
Īśvaradūṣaṇa: see Īśvaravāda
Īśvarāpākaraṇa of Śaṅkaranandana S168 = T3.1B23
Īśvarāpākaraṇakārikā of Śaṅkaranandana S173–175 = T3.1B17
Īśvarasādhanadūṣaṇa of Ratnakīrti B25.2 = S21 = T3.2C9 = W53 (ff. 18b–32a, misidentified as Apohaprakaraṇa)
Īśvaravāda of Jñānaśrīmitra B24.7 = S343–344 = T3.1C40 = W45–46
Īśvaravādādhikāravyākhyā: see Īśvaravāda
Jīvanmuktastotra (?) W190
Jñānapradīpa: see Hevajrasādhana
Jñānasārasamuccaya of Āryadeva S37 = W146
Jñānasiddhi B7b
Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvali B24
Jyotiṣavaidyakakroḍapatra of Vibhūticandra S310
Kālacakratantra B12, B13a = S85; B14 = S307 = W77; W104
Kālacakraṭīkā (Vimalaprabhā) B13b = S113; B13c = S306 = W78; S236; S274

Kalāpapañjikā W159
Kalāpasūtra W224
Kalāpavṛtti of Durgasiṃha S83
Kalāpavyākaraṇaṭīkā S152
Kalyāṇakāmadhenu of Nāgārjuna S304 = T3.1C.31; W90
Kāmadhenu: see. Amarakośaṭīkā
Kāmaśāstra S279; W109
Karmāntavibhāgamelāvaṇa B29a7 = S100
Karmavibhāgaya (in Sinhalese) B66 = S234 (“Vessantarajātaka (?)”)
Kāryakāraṇabhāvasiddhi of Jñānaśrīmitra B24.8 = S345 = T3.1C40 = W47
Kāśikāpañcikā of Jinendrabuddhi S11
Kāśikāvivaraṇa W161; W162
Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā of Jinendrabuddhi S109
Kātantrapañjikā of Trilocanadāsa S261; S262; S353; W152; W158
Kātantravṛtti of Trilocanadāsa W160
Kātantravṛttipañjikā of Trilocanadāsa S293 = W151; W156; W157
Kāvya S 362 (S (1938), pp. 149–156)
Kāvyādarśa S114
Kāvyaprakāśa S263 = W166
Kriyāsamuccaya B39a = S84
Kṛṣṇayamāritantrapañjikā of Dharmadāsa S301 = W87 (gives author as Kumāracandra)
Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya of Jñānaśrīmitra B24.1; S241; S337 = T3.1C40; W36; W39
Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi (Anvayātmikā & Vyatirekātmikā) of Ratnakīrti B25.4 & 5 = S23 = T3.2C9 = W55
Kulālikāmnāya W221
Kurukullākalpa B47.4 = S52
Kurukullāsādhana S268 = W99 (title given as Kurukullīsādhana)
Laghupratibandhasiddhikārikā of Śaṅkaranandana S173–175 = T3.1B17
Laghutantraṭīkā of Vajrapāṇi T3.1C.34; T3.2C8
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Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya B6c = S160; B7a
Madhyāntavibhāgakārikā of Maitreyanātha S7 & S (1938), p. 162 (renumbered as 8)
Madhyāntavibhāgakatipayapadavivṛti of Vairocanarakṣita T3.1B20
Madhyāntavibhāgasūtra S8 (title given as Madhyāntavibhaṅgasūtra)
Madhyāntavibhaṅgabhāṣya: see Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya
Madhyāntavibhaṅgakārikā: see Madhyāntavibhāgakārikā
Madhyāntavibhaṅgakārikābhāṣya: see Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya
Madhyaprāmāṇyakārikā of Śaṅkaranandana S173–175 = T3.1B17
Mahāgopyatattvopadeśa of Dārikapāda S36 = W145
Mahākālacakra: see Kālacakratantra
Mahākālatantra B15 = S81
Mahāmantrānusāriṇīmahāvidyārājñī S76
Mahāmāyātantra S283 = W135
Mahāmāyātantraṭīkā S198 = W122
Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī S78 = W137; W217
Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī S80; W136; W219
Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñīkalpa, etc. (Pañcarakṣā) S14
Mahārājñīmahāmantrānusariṇī W220
Mahāsāhasrapramardinī S77; W216; W138

Mahāśītavatīmahāvidyārājñī: S79 (title given as Sītavatīmahāvidyārājñī); W139 (title given as Mahāśītavalī); W218 (title given as Mahāsītavanīmahāvidyārājñī)
Mahāvajrabhairavatantra(rāja) S277 = W107
Mahāvākyārtha W198
Mahāvākyavivaraṇa of Śaṅkarācārya W196; W237
Mahāyānalakṣaṇasamuccaya S275 = W105
Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra B54 = S66 (as “Darśanagrantha”); W15
Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha W16
Mahāyānaviṃśikā of Nāgārjuna S40
Mahāyānaviṃśikā (?) of Praśāntamitra S41
Mahāyanottaratantraśāstropadeśa B1c = S43
Mahāyānottaratantra(-ṭīkā): see Ratnagotravibhāga
Mahāyānottaratantraṭippaṇī of Vairocanarakṣita T3.1B20
Mahimnākhyastotra of Puṣpadanta W195 (title given as Mahimnākhyaṃstotra)
Mañjuśrīguhyacakra (?) B73 = S192
Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti S16; S323 = W115; W125; see also Nāmasaṃgīti
Mantramuktāvalī W192
Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa W233
Mūladevavākyaśāstra W108 = S278
Nairātmyasādhana B38.28 = S146
Nairātmyasādhana of Divākaracandra B38.30 = S148
Nairātmyasādhana of Ratnākaraśānti B38.29 = S147
Nairātmyasiddhi S158
Nairātmyastuti B38.27 = S145
Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana of Amarasiṃha W202
Nāmasaṃgīti S266 =? W92; see also Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti
Navaślokaprajñāpāramitā: see Navaślokāṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā
Navaślokāryāṣṭasāhasrikāyāḥ Prajñāpāramitāyāḥ Piṇḍārtha: see Aṣṭasāhasrikāpiṇḍārtha
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Pañcakrama of Nāgārjuna B29a1 = S94
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Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā S292
Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitābhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti W11
Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitopadeśa of Buddhadāsa S30
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Pāṇinisūtrapaṭha(ka) W201
Paramagambhīrottānakrama of Divākaracandra B38.12 = S130
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Poṣadhānuśaṃsā, etc. S228
Pradīpoddyotanaṭīkā of Candrakīrti B49a = S112= T3.1B27, T3.2B6
Prajñālaṃkārakārikā of Śaṅkaranandana [?] B4b = S173–175 = T3.1B17; B5a
Prajñāpāramitā (?) S15; S313

Prajñāparamitāhṛdayasūtra W210
Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha of Dignāga S327
Prajñāpāramitāsādhana (?) W128
Prajñāpāramitāṭīkā S322
Prakaraṇayogapīṭha S70
Pramāṇāntarbhāvaprakaraṇa of Ratnakīrti B25.6 = S24 = T3.2C9 = W55 (misidentified as Vyāpti-nirṇaya)
Pramāṇavārttika (Kroḍapatra) B70h = S240
Pramāṇavārttika of Dharmakīrti S239
Pramāṇavārttika commentary [?] B3, B4a, B33b
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Pramāṇavārttikakārikā of Dharmakīrti W35
Pramāṇavarttikālaṃkāra W33
Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti of Dharmakīrti B2a = S180 (1937)
Pramāṇavārttika(sva)vṛttiṭīkā of Karṇakagomin B2b = S181 (1937) = T3.1A8, T3.2A5; B2c = S182 (1937)
Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā W34
Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti of Manorathanandin B70a = S237 = T3.1C41 = W31
Pratibandhasiddhikārikā of Śaṅkaranandana S173–175 = T3.1B17
Prātimokṣasūtra (Mā-L) B57 = S177 = T3.1B16
Prātimokṣasūtra W9
Prātimokṣasūtraṭīkā B58b = S194
Pratiṣṭhāvidhi, etc. S305 = W91
Pratyekabuddhabhūmi: see Yogācārabhūmi
Raghunāthāsita W193
Raghuvaṃśa of Kalidāsa W205
Rahaḥpradīpa (Sarvarahasyanibandha) of Ratnākaraśānti S299 = T3.1C.32 = W85
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Ratnagotravibhāga (Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra) of Maitreyanātha B1a = S68; B1b = S242 = W37; S43; T3.1C45
Ratnaguṇasañcayagāthāvyākhyā of Haribhadra S42; W18
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Rudrayāmala(tantra) W231; W234
Śabdabheda W126
Sacittikā Bhūmi: see Yogācārabhūmi
Ṣaḍaṅgayoga(ṭīkā) S280 = W110
Saddharmaparikathā B41.IIb = S 7 (1938), pp. 160–161 = T3.1D48
Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra S2; S211 = W4; S212
Sādhanaśataka W140
Sādhanayoga S319
Sahopalambhaprakaraṇa of Jitāri S41 (no title, author given as Praśāntamitra) = T3.1B24
Sahopalambhasiddhi of Jitāri B10b
Sākārasaṅgrahasūtra B24.12 = S349 = T3.1C40 = W51
Sākārasiddhiśāstra of Jñānaśrīmitra B24.11 = S348 = T3.1C40 = W50
Samādhirājasūtra B30a = S184 (1937) (first part misidentified as Arthaviniścayadharmaparyāya) =? T3.2A4; S10; T3.1A7
Samājamaṇḍalopāyikā of Nāgabuddhi/Nāgabodhi S302 = T3.1C.33 = W88
Sāmānyadūṣaṇa of Paṇḍita Aśoka B25 = S29 = T3.2C9
Sāmānyanirākaraṇa: see Sāmānyadūṣaṇa

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Sāṃkathyaviniścaya from Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya of Yaśomitra S86
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Saṅkṣipteśvarāpākaraṇakārikā of Śaṅkaranandana S173–175 = T3.1B17
Śāntiparvani mokṣadharmeṣv anusmṛtiḥ W172
Santānāntaradūṣaṇa of Ratnakīrti B25.10 = T3.2C9
Saptapadārtha W207
Sarasvatīstotra of Aśvalāyana W187
Sāratamā (Āryāṣṭasāhasrikāyāḥ prajñāpāramitāyāḥ Sāratamā nāma pañjikā) of Ratnākaraśānti B50a = S201; B50b = S200 = T3.1A9
Sarvabuddhasamayapratiṣṭhāmahātattva W72
Sarvadharmasvabhāva (?) W168
Sarvajñasiddhi of Ratnakīrti B25.1 = S21 = T3.2C9 = W52
Sarvajñasiddhi of Śaṅkaranandana S168 = T3.1B23
Sarvajñasiddhikārikā of Śaṅkaranandana B9, B10a = S174 = T3.1B17
Sarvajñasiddhisaṃkṣepa of Śaṅkaranandana S168 = T3.1B.23 (see also B10a, n. 120)
Sarvarahasyanibandharahasyapradīpā: see Rahaḥpradīpa
Sarvaśabdābhāvacarcā of Jñānaśrīmitra B24.5 = S341 = T3.1C40 = W43
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Śatapañcāśatka: see Adhyardhaśataka
Satasahasrahitāyāṃaśvamedhadharmayudhiṣṭirasaṃvādeyudhiṣṭirayajña (sic) W176
Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā S73; S216–222; S289 = W1
Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitasūtra: see Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā
Śatasāhasryaṃsaṃhitāyāṃvaiyaṃsikyāṃśāntiparvvaṇiviṣṇornnamnaṃsahasraṃ (sic) W174
Śātiparvaṇiviṣṇudharmottareduḥsvapnanāśanaṃgajendramokṣaṇamstotraṃ (sic) W175
Ṣaṭkārakaprakriyā W189
Siddhaikavīratantra S324 = W116
Śikṣāsamuccaya S227
Sītavatīmahāvidyārājñī: see Mahāśītavatīmahāvidyārājñī
Sphuṭapīṭhādinirṇaya S250 = W28
Sphuṭārthā Śrīghanācārasaṅgrahaṭīkā of Jayarakṣita B59 = S102
Sragdharāstotra S272 = W102
Śrāmaṇerakārikāṭīkā of Jayarakṣita S102
Śrāvakabhūmi: see Yogācārabhūmi
Śrīkṛṣṇārjunasaṃvādaṃgītāsāra W186
Śrīpadmapurāṇeuttarakhaṇḍeumāmaheśvarasaṃvādeviṇdoḥsahasranāmastotraṃ (sic) W200
Śrīpadmapurāṇeuttarakhaṇḍeumāmaheśvarasaṃvādeviśmornnāmasahasraṃ (sic) W199
Śrīpāṇḍavagītā W170; W171
Śrīsaṃvarastotraṭīkā of Vajrapāṇi S38 = W141 (title given as Śrīsamvarastotrabhāṣya)
Śrutamayī Bhūmi: see Yogācārabhūmi
Sthirasiddhidūṣaṇa of Ratnakīrti B25.8 = S26 = T3.2C9 = W56
Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa of Vidyākara B40 = S178 = T3.1B29
Śuddhācāra of Vācaspatimiśra B 52, B64 = S223
Sūkṣmaprāmāṇyakārikā of Śaṅkaranandana S173–175 = T3.1B17
Sundarīmantrastotra W191
Sūtradhāraṇīsaṃgraha S (1938), p. 147
Sūtrālaṃkāra S116; see also Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra
Sūtralaṃkāra(vi)bhaṅga S44
*Sūtrālaṃkāravivṛti of Vairocanarakṣita = T3.1B.20
Svalpasarvajñasiddhikārikā of Śaṅkaranandana S173–175 = T3.1B17
Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna B45a = S154 (as "…(mahāyāna)sūtra")

Svādhiṣṭhānakrama W114
Svādhiṣṭhānakramavivṛtti S255 = W131
Svādhiṣṭhānakramavṛtti S254
Svapnādhyāya S260 = W130
Svārthanāntaścurādayodhātavaḥ (sic) W203
Taddhita (Pāṇini) S284
Tārāstutiṭīkā of Candradāsa S325 = W118
Tarkarahasya B21 = S170 = T3.1B25
Tarkajvālā (Madhyamakahṛdaya) of Bhāviveka S311 = T3.1C42 = W29
Tattvajñāna W103
Tridaṇḍamālā of Aśvaghoṣa B41.Ia, IIa = S6 & S (1938), pp. 157–159 = T3.1D47
Triliṅgaprakaraṇa S153
Triṃśatikā...kārikā of Asaṅga S328
Triṃśikā of Vasubandhu S326
Triṃśikākārikā W120
Triṃśikāṭīkāvivṛti of Vairocanarakṣita = T3.1B20
Triṃśikāvijñaptibhāṣya of Sthiramati B54 = S66 (as "Darśanagrantha")
Trisamayapūrvasevāvidhi of Jayaprabha S318
Trisamayopāyikā S298 = W84
Triskandhadeśanā S197 = T3.1A4 = W123
Trivajraratnāvalīmālikāpañjikā of Kelikuliśa B35 = S118 (gives title as Hevajraḍākinījālamahātantraṭīkā (Vajraratnāvalī), author as Āryadeva) = T3.1B.285, T3.2B7
Tyādyantaprakriyā(kalāpa) of Sarvadhara S104
Udayananirākaraṇa: see Vādarahasya
Unidentified B1d, B1e; B3; B4a; B6a; B7b; B29b; B29c; B33b; B39b; B39c; B70b; B70d; B70e; B70f; B70g; B75b; S317; W112
Unidentified anusaṃsā text in Sinhalese S235
Unidentified astrological text S361
Unidentified commentary on some Sarvāstivāda sūtras S5 & S (1938), p. 148 (?)
Unidentified (kāvya-)ṭīkā S65
Unidentified Heruka text ṭīkā S320 = W65
Unidentified homavidhi W71
Unidentified Mahāyāna sūtra S39
Unidentified Nyāya text commentary B6a & B8 = S169 [?] = T3.1B18
Unidentified Pāli Buddhist text W250
Unidentified Pañjikā of Bhīmadeva S33
Unidentified Parikathā S6 & S (1938), pp. 160–161 (renumbered as 7)
Unidentified Sanskrit grammar, title not found S17; S62; S (1938), p. 148 (?); W226
Unidentified Sanskrit sūtra in Tibetan script W27
Unidentified sūtra S316; S332; S333
Unidentified sūtraṭīkā S315
Unidentified tantra S334
Unidentified texts in Tamil script B68 = S231; S232; S233; S167
Unidentified Vajrayāna text S108; B39b = S111; S264
Unidentified Vinaya commentary BIIe
Upasampadājñapti (Mū) B56 = S103
Utpattikramasādhana of Candrakīrti B29a4 = S97
Uttaratantra(ṭīkā): see Ratnagotravibhāga
Vādanyāya of Dharmakīrti S176
Vādanyāyaṭīkā: see Vādarahasya
Vādanyāyaṭīkā: see Vipañcitārtha

Vādarahasya B34 = S171 (“Vādanyāyaṭīkā (?)”); T3.1B26
Vajrabhairavatantrapañjikā of Kumāracandra S276 =W106; S300; W86
Vajraḍākatantraṭīkā S356 = W75
Vajrāmṛtatantra S32 =? W147
Vajrāmṛta(tantra)pañjikā S303 = W89
Vajraratnāvalī: see Hevajraḍākinījālamahātantraṭīkā
Vajrasattvasādhana of Candrakīrti B29a2 = S95
Vajrasattvasādhana of Līlāvajra S359; W94
Vajrasūcī of Aśvaghoṣa B51 = S166
Vajratārāstotra W113
Vāmakeśvaratantra W238
Vanaratnasthavirastotra: see Vanaratnastotra
Vanaratnastotra B42c = S161
Vārttikālaṃkāra of Prajñākaragupta S179; S252; S253
Vārttikālaṃkāra: see Pramāṇavārttikabhāṣya
Vasudhārādhāraṇī S281 = W111; W215
Vessantarajātaka: see Karmavibhāgaya
Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti: see Abhidharmadīpa
Vigrahavyāvarttanī(vṛtti) S249 = W30
Vījahara: see Bījahara
Vimalaprabhā: see Kālacakraṭīkā
Viṃśikāṭīkāvivṛti of Vairocanarakṣita = T3.1B20
Viṃśikāvivṛtti B33a = S115
Vinayakārikā of Viśākha B60 = S195 = T3.2A3
Vinayasūtra of Guṇaprabha B62a = S243 = W7
Vinayasūtra(lakṣaṇaṭīkā) S246; see also Lakṣaṇaṭīkā
Vinayasūtra(ṭīkā) of Guṇaprabha S245
Vinayasūtraṭīkā of Dharmamitra B62b = W8
Vinayasūtravṛtti of Guṇaprabha B58a = S193; B63 = S244 (?); T3.2A2
Vinayasūtravṛttyabhidhānasvavyākhyāna of Guṇaprabha B61 = S193 = T3.2A1[6]
Vinayaṭīkā S182 (1935)
Vipañcitārtha nāma Vādanyāyaṭīkā of Śāntarakṣita B69 = S3
Vṛttamālāstuti of Jñānaśrīmitra W228
Vṛttamālāvṛtti W227
Vyākaraṇaṭīkā S181 (1935)
Vyākaraṇaṭīkā of Prajñāvarma S107
Vyāpticarcā(prakāraṇa) of Jñānaśrīmitra B24.2 = S338 = W40
Vyāptinirṇaya of Ratnakīrti B25.7 = S25 = T3.2C9 = W55 (second part only)
Yogācārabhūmi of Asaṅga B26 = S350 = T3.2C11 = W20–22 = T3.1C36; B27 = S199 = T3.1A2; B28 = S352 = T3.1C44 = W19
Yogāmbarasādhana (Mahāyogānubaddha) S308 = W80
Yogaratnamālāṭippaṇī of Bandhukīrti S360 = W95
Yogasārabhāṣya of Bhāṣkarācārya S271 = W98
Yoginirṇayaprakaraṇa of Jñānaśrīmitra B24.9 = S346 = T3.1C40 = W48
Yuktipradīpa S207 = T3.1A.5

[6] The complex situation with the *Vinayasūtra* and its commentaries, as summarized by Bandurski (1994: 104), makes these assignments more than usually uncertain. The forthcoming work of LUO Hong should clarify the situation.

Indic Buddhist Manuscripts in the People's Republic of China
The Peking University Project*

SAERJI (BEIJING)

1. Historical review

Buddhism arrived in East Asia approximately 2,000 years ago, and over this long period it not only developed into unique forms, such as Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism, but also generated a substantial corpus of sacred texts translated into Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu, Uyghur, and Tangut. Because of the long time-span, most of the Indic manuscripts the texts were translated from have been lost or scattered, but fortunately, thanks to the flourishing of Buddhist philological studies at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, some of these Indic Buddhist manuscripts were brought to light.

In Central China relatively few Indic Buddhist manuscripts were found: at the end of the 19th century Western scholars found two Sanskrit manuscripts in Zhejiang Province (浙江省), one in Gaoming Monastery, Tiantai County (天台县高明寺), and one in Puan Monastery, Sheng County (嵊县普安寺). These manuscripts, dealing with Tantric liturgy, were written in the 11th–13th centuries.[1] Recently it has been discovered that Lingyin Monastery in Hangzhou (杭州灵隐寺), Zhejiang Province, still preserves a manuscript, also on Tantric liturgy.[2]

In contrast to Central China, a large number of Indic Buddhist manuscripts came to light in the northwest as a result of the opening of the Library Cave 17 in 1900 in Dunhuang and the acquisitions by Western explorers in Gansu and Xinjiang in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Although, for a number of reasons, these manuscripts have been scattered all over the world, in the abovementioned places there are still reports or discoveries of Buddhist manuscripts — for details see DUAN Qing's paper in this volume.

As far as we know, the largest number of Indic Buddhist manuscripts in China was preserved in the Tibetan area, especially the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR). From 1929 to 1938, the Indian monk Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1893–1963) entered Tibet four times in search of Sanskrit manuscripts. His catalogue records 363 entries; since the numbers from 180 to 184 were repeated, the total number of recorded manuscripts is 368. Their provenance is as follows: 3 come from Lhasa, Kun bde gling Monastery; 8 from the sPos khang Monastery in the rGyal rtse area; most come from gZhis ka rtse — 156 from Zha lu Monastery, 134 from Ngor Monastery, 63 from Sa skya; 4 come from Thub rtan rnam rgyal Monastery in rTa nag, northwest of gZhis ka rtse.[3] The Tibetan scholar dGe 'dun chos 'phel, who accompanied Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana on his fourth trip to Tibet, has record-

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* I have been fortunate to receive kind advice and suggestions from Professors WANG Bangwei (王邦维) and DUAN Qing (段晴), who read an earlier version of this paper. In June 2009, I had a conversation with Professor LUO Zhao (罗炤), who provided more details about his work on the Sanskrit manuscripts of the TAR since the 1980s (see notes 9, 10, 12, 24, & 26 below). I am also indebted to Giuseppe Vignato and Pat Field, who made corrections to my English draft.

[1] Keisho Tsukamoto, Yukei Matsunaga, Hirofumi Isoda, eds., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, Vol. IV, The Buddhist Tantra*, Kyoto, Heirakuji Shoten, 1989: 521–525.

[2] FANG Guangchang, "A Pattra-leaf Sutra of the Song Dynasty Housed in the Lingyin Temple of Hangzhou," *Journal of Chinese Literature and History* 1 (2007), 257–281. 方广锠，"杭州灵隐寺宋代贝叶经之考察"，《中华文史论丛》，2007年第1辑，第257–281页。

FANG Guangchang, "Findings about a Northern Song Dynasty Pattra Sutra Kept in the Lingyinsi Temple," *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 11 (2008): 303–325.

[3] Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, "Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 21 (1935), pt. 1: 21–43; "Second Search of Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet," *JBORS* 23 (1937), pt. 1: 1–53; "Search for Sanskrit Mss. in Tibet," *JBORS* 24 (1938), pt. 4: 137–63.

ed some of these manuscripts in his writings.[4] Also, from 1933 to 1949 the famous Italian Tibetologist Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984) searched all over Tibet for Sanskrit manuscripts, from Sa skya to Zha lu and Ngor monasteries, taking numerous photographs of manuscripts; a catalogue of these manuscripts has been published in recent years.[5]

In June 1959, the Tibetan Working Committee issued a document titled "Decision on Strengthening of the Administration of Cultural Relics and Archives," and decided to establish the Cultural Relics, Historical Sites, Documents and Archives Management Committee of the Tibetan Working Committee, with the Cultural Relics Administration Group subordinate to it.[6] At the same time, the Cultural Relics Survey Group of the TAR organized by the Ministry of Culture went to Tibet and over four months carried out a systematic survey of the cultural relics of Lhasa, lHo kha, gZhis ka rtse and other districts. In 1964 the Preparatory Group of the Cultural Relics Administration Committee of the TAR was established; on September 14, 1965 the Cultural Relics Administration Committee of the TAR was officially established, and ratified a "Bring Together and Preserve" policy for the work in the cultural relics area.[7] Most likely it was in this period that manuscripts from different monasteries of Tibet were gathered in Lhasa.[8]

In 1964, the Sanskrit Manuscripts Survey Group of the TAR compiled the "Catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Ngor Monastery," "Catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Sa skya Monastery," and "Catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Zha lu Monastery"; unfortunately, at present the whereabouts of the Zha lu catalogue are uncertain.[9]

In May 1983 LUO Zhao, a scholar from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), went to Tibet in order to compile a catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts. First he compiled a catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts of lHo kha; from August 23 to September 3 he surveyed the Sanskrit manuscripts of Sa skya, bKra shis lhun po, and dPal 'khor chos sde; on April 11, 1984 he compiled a catalogue of manuscripts collected at Nor bu gling kha; from November to June of the following year he catalogued those conserved in the Potala Palace. On July 1, 1985 he concluded the "Catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in TAR" (LUO Zhao's Catalogue).

While compiling his catalogue in the 1980s LUO Zhao found that some manuscripts had already been given a number, either recorded on a strip of cloth fastening a bundle of manuscripts, or on slips of paper inserted among the folios. In some cases, besides the "present number" there was an indication of an earlier numbering. This double numbering indicates that before LUO Zhao these palm-leaf manuscripts were catalogued at least twice. In LUO Zhao's catalogue there is mention of the 1964 cataloguing of Sanskrit manuscripts

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[4] bLo bzang nor bu Shāstrī ed., *mKhas dbang dge 'dun chos 'phel gyis mdzad pa'i gtam rgyud gser gyi thang ma*, Sarnath, Varanasi, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1986.

[5] Francesco Sferra, "Sanskrit Manuscripts and Photos of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Giuseppe Tucci's Collection, a Preliminary Report," *Studia Indologiczne* VII (2000): 397–447. For a revised and enlarged version of the same paper, see Francesco Sferra, "Sanskrit Manuscripts and Photographs of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Giuseppe Tucci's Collection," in Francesco Sferra, ed., *Sanskrit Texts from Giuseppe Tucci's Collection. Part I*, Roma 2008: 15–78 (Manuscripta Buddhica I).

[6] See internet news: http://news.xinhuanet.com/focus/2005-03/26/content_2724229_3.htm.

[7] Concerning the protection of cultural relics in Tibet, see Huo Wei (霍巍), "A Decisive Moment in Tibetan Cultural Relics and Archaeology Enterprises (西藏文物考古事业的历史性转折)," internet edition: http://info.tibet.cn/periodical/zgzx/2005/03/200705/t20070517_237750.htm.

[8] According to a speech by LUO Zhao at the Seminar on Sanskrit Manuscripts at Peking University, 2008, in 1962 most of the Sanskrit manuscripts stored in various monasteries were brought together in Lhasa and preserved in the Potala Palace and Nor bu gling kha.

[9] LUO Zhao, "Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Preserved in TAR" (unpublished), last page. LUO Zhao said the catalogues of 1964 were like an account book, which just registered serial number, total folios, and size of manuscripts, and did not refer to the content of the texts (personal communication, June 2009).

by the Sanskrit Manuscripts Survey Group of the TAR and the "present number" seen by Luo Zhao probably referred to the catalogue number assigned at that time. It cannot be ruled out that during the 1959 survey a cataloguing of the manuscripts was carried out and the "original number" seen by Luo Zhao was the assigned catalogue number from this earlier survey. At present we do not have conclusive data concerning the two different cataloguing numbers.

In October 1985 the China Tibetology Research Centre (CTRC) was established in Beijing; Luo Zhao assisted the first director-general of the CTRC, rDo rje tshe brtan, with preparations for the organization and study of the Sanskrit manuscripts. Between June and September 1987, Luo Zhao was in charge of the microfilming of the Sanskrit manuscripts; he also compiled a catalogue of the microfilms at the same time, and noted the Chinese titles of the individual Sanskrit manuscripts on a separate slip for each microfilm. At the end of September 1987, this catalogue was submitted to the CTRC; subsequently, on the basis of the microfilms a new cataloguing was carried out by the CTRC.[10] For various reasons, the research work since then has been very slow.[11]

In 2006 the Chinese government launched what was to be the biggest survey to date of Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the TAR. On September 25, 2012, the TAR government held a formal meeting to sum up and celebrate this Sanskrit manuscript conservation project. According to the official report, the two tasks of conservation and cataloguing had been successfully completed, with the project group having inventoried roughly one thousand bundles and sixty thousand folios of Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the TAR, and compiled the *Complete Collection of Photographic Reproductions of Palm-leaf Scriptures Preserved in the TAR* (*Bod rang ljongs su nyar tshags byas pa'i ta la'i lo ma'i dpe cha kun btus par ma* / *Xizang zizhiqu zhencang beiyejing yingyin daquan* 西藏自治区珍藏贝叶经影印大全), in 61 volumes, the *General Catalogue of Palm-leaf Scripture Manuscripts Preserved in the TAR* (*Bod rang ljongs su nyar tshags byas pa'i ta la'i lo ma'i dpe cha bris ma'i dkar chag* / *Xizang zizhiqu zhencang beiyejing xieben zong mulu* 西藏自治区珍藏贝叶经写本总目录), in four volumes, and the *Brief Catalogue of Photographic Reproductions of Palm-leaf Scriptures Preserved in the TAR* (*Xizang zizhiqu zhencang beiyejing yingyin daquan jianmu* 西藏自治区珍藏贝叶经影印大全简目), in one volume. Unfortunately, all of these materials were published as closed resources even in China, and very few personnel from academic institutions can access them at present.

2. Establishment of the Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Buddhist Literature of Peking University and its mission

Peking University is the first university in China to offer a Sanskrit major, and presently is the only university in China training specialized personnel in Sanskrit studies through a complete program from undergraduate to Ph.D. level. Thanks to the efforts of Professors Ji Xianlin (季羡林) and Jin Kemu (金克木), in 1960 and in 1984 undergraduates were enrolled in a Sanskrit major; after graduation some of them have been working in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and similar scientific institutions, continuing Sanskrit research studies, some doing specific research on Sanskrit manuscripts. Since 1979, postgraduates have been enrolled most years and trained in a Sanskrit major, and at present some of these continue the task of training new students while carrying out research work.

[10] "Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts (Microfilms) Owned by the CTRC" (*Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jug lte gnas su nyar ba'i ta la'i lo ma'i bstan bcos (spyin shog 'dril ma'i par) kyi dkar chag mdor gsal*), a catalogue compiled in 1987, abbreviated as the Sang De Catalogue. At present, we do not know whether the catalogue of the microfilms compiled by Luo Zhao and the Sang De Catalogue are the same (Luo Zhao, personal communication, June 2009).

[11] More details in: Ernst Steinkellner, *A Tale of Leaves: On Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet, their Past and their Future*, Amsterdam, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2004.

Around 1960–1961, some of the Sanskrit manuscripts were moved from Tibet and preserved in the Palace of National Minorities in Beijing on loan from the TAR. Professor WANG Sen (王森) compiled a catalogue of these manuscripts which carries the date April 1985;[12] this catalogue recorded 259 entries and has been made available in facsimile format recently.[13] Since 1978, a number of people, especially Japanese scholars, have photographed these manuscripts; facsimile editions and results of studies on some have been published.[14] In 1988, the Institute of South Asia and Southeast Asia Studies of Peking University carried out systematic microfilming of these documents, which were eventually given to the Department of Oriental Languages and Culture of Peking University, but for various reasons they were not utilized or researched. In 1993 the original manuscripts were given back to the TAR and are now deposited in the Tibet Museum at Lhasa. According to the interview given to Haiyan HU-von Hinüber (胡海燕) by the Palace of National Minorities staff member ZHANG Xiufeng (张秀峰), the person directly in charge of these manuscripts in the 1960s, all the manuscripts conserved in the Palace of National Minorities came from the Northern Sa skya Monastery.[15] If this is the case, since WANG Sen's catalogue and the microfilms of Peking University coincide with Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana's

[12] LUO Zhao advised that the date of WANG Sen's cataloguing could have been 1961 or 1962 (personal communication, June 2009).

[13] Haiyan HU-von Hinüber, "Some Remarks on the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Prātimokṣasūtra* found in Tibet," in Ute Hüsken, Petra Kieffer-Pülz und Anne Peters, eds., *Jaina-itihāsa-ratna, Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag*, Marburg 2006: 297–334 (Indica et Tibetica, 47).

[14] JIANG Zhongxin ed., *A Sanskrit Manuscript of* Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra *kept in the Library of the Cultural Palace of the Nationalities, Beijing*. Romanized text, edited and annotated by Jiang Zhongxin with the preface by JI Xianlin, Beijing, China Social Sciences Publishing House, 1988, V, 16, 440 pp. (including a plate of the obverse sides of folios 133–137). 蒋忠新编注，《民族文化宫图书馆藏梵文<妙法莲华经>写本》(拉丁字母转写本)，北京：中国社会科学出版社，1988年.

JIANG Zhongxin, "Facsimile Edition of the *Madhyamakahṛdaya* Sanskrit Manuscript," in: *Papers in Honour of Prof. Dr. JI Xianlin on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday*, Jiangxi renmin chubanshe [Jiangxi], vol. 1 (1991), pp. 111–117. 蒋忠新, "梵文《思择焰经》抄本影印版"，李铮、蒋忠新主编，《季羡林教授八十华诞纪念论文集》，南昌：江西人民出版社，1991年，上卷，第111–117页。

Zhongxin JIANG and Toru Tomabechi, *The* Pañcakramaṭippanī *of Muniśrībhadra: Introduction and Romanized Sanskrit Text*, Bern, Peter Lang, 1996.

JIANG Zhongxin, "A Sanskrit Fragment of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā-vyākhyā* of Haribhadra: A Romanized Text," *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 3 (2000): 115–123.

WANG Bangwei, "Remarks on the Sanskrit Manuscripts of the *Abhisamācārikā-Dharma-Vinaya* of the Ārya Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins," *Chinese Culture*, 10, Sanlian Publishing House, 1994: 16–12. 王邦维，"跋梵文贝叶经说出世部比丘律 *Abhisamācārikā*,"《中国文化》，第10期，北京：三联书店，1994: 第116–123页。

WANG Bangwei, "First Section of the First Chapter of the *Abhisamācārika-Dharma* of the Mahāsaṃghika-Lokottaravādin," *Journal of Peking University* (*Oriental Culture Studies Monograph*), 1996: 21–24. 王邦维，"说出世部比丘律 *Abhisamācārikā* (《威仪法》)第一品第一节,"《北京大学学报》(东方文化研究专刊)，1996: 第21–24页。

ZHANG Baosheng tr., *Bhagavadgītā*, Beijing, China Social Sciences Publishing House, 1989. In the preface the author declares that his translation is mainly based on the manuscript preserved in the Library of the Cultural Palace of the Nationalities (No. 182), and in the frontispiece also presents photographs of the first three folios of the manuscript. 张保胜译，《薄伽梵歌》，北京：中国社会科学出版社，1989年。

Gudrun Bühnemann, *Sādhanaśataka *and* *Sādhanaśatapañcāśikā*. Two Buddhist Sādhana Collections in Sanskrit Manuscript*. Wien 1994 (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 32).

Akira Yuyama, "*Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā Vyākhyā* of Haribhadra: Preliminary Remarks," *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 4 (2001): 27–42.

Christian Lindtner ed., Madhyamakahṛdayam *of Bhavya*, Adyar Series no. 123, Chennai, The Theosophical Society, 2001.

LI Nan ed. and annotated, *The Study of the* Śrīherukābhidhānaṃ Cakrasaṃvaratantram *with the Vivṛti commentary of Bhavabhaṭṭa*. Romanized text, Beijing, China Social Sciences Publishing House, 2005. 李南校勘译注，《<胜乐轮经>及其注疏解读》，北京：中国社会科学出版社，2005年。

[15] Haiyan HU-von Hinüber, "Some Remarks on the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Prātimokṣasūtra* found in Tibet" (as note 13): 284–285.

catalogue of Zha lu Monastery, we can infer that after the visit of Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana the Zha lu Monastery manuscripts were moved to the Northern Sa skya Monastery.[16]

In May 2001, Peking University professor DUAN Qing carried out "The Organization of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Formerly Preserved in the Palace of National Minorities in Beijing," an activity sponsored by the Ministry of Education Human and Social Sciences Project, to which the School of Foreign Languages gave further support. Taking this opportunity, in 2003 we digitalized the microfilms, storing and organizing in a computer thousands of photographs of more than 200 Sanskrit manuscripts. Due to insufficient care, six rolls of these microfilms were lost and in a few cases the cataloguing number is unclear. Among the lost photographs were texts of importance in terms of logic, grammar, tantra, etc. The catalogue of WANG Sen recorded only 259 entries, but there are 266 microfilms, some of which at present cannot be assigned to a specific category: the discrepancies between WANG Sen's catalogue and the microfilms deserve further investigation.

In order to launch the study of the Sanskrit manuscripts, at the beginning of November 2004 we suggested to the Social Sciences Bureau of Peking University that a special institute be set up, and this was approved before the end of the same month. With the support of the Institute of Oriental Studies and the School of Foreign Languages of Peking University, the Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Buddhist Literature was established. The microfilms of the Sanskrit manuscripts have become the primary material for our research. At present DUAN Qing is in charge of the institute, which includes scholars from the Sanskrit and Pali Section, Department of South Asia Studies, School of Foreign Languages.

3. Preliminary achievements

At the beginning of June 2004, thanks to the efforts of WANG Bangwei and DUAN Qing, Peking University and the TAR began a discussion concerning the preservation of Sanskrit manuscripts and the study and training of specialized personnel. Following this meeting, Peking University applied to the Ministry of Education for the setting up of a Special Tibet Aid Project jointly by its School of Foreign Languages and the Tibet Regional Cultural Relics Bureau. In July, the Ministry of Education issued a document instructing the School of Foreign Languages of Peking University to resume the enrollment of undergraduate students majoring in Sanskrit and Pali, aimed at strengthening the training of future generations. On the basis of this document, Peking University in 2005 enrolled eight undergraduate students, two of whom were Tibetans. During 2006–2007, five of these students went to India or Nepal as exchange students for one year, and upon graduation in 2009 five of them continued their M.A. studies. In the fall of 2010, Peking University enrolled nine undergraduate students, three of them Tibetans.

As well as offering elective Sanskrit courses in order to attract outstanding students from other majors, hoping they will immerse themselves in the field of Sanskrit studies,

[16] However, according to LUO Zhao (personal communication, June 2009), this account and inference presents problems. First, the manuscripts from different monasteries in Tibet were gathered in Lhasa at one time, circa 1959; considering the conditions at that time, it would have been both difficult and unreasonable for the manuscripts to have been first transferred west from Zha lu Monastery to Sa skya Monastery, then east from Sa skya Monastery, via Zha lu Monastery, to Lhasa. Second, in February 1985, when LUO Zhao returned to Beijing for the Chinese Spring Festival, he saw WANG Sen's catalogue in Beijing, and found an interesting phenomenon: in a number of cases manuscripts which belong to one text have been preserved in both Lhasa and Beijing, due to their being divided into different bundles. Probably these manuscripts from Zha lu Monastery were transferred to Lhasa circa 1959 (Steinkellner's paper also mentioned this: Ernst Steinkellner, *A Tale of Leaves: On Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet, their Past and their Future*, 2004: 20), then were brought from Lhasa to Beijing. As some of the Tibetan manuscripts conserved in the Palace of National Minorities came from Sa skya Monastery, staff members may have confused Tibetan and Sanskrit manuscripts.

the staff at Peking University have been training masters and doctoral students enrolled through the national examination system. After graduation some could go abroad to pursue advanced studies, others could enter scientific institutions and continue to utilize their Sanskrit skills, still others are dedicating their energies to the study of palm-leaf manuscripts. Among the most outstanding students we should mention four whose attainments are already considerable. YE Shaoyong (叶少勇), who found fragments of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* and Buddhapālita's Commentary (WANG Sen's Catalogue no. 17) among the microfilms of Peking University, is working on a detailed critical edition of these texts, and has participated in two international conferences on Buddhist studies,[17] publishing a series of articles on the results of his research,[18] obtaining international recognition and appreciation. Having now completed his doctoral dissertation,[19] he has become my colleague, continuing his studies. LUO Hong (罗鸿), another outstanding student, chose the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Vinayasūtra* and its commentaries (WANG Sen's Catalogue nos. 7 and 8) as his doctoral dissertation topic;[20] he now works at the CTRC, continuing his research. FAN Muyou (范慕尤) published a preliminary study on the *Advayasamatāvijayākhyākalpamahārāja*, a Sanskrit tantric manuscript (WANG Sen's Catalogue no. 76);[21] and completed her dissertation on this text, collating Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions.[22] Doctoral candidate Bill Mak (麦文彪), from Hong Kong, has completed his doctoral dissertation based on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāvyākhyābhisamayālaṅkārāloka*. We are also striving to create opportunities for students to pursue specialization abroad: YE Shaoyong studied in Japan for two years after obtaining the Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai Fellowship and a scholarship from the Chinese government; FAN Muyou has carried out research for half a year at Munich University upon obtaining financial support from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD); Bill Mak also has benefitted from short periods of research activity in Germany and Japan.

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[17] YE Shaoyong, "A Sanskrit Manuscript of *Madhyamaka-kārikā* and Buddhapālita's Commentary from Tibet," a paper presented at the International Association of Buddhist Studies conference in London, 2005; "A Re-examination of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* on the Basis of the Newly Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet," a paper presented at the International Association of Buddhist Studies conference in Atlanta, 2008.

[18] YE Shaoyong, "The *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* and Buddhapālita's Commentary (1): Romanized Texts Based on the Newly Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet," *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University (ARIRIAB)* 10 (2006): 117–148; "The *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* and Buddhapālita's Commentary (2): Romanized Texts Based on the Newly Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet," *ARIRIAB* 11 (2008): 105–152; "A Re-examination of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* on the Basis of the Newly Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet," *ARIRIAB* 10 (2007): 149–170; "A Paleographical Study of the Manuscripts of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* and Buddhapālita's Commentary," *ARIRIAB* 11 (2008): 153–176.

[19] YE Shaoyong, Mūlamadhyamakakārikā *and Buddhapālita's commentary: A Philological Study on the Basis of the Newly Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts*, doctoral dissertation, Peking University, 2009. Published in 2011 as: Ye Shaoyong, Mūlamadhyamakakārikā *and Buddhapālita's Commentary: A Philological Study on the Basis of Newly Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Shanghai, Zhongxi Book Company, 2011 (Series of Sanskrit Manuscripts & Buddhist Literature 1). 叶少勇，《<中论颂>与<佛护释>——基于新发现梵文写本的文献学研究》，上海：中西书局，2011年（梵文贝叶经与佛教文献系列丛书①）。

[20] LUO Hong, *A Study of the* Pravrajyāvastu *of the* Vinayasūtra, doctoral dissertation, Peking University, 2007.

[21] FAN Muyou, "Some Remarks on the Relationship between a Sanskrit Manuscript of the *Advayasamatāvijaya* from Tibetan and its Tibetan Translation," *ARIRIAB* 11 (2008): 375–380; "Some Notes on Editing the Sanskrit Manuscript of the *Advayasamatāvijayamahākalparāja* with Reference to the Chinese and Tibetan Translation," *Tantric Studies* 1 (2008): 155–180.

[22] FAN Muyou, *The Trilingual Version of the Manuscripts* Advayasamatāvijayamahākalparājā *previously preserved as Number 76 in the China Ethnic Library and Relevant Research*, doctoral dissertation, Peking University, 2008. Published in 2011 as: FAN Muyou, Advayasamatāvijaya: *A Study Based upon the Sanskrit Manuscript Found in Tibet,* Shanghai, Zhongxi Book Company, 2011 (Series of Sanskrit manuscripts & Buddhist literature 2). 范慕尤，《梵文写本<无二平等经>的对勘与研究》，上海：中西书局，2011年（梵文贝叶经与佛教文献系列丛书②）。

Using the digital version of the microfilmed manuscripts and consulting the catalogues of Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, we are revising WANG Sen's catalogue, striving to transcribe the beginning folios and the colophons of the manuscripts and to decipher and transcribe some complete texts. For example, complete transcriptions and preliminary studies of the *Bodhicittavajragāthāṭīkā* (WANG Sen's Catalogue no. 79) and the *Vajrasattvasādhana* (WANG Sen's Catalogue no. 94) have been accomplished by DUAN Qing. In the process of revising the catalogue, we selected certain manuscripts with recorded date and standard calligraphy with the intention of classifying them according to Nepalese hook, Śāradā, Proto-Bengālī, Nāgarī and Rañjanā scripts, collating in digital format an alphabet and ligature table, adding passages from the manuscripts followed by their transcription and Chinese translation. This material will form a palaeographic tutorial text for students to familiarize themselves with different kinds of scripts and prepare them to read manuscripts. At present the preparation of this material is in its final stages.

Since the establishment of the Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Buddhist Literature of Peking University, we have actively engaged in collaboration with Chinese and international organizations in order to make ourselves known. In September 2005, WU Zhipan (吴志攀), the vice-president of Peking University, professors WANG Bangwei, DUAN Qing, and Ph.D. candidate YE Shaoyong went to the TAR to establish mechanisms for carrying out joint training of specialized personnel and launching the study of Sanskrit manuscripts, arriving at a preliminary understanding of these and related topics. In April 2006 DUAN Qing and I went to Korea to participate in Saṅgīti 2006: the Third Korean Conference on Buddhist Studies. I presented a preliminary study paper on the findings from the Sanskrit manuscript of Lingyin Monastery in Zhejiang Province, "The Twelve Earths in Lingyin Manuscript." In November 2006 and February 2007 DUAN Qing and I went to the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University, Japan, for a cooperative research project. In October 2008, on the occasion of the 4th Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies and the Seminar on Sanskrit Manuscripts at Peking University, we presented to colleagues in the national and international community a comprehensive description of the results of our work in the areas of personnel training and research.[23]

Recently, the TAR government and the Ministry of Education signed a convention instructing Peking University to train specialized personnel for the TAR's Sanskrit Manuscripts Working Group. According to this convention, the first two people were to be enrolled in the fall of 2009, but unfortunately, for various reasons, the plan has not yet been carried into execution.

4. A tentative investigation of the scholarly milieu of Tibetan cultural élites in the 11th–13th centuries through the Indic Buddhist manuscripts preserved in the TAR

Preliminary investigation shows that most of the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Tibet belong to a period encompassing the 11th to 13th centuries. Their content is varied: besides Buddhist texts, there are Hindu tantric texts, works of grammar, Sanskrit classical literature (poetry, drama, stories, etc.), a corpus which seems to reflect the interest of monks, whether Indian or Tibetan, which was not limited to Buddhism but extended to Indian culture in a broader sense.

Most of the manuscripts are in Indian script, but some are transliterations in Tibetan script, a few were directly written in Tibetan, some have Sanskrit colophons and Tibetan

[23] Ernst Steinkellner, DUAN Qing, Helmut Krasser eds., *Sanskrit Manuscripts in China. Proceedings of a panel at the 2008 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies, October 13 to 17*, Beijing, China Tibetology Publishing House, 2009.

inscriptions,[24] some present interlinear notes in both languages, indicating that these texts were read and studied over and over again through the years; some include notes of great Indian and Tibetan masters or belonged to their personal collections.[25] As material evidence, they have fixed a moment of history for us, confirming, as recorded in Tibetan historical works, that with Buddhism as a medium, Tibetan culture flourished between the 11th and 13th centuries. I believe that by examining related records and consulting the notes and colophons of the manuscripts, it may be possible to get a glimpse of the scholarly milieu of Tibetan cultural élites and thus gain a better understanding of the interrelation of Tibetan and Indian culture. These resources offer much to elucidate the meeting, exchange and merging of different peoples and different cultures.

It is important to note that, although most of the manuscripts were brought to Tibet at a relatively early period, not all were translated into Tibetan immediately; for some the translation was carried out in the 15th century, such as translations by Zha lu lo tsā ba Rin chen chos skyong bzang po (1441–1527); and in some cases the Tibetan colophons indicate that these palm-leaf manuscripts were still consulted at the end of the Ming and beginning of the Qing Dynasties. For example, the Tibetan inscription of the *Advaya-samatāvijayākhyākalpamahārāja* states clearly that the missing part of this manuscript was completed with a translation from the Chinese by the Mongolian scholar mGon po skyabs during the Qing Dynasty.

According to the catalogue of LUO Zhao, some of the palm-leaf manuscripts had paper slips inserted in them, reporting in Tibetan language a variety of details, such as their title, script, material, name of the monasteries and so on, and some damaged palm-leaf manuscripts presented traces of restoration. We know that the 13th Dalai Lama sent to the Czar of Russia some Sanskrit manuscripts, but at present we do not know if they were randomly chosen, or if they were selected with some principle in mind. A question surfaces: was there an earlier record and catalogue of these texts? Maybe in the future we will find proof of the cataloguing of these books among Tibetan ancient texts.[26]

5. Looking to the future

Because of the historical situation, in China the editing of Sanskrit Buddhist texts has just begun — it is less than ten years since we began training personnel and carrying out research in the field of palm-leaf manuscripts. Compared with the Western tradition of Indology and Buddhology, which spans more than a hundred years, we still have a wide gap to close, both in the number of experts and training of personnel, and in the gathering of resources and methodology. This is a reality we have to face. But from another point of view, the success achieved in these few years shows our strength and potential in the field of Sanskrit manuscript studies and is indicative of a confidence and commitment that promise speedy progress.

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[24] LUO Zhao states that the number of these Sanskrit colophons and Tibetan inscriptions is not small, and some Tibetan inscriptions are very long (personal communication, June 2009).

[25] Our microfilm of the *Vinayasūtra* manuscript contains interlinear notes, whose content, according to LUO Hong, corresponds to the *Vinayasūtravṛttyabhidhānasvavyākhyāna*. Moreover, this same manuscript has a handwritten note on the first folio: "śīla-akaras bris pa," which, according to dGe 'dun chos 'phel, refers to sTeng pa lo tsā ba Tshul khrims 'byung gnas (1107–1190) (*dGe 'dun chos 'phel gyi gsung rtsom*, Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, Lhasa, 1990, vol. 1, 21). Since the *Vinayasūtravṛttyabhidhānasvavyākhyāna* was translated by sTeng pa lo tsā ba Tshul khrims 'byung gnas, it cannot be excluded that the manuscript of which we have the microfilm was the one used by him when he made that translation.

[26] LUO Zhao argues that nobody systematically dealt with these manuscripts after the Fifth Dalai Lama until Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana's investigation in the 1930s; most of the paper slips inserted in these manuscripts date from the survey in 1959–1964, while a few belong to the Yuan dynasty (personal communication, June 2009).

The strengthening of the economy in China has given a vigorous impetus to the cultural sector. Buddhist culture has a solid substratum in China, being an integral part of Chinese culture, and the growing strength of the country will continue to create opportunities in cultural studies, which will have positive repercussions in the field of Sanskrit manuscript studies. Since the formal launching by the Chinese government of the Preservation and Study of Palm-leaf Manuscripts project in 2006, a large investment has already been made in personnel and materials; heartening results are already apparent. For Chinese, the Sanskrit manuscripts are a precious legacy left to us by our ancestors, which we have the obligation to safeguard and the duty to study. In this research field we have a dual advantage: a substantial Buddhist background and the insight conferred by familiarity with Tibetan and Chinese languages. The contribution of Chinese scholars in future studies of Sanskrit manuscripts will be significant.

In a global era, to isolate oneself is not desirable. Furthermore, the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Tibet are also a heritage belonging to all humanity. Therefore the preservation and study of the Sanskrit manuscripts presently in Tibet are the responsibility and duty of scholars and experts in the field from all over the world. At present we occupy a back-seat position in this field, but we hope to open up multilayered and multi-channel exchange and collaboration with national and especially international scientific institutions, and through joint research projects, short-term exchange visits, student exchanges and similar activities, cooperatively allow the study of Sanskrit manuscripts to flourish.

According to earlier reports, there were already registered in the TAR 426 palm-leaf manuscripts, with a total of more than 4,300 folios, preserved mainly in the city of Lhasa, in the main monasteries, museums and research centers of lHo kha and gZhis ka rtse.[27] As mentioned above, the latest report maintains that there are one thousand bundles and sixty thousand folios of Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the TAR. The amount of Indic manuscripts brought into Tibet in hundreds of years of cultural exchange between India and Tibet must have been very large. Some of them were works of Indian literature,[28] some

[27] *People's Daily*, July, 25, 2006, page 11.

[28] For example, the colophon of the translation of the *Amarakoṣaṭīkākāmadhenu* records that sNe gdong monastery, lHo kha, owned a large collection of Sanskrit manuscripts: Tôh. no. 4300, folio 317a4–b2: *tsandra pa'i 'grel pa slob dpon dharma dā sas mdzad pa dang/ de'i rgyas 'grel paṇḍi ta ratna ma tis mdzad pa dang/ de'i yang rgya cher 'grel pa paṇḍi ta sūrṇa(sic! pūrṇa) tsandra jitedra ste rgyal dbang zla ba gang bas mdzad pa stong phrag sum cu rtsa drug pa dang/ des mdzad pa'i byings kyi dpung gnyen dang/ 'jam dpal gyi vyā karaṇa'i 'grel pa ka lingga'i slob dpon rgyal po dpal gyis mdzad pa stong phrag brgyad pa dang/ rgyud nyung gi rnam bshad durgas mdzad pa ste/ kalāpa'i 'grel pa durga singha dang/ bram ze pāṇī'i sgra'i bstan bcos dang/ slob dpon mchog sred dang/ vyāḍi dang/ rabhasa dang/ vāma na dang/ drang srong rgyas pa sogs kyis ci rigs par mdzad pa'i 'chi med phreng ba dang/ rin chen mdzod dang/ sgeg pa gsal ba dang/ skabs gsum gyi lhag ma dang/ sngon byung lo rgyus kyi snyan dngags bhārata dang/ shamba'i sngon rabs dang/ rāmayaṇa dang/ margaṇḍeya dang/ dbyangs can gyi mgul rgyan dang/ sha bar svami/ ri khrod rje'am/ shivāsvami/ zhi ba'i rjes mdzad pa'i kaspina mngon par [317b] 'byung brtsa 'grel dang/ nag mo'i khol gyis mdzad pa'i gzhon nu 'byung ba dang/ daṇḍi'i tshig rgyan la sogs pa la brtan nas gzhung chen po'i tshigs su bcad pa'i grangs kyis btsal na stong phrag bcur longs pa tsam mdzad pa'i phyed lhag gi rgya dpe sna'u gdong rtse'i gtsug lag khang na bzhugs pa …*

In the above colophon it is recorded that besides a large number of grammatical works, the monastery also collected works of Indian literature, such as the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Kumārasambhava*. It is important to note that some of the manuscripts mentioned in the colophon were translated by Zha lu lo tsā ba Rin chen chos skyong bzang po himself, such as the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāmañjuśrīśabdavyākaraṇavṛtti*. Texts corresponding to manuscripts mentioned in the colophon can be found in Tibet, such as Dharmadāsa's commentary on the *Candravyākaraṇa* preserved at Nor bu gling kha (Sang De Catalogue, 15); while Ratnamati's commentary and Pūrṇacandrajitendra's commentary are recorded in Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana's Catalogue (nos. 295, 296) and WANG Sen's Catalogue (no. 149); according to the conjecture of overseas scholars, it is possible that the *Kumārasambhava* now preserved at Potala Palace (Sang De Catalogue, 195) belonged to Zha lu lo tsā ba Rin chen chos skyong bzang po; from this I am inclined to think that the manuscripts mentioned in the colophon were still preserved in the sNe gdong monastery at least until the 15th century.

of them important Buddhist texts which have not yet been found.[29] Because of historical vicissitudes, the whereabouts of many manuscripts are unknown; I believe there are still manuscripts in the hands of Tibetan private citizens or in monasteries, possibly in large numbers. The author has seen two manuscripts in sDe dge County, dKar mdzes Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan, one a palm-leaf manuscript, a commentary on the *Kāvyādarśa*, and the other a tantric liturgy text written on paper. In the future, we hope to be able to carry out a complete national record and digitalization of the palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in monasteries, public and private collections; the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation (and Cataloguing) Project (NGMP[/C]P) may provide a useful model for this enterprise.

There are good reasons to believe that following the systematic cataloguing, conservation and study of the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Tibet, and the possible discovery of fresh material, a new impetus will be given to the study of Buddhist philology and philosophy, allowing us to reach a deeper understanding of Buddhist culture, and through this contribute to the development of humanity.

[29] For example, in the *Blue Annals* it is recorded that sTeng pa lo tsā ba Tshul khrims 'byung gnas collected many manuscripts in India, among which was the *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, and that he translated two thirds of it into Tibetan. In the notes of his translation of the *Blue Annals,* Roerich mentioned that many manuscripts brought into Tibet by sTeng pa lo tsā ba Tshul khrims 'byung gnas were at the time preserved in the Ngor monastery. See George N. Roerich, *et al.*, trs., *The Blue Annals*, Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1949–1953: 1052–1054.

Indic Buddhist Manuscripts in Vienna: A Sino-Austrian Co-operative Project, with Methodological Remarks on Śāstric "Urtexts"

HELMUT KRASSER (VIENNA)

There are currently three projects being undertaken in Vienna that deal with Indic and Tibetan manuscripts. One is headed by Helmut Tauscher, with its main focus on the Western Tibetan manuscript tradition from the 11th to 15th centuries.[1] The second, the so-called Woolner project, aims at making the Alfred Cooper Woolner[2] collection of Sanskrit manuscripts kept in the Punjab University (PU) Library, Lahore, Pakistan, accessible to the scholarly world in digital form.[3] It is headed by Karin Preisendanz. Both projects are being conducted in the Department of South Asian, Tibetan and Buddhist Studies of the University of Vienna, and both focus on cataloguing and digitizing manuscripts.

The third project dedicated to manuscripts, the topic of this paper, is part of a cooperation initiated in 2004 between the China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC), Beijing, and the Austrian Academy of Sciences (AAS). The collaboration is based on a "General Agreement on Cooperative Studies on the Copies of Sanskrit Texts and Joint Publication" and its main concern is the editing of Sanskrit texts that are then jointly published by the publishing houses of the two institutions. A series called *Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region* (STTAR) has been founded for this purpose. The agreement was the outcome of the untiring efforts of Lhagpa Phuntshogs, the Director-General of the CTRC, and Ernst Steinkellner, at the time of the agreement's signing Director of the Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia (IKGA) of the AAS. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to both. The project underway at the IKGA of the AAS involves quite a number of research fellows, including Vincent Eltschinger, Hisataka Ishida (since May 2006), Pascale Hugon, Horst Lasic, Anne MacDonald,[4] Masamichi Sakai (since Oct. 2006), Ernst Steinkellner, who since his retirement has been a guest researcher at the institute, Toru Tomabechi,[5] Vinita TSENG,[6] Toshikazu Watanabe (since Oct. 2008) and myself.[7] We are regularly joined by a number of guest researchers from our cooperating institution in Beijing, including LUO Hong, LI Xueshu and Dramdul. Colleagues from other institutions have also been cooperating in the project, including Jowita Kramer from the University of Munich as well as several Japanese colleagues, including Shoryu Katsura (Ryukoku Univ.), Nobuchiyo Odani (Otani Univ.), Kazunobu Matsuda (Bukkyo Univ.) and others.

The developments leading to the agreement have already been outlined by Steinkellner in his 2003 Gonda lecture[8] and thus, there is no need to repeat them here. Instead I will

[1] See www.univie.ac.at/chwh/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=65&Itemid=75 for a short description of the project.

[2] Alfred Cooper Woolner (1878–1936) was a British scholar of Sanskrit and Classics. In 1903 he was appointed Registrar of Punjab University, Principal of its Oriental College and Honorary Librarian at the university's library.

[3] See www.fwf.ac.at/de/abstracts/abstract.asp?L=D&PROJ=P20268 for a short description of the project.

[4] Anne MacDonald has been working as a research fellow at the IKGA only since April 2010, but she has participated in the project from the beginning.

[5] Toru Tomabechi was a research fellow at the IKGA from the beginning of the project in 2004 until the end of June 2010. He is now participating in the project as an external collaborator.

[6] Vinita Tseng was a research fellow at the IKGA from the beginning of the project in 2004 until the end of December 2009.

[7] From the beginning, work on the manuscripts has been generously sponsored by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), for which we are very grateful.

[8] Ernst Steinkellner, *A tale of leaves. On Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet, their past and their future.*

focus on the present status of the project, the texts being worked on, and the researchers involved. Before doing so, it should be mentioned that we are not dealing with the original Sanskrit manuscripts — these are kept in the TAR and I have never seen any of them — but with photocopies of black and white photos of the manuscripts that were taken in Lhasa in 1987. These photocopies are kept in a collection at the CTRC. The following is a list, arranged alphabetically according to author, of the texts currently being worked on. Additional information pertains to the manuscripts, the editor(s), and the current status of the work being done.[9]

Author	**Title and ms details**	**Editors**	**Status**
–	*Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*	Tomabechi	published 2010[a]
–	*Bodhisattvapiṭaka* (complete – 142 folios)	Jens Braarvig, Ulrich Pagel	in progress
–	Twenty short sūtras	TSENG	published 2010[b]
Abhayākaragupta	*Pañcakramatātparyapañjikā* (complete – 55 folios)	Tomabechi	in progress
Candrakīrti	*Madhyamakāvatāra* (97 folios – 1 folio missing)	Krasser, Lasic, LI, MacDonald, Tomabechi	in progress
Candrakīrti	*Vajrasattvasādhana* (alias *Vajrasattvaniṣpādanasūtra*)	LUO, Tomabechi	published 2009[c]
Dharmakīrti	*Pramāṇaviniścaya*		
	chapters 1+2	Steinkellner	published 2007[d]
	chapter 3	Hugon, Tomabechi	published 2010[e]
Dharmakīrti	*Hetubindu* (complete – 25 folios)	Krasser	in progress
Dharmottara	*Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā* (chapter 1 is not available)		
	chapter 2 (incomplete – 71 folios)	Ishida, Krasser, Sakai	in progress
	chapter 3 (incomplete – 120 folios out of 160)	various scholars, coordinated by Hugon, are preparing a diplomatic edition	in progress
	a critical edition of chapter 3 on the *hetucakra* section of *Pramāṇaviniścaya* 3 (vv. 33–66) and on the *hetvābhāsa* section (vv. 67–83)	Watanabe	in progress
Guṇaprabha	*Vinayasūtra* (complete – 120 folios [+ 66 folios from the collection of Sāṅkṛtyāyana])	LUO Hong	in progress
Jinendrabuddhi	*Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* (complete – 285 folios)		
	chapter 1	Krasser, Lasic, Steinkellner	published 2005[f]

2003 Gonda Lecture. Amsterdam 2004 (see www.oeaw.ac.at/ias/Mat/steinkellner_leaves.pdf for a downloadable version). See also the general remarks in Steinkellner's introduction to the critical edition of chapters one and two of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* referred to in note d to the following table.

[9] In addition to the texts mentioned in the notes to the following table, one text has been published in the STTAR series that is not a product of our cooperation, namely volume 3 (in three parts): JIANG Zhongxin, *Palm-leaf manuscript of the Sanskrit Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtram. Collected in the Norbulingga of Tibet. Written in A.D. 1067. A romanized text*. Beijing: CTPH/Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies/ Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 2006.

	chapter 2	Krasser, Lasic, Steinkellner	in progress
	chapter 3	Diwakar Acharya, Katsura, Yasuhiro Okazaki, Taisei Shida, Kiyokuni Shiga, Watanabe	in progress
	chapter 4	Acharya, Katsura, Okazaki, Shida, Shiga,Watanabe	not yet begun
	chapter 5	Krasser, Lasic	in progress
	chapter 6	Acharya, Katsura, Okazaki, Shida, Shiga,Watanabe	not yet begun
Nāgārjuna	*Dharmadhātustava* (incomplete – the last of 5 folios is missing)	Liu Zhen	in progress
Samayavajra	*Pañcakramapañjikā* (incomplete – 29 folios)	Tomabechi	in progress
Śaṅkaranandana	13 treatises in verses[g] (complete – 31 folios [+ mss from the collections of Sāṅkṛtyāyana and Tucci])	Eltschinger	in progress
Śaṅkaranandana	*Anyāpohasiddhikārikā* (incomplete – 12 folios – 41 verses and commentary on vv. 22–41 [+ mss from the collections of Sāṅkṛtyāyana and Tucci])	Eltschinger	in progress
Śaṅkaranandana	*Dharmālaṅkāra* (3 chapters; chapter 1, **Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi*, is not available)		
	chapter 2, *Nairātmyasiddhi* (incomplete – 16 folios; 26 verses with commentary [+ mss from the collections of Sāṅkṛtyāyana and Tucci for the verses])	Eltschinger, Isabelle Ratié	in progress
	chapter 3, *Kṣaṇikatvabādhābhāvasiddhi* (complete – 10 folios; 18 verses with commentary [+ mss from the collections of Sāṅkṛtyāyana and Tucci for the verses])	Sakai	in progress
Śāntarakṣita	*Tattvasiddhi* (complete – 19 folios [+ 5 Nepalese mss])	Tomabechi	in progress
Sthiramati	*Abhidharmakośavyākhyā Tattvārthā* (incomplete – 137 folios)	Odani, Matsuda	in progress
Sthiramati	*Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣā* (complete – 73 folios)	Kramer	in progress
Vasubandhu	*Pañcaskandhaka*	Li, Steinkellner	published 2008[h]

(a) Toru Tomabechi, *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā. Sanskrit and Tibetan texts*. (STTAR 5) Beijing/Vienna: CTPH/AASP 2009.
(b) Bhikṣuṇī Vinītā (Vinita Tseng, 自運), *A unique collection of twenty Sūtras in a Sanskrit manuscript from the Potala*. Vol. I, 1+2. (STTAR 7) Beijing/Vienna: CTPH/AASP 2010.
(c) Luo Hong and Toru Tomabechi, *Candrakīrti's Vajrasattvaniṣpādanasūtra (Vajrasattvasādhana)*. *Sanskrit and Tibetan texts*. (STTAR 6) Beijing/Vienna: CTPH/AASP 2009.
(d) Ernst Steinkellner, *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścaya, chapters 1 and 2*. (STTAR 2) Beijing/Vienna: CTPH/AASP 2007.
(e) Pascale Hugon and Toru Tomabechi, *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścaya, chapter 3*. With a preface by Tom J. F. Tillemans. (STTAR 8) Beijing/Vienna: CTPH/AASP 2010.

(f) Ernst Steinkellner, Helmut Krasser, Horst Lasic, *Jinendrabuddhi's Viśālāmalavatī Pramāṇasamuccaya-ṭīkā, chapter 1. Part I: Critical edition*; *Part II: Diplomatic edition with a manuscript description* by Anne MacDonald. (STTAR 1/I+II) Beijing/Vienna: CTPH/AASP 2005.
KWIC-indices to the editions are being published in cooperation with Prof. Jun Takashima, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. A KWIC-index for the first chapter of Jinendrabuddhi's *Ṭīkā* and for Dharmakīrti's works can be downloaded at http://www.aa.tufs.ac.jp/~tjun/data/kwic/.

(g) On Śaṅkaranandana and the available Sanskrit manuscripts, see Vincent Eltschinger, Śaṅkaranandana's *Sarvajñasiddhi* – A preliminary report. In: Francesco Sferra (ed.), *Sanskrit texts from Giuseppe Tucci's collection.* Part I. Roma 2008: 115–155, and id., Les oeuvres de Śaṅkaranandana: Nouvelles ressources manuscrites, chronologie relative et identité confessionnelle. *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 66/1–4 (2006 [published 2010]): 83–122.

(h) Xuezhu LI and Ernst Steinkellner, *Vasubandhu's Pañcaskandhaka.* Critical edition with a contribution by Toru Tomabechi. (STTAR 4) Beijing/Vienna: CTPH/AASP 2008.

As one can see under the rubric "editors," some texts are being edited by a single person and some by a team. Although teamwork is certainly preferable, in practice it is not always possible. And unfortunately, a publication that has been worked on jointly with colleagues does not count for very much when applying for jobs. Thus, we work as teams on longer texts, and the shorter texts are edited by individuals. It also goes without saying that one needs very specialized expertise in the respective field to edit such a text satisfactorily. Thus, tantric texts are best worked on by Tantra specialists, as, for example, Tomabechi or Harunaga Isaacson (Hamburg). For this reason and also because of our institute's limited capacities, we have enlisted the cooperation of the Abhidharma specialists Odani and Matsuda. Moreover, the sheer mass of Sanskrit texts that seem to have survived, not only in the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR), but also elsewhere such as in Nepal, is staggering. Even cataloguing, describing and digitizing these manuscripts is extremely time-consuming, to say nothing of editing them. However, to be realistic, access to these texts from the TAR is still limited and most are still unavailable. The only texts from the TAR or adjacent areas that are currently available to the scholarly world are those listed above, the texts being edited at the University of Hamburg, also within the framework of a cooperation with the CTRC, and the texts that have been edited and published, some also as facsimiles, by the Taishō University Study Group. To be added to this list are the photos of Sanskrit manuscripts kept in the Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Buddhist Literature, established at Peking University by DUAN Qing, of which a few can be seen online on the PKU homepage (http://sfl.pku.edu.cn/sanskrit).[10]

In the hopes of furthering a possible change in this situation and in order to consider the necessary steps such a change would entail, this matter was discussed at the panel "Sanskrit Manuscripts in China — State and Projects" held at the 2008 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies convened at the CTRC. The panel was organized by DUAN Qing and Steinkellner, and a number of young researchers as well as expert scholars from both the PRC and abroad took part. The results of these discussions have been summarized by Steinkellner in a memorandum published in the panel proceedings.[11] The topics addressed in this memorandum are 1) Sanskrit manuscripts as cultural relics, 2) copies of these in various forms, 3) regulation and supervision of access,[12] 4) costs and sponsorships, 5) training and

[10] Steinkellner (2004: 24, note 8) mentions two more manuscripts that have become available: "Individual Chinese scholars must also be mentioned, such as Prof. ZHANG Baosheng, a student of Prof. JI Xianlin, who published the **Sādhanaśataka* facsimile in 1994 in Vienna, and the late Prof. JIANG Zhongxin (CHIANG Chung-hsin), who evidently was not only allowed to publish certain manuscripts in facsimile in the early 1990s, but even to bring specimens to the West, such as the *Madhyamakahṛdaya* manuscript, then kept in Beijing, to Copenhagen during his stay there in 1987 on the invitation of Dr. Christian Lindtner."

[11] Ernst Steinkellner, Strategies for modes of management and scholarly treatment of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the TAR. In: Steinkellner *et al.* 2009: 279–292.

[12] On the importance of access to the manuscripts, even in case of already published texts, see the

international cooperation, and 6) further measures needed within the TAR and other areas of the PRC. The main point for us as scholars is, of course, that the contents of these manuscripts, the texts, become accessible via the internet in digitized form or as editions in facsimile. Also, it is important that the manuscripts are kept, with their respective owners, in a protected environment to ensure that they survive for future generations. Of the points listed above, numbers 5 and 6 are of particular importance, as the training of young scholars is in all of our interests.

Currently a few scholars are trained by working together on text editions and discussing all the problems involved. For example, in the last years LUO Hong has come to Vienna yearly for three or four months, during which time he has worked on the *Vajrasattva-sādhana*, a tantric text, with Steinkellner and Tomabechi. During LI Xueshu's last stays in Vienna, also yearly stays of three or four months, the group mentioned above (p. 301) worked with him on the *Madhyamakāvatāra*. Previously, he had worked with Steinkellner on an edition of Vasubandhu's *Pañcaskandhaka*. But by no means does the training of only two scholars suffice for all the texts available in the collection at the CTRC, not to mention a time when more manuscripts in the TAR become available. Even if the number of Sanskrit scholars at Peking University increases, which at present is the only place in the PRC where such training is available, it will be impossible for this enormous task to be carried out by them alone. The only means we see for this task would be first, the freedom for specialists outside of the PRC to work on these texts, and secondly, a considerable increase in the number of Sanskrit scholars working within the TAR and other areas of the PRC. Possibilities for doing this would be the establishment of a Sanskrit Studies program at Tibet University and an institute in Lhasa specializing in research on Sanskrit manuscripts, by increasing the number of professors, students and postgraduate researchers at Peking University, and by establishing Sanskrit institutes at other universities in the PRC. Such moves will not be possible without some sort of academic exchange program that allows students, post-graduate scholars and teachers to travel in both directions, from China abroad, but also from foreign countries to China, with the purpose of creating the team of necessary experts plentiful enough for the giant task at hand.

* * *

After this short description of the project, I would like to add a few preliminary remarks on the character of the manuscripts we are dealing with, confining myself to śāstric texts of the Buddhist religio-philosophical schools. With regard to certain Mahāyāna sūtras, Seyfort Ruegg (2004: 21–22) has stated that they

> have been transmitted in two (or more) distinct recensions which cannot, it appears, be regarded as deriving from mere (scribal or aural) variants or revisions of either a single unified oral composition (perhaps in Middle Indo-Aryan) or from a single written text (be it in Middle Indo-Aryan or in [Buddhist] Sanskrit). … And to postulate some *Urtext* from which distinct recensions derive, in the manner of a *stemma codicum*, would here appear to constitute a misapplication of otherwise sound philological method.[13]

The problem addressed here by Seyfort Ruegg is not restricted to sūtras alone, but also pertains to certain śāstric texts. Thus, in the following I would like to briefly discuss the notion of an Urtext and the closely related "manner of a *stemma codicum*," by which Seyfort Ruegg is referring to what is known as the "stemmatic method" or "Lachmannian method."[14]

review by Isaacson referred to in note 14.

[13] For the complicated situation of the transmission of sūtras, see the chapter "On versions and recensions of Mahāyāna Sūtras" (pp. 20–24) in Seyfort Ruegg 2004 and the literature referred to there.

[14] On this method, see the brief but insightful remarks in Harunaga Isaacson's review of Steinkellner's

At present, the manuscripts of texts belonging to the śāstric traditions we have studied have usually been considered copies of an autograph. At least it is not stated otherwise. Accordingly, Katre, in his classic *Introduction to Indian textual criticism*, states that this type of text might be "either autographs, or immediate copies of autographs, or copies of copies, and this in any degree," and, qualifying this statement: "The chief province of Indian textual criticism deals in the main with copies of copies."[15] However, while it may be true that some copies have their source in an autograph, there is, to my knowledge, no actual evidence for this. Most of the manuscripts we are dealing with date, at the earliest, to around 1000 CE, and most of them are later (12th–13th c.). These manuscripts do not provide any information about whether they are copies of autographs or of another kind of Urtext. No autograph of an Indian Buddhist master has come down to us. Thus, the only source for this kind of information remains the text itself, if in fact it contains any clues at all for such a decision.

Some of the texts I have dealt with give the impression that they have been edited. As an example of this kind, I might mention Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti* (PVSV).[16] Other texts suggest, at least in some cases, that we are dealing with notes taken by students based on oral explanations given by teachers during classes. Accordingly, such texts are prone to doctrinal, theoretical, syntactical and grammatical inconsistencies that cannot be explained as mistakes that crept in during the text's transmission. Nothing is known about the genesis of this kind of text. Some may have been edited (but by whom?); others do not give this impression. Criteria that might help to establish whether a text was written by a student still have to be determined. One indication, as can be seen in Bhāviveka's *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikāvṛtti*, also known as *Tarkajvālā* (TJ),[17] seems to be the frequent and seemingly unnecessary identification of the individual elements of inferences as well as reference to the teacher as *śāstrakāra*/*śāstrakṛt* or *ācārya*.[18] A passage like the one from the TJ on MHK 8.68 (see note 18) is certainly not addressed to a learned scholarly community, Buddhist or otherwise; it is unlikely that Bhāviveka would have impressed other scholars

critical edition of chapters one and two of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (see above, note d to the table), "Of critical editions and manuscript reproductions: Remarks apropos of a critical edition of *Pramāṇaviniścaya* chapters 1 and 2," *manuscript cultures* 2 (2009) [14–21]: 14 with note 1.

[15] S. M. Katre, *Introduction to Indian textual criticism*. Poona [2]1954 [[1]1941]: 19–20.

[16] This judgment is only a guess and is not based on a thorough examination that includes all relevant materials, such as the available manuscripts, parallel material in other works by Dharmakīrti, the commentaries, quotations in other texts, as well as the Tibetan translations.

[17] For convenience's sake I follow the habit of previous scholars and refer to the commentary on the MHK, the *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikāvṛtti*, with the name *Tarkajvālā* as found in the colophon of the Tibetan translation (*dbu ma'i sñiṅ po'i tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'grel pa* ***rtog ge 'bar ba*** TJ 329b2). As the colophon of the Sanskrit manuscript of the MHK shows, the name *Tarkajvālā* was also used for the verses alone: *tarkajvālā nāma sūtraṃ samāptam* (Lindtner 2001: 110).

[18] *gźan yaṅ dṅos po rtag pa thams cad la khyab pa'i bdag dṅos po thams cad kyi rten du gyur pa nam mkha' daṅ 'dra ba yin no źes smras pa de la / de las gźan du rtog ge'i gnod pa ñe bar dgod pa'i sgo nas* slob dpon *gyis smras pa /*

rgyu las ñe bar ma byuṅ ba // nam mkha' dṅos por mi 'dod do *// nāpi hetvanupādānād ākāśaṃ bhāva iṣyate /*

de ni gcig kyaṅ ma yin te / mo gśam gyi ni bu bźin no *// vandhyātanayavan nāpi tad ekam ata eva hi //* MHK 8.68

nam mkha' *źes bya ba ni* chos can *no // de ni* ***dṅos po ma yin te*** *źes bya ba ni de'i* chos *so //* ***rgyu las ñe bar ma byuṅ ba'i phyir*** *źes bya ba ni* gtan tshigs *so //* (TJ 266a1–3)

Moreover, as to the statement [of the opponent] that the Self (*ātman*) is a permanent (*nitya*) entity (*bhāva*) and is all-pervasive (*sarvatraga*) and is the support (*ādhāra*) of all entities (*bhāva*) like space — in order to adduce a disproof different from that, the ācārya [i.e. Bhāviveka] says the following:

Again, space cannot be regarded as an entity, since it does not stand in relation to a cause. It is, therefore, not one [but non-existent], just as [the unreal] son of a barren woman [is not one].

The *subject* (*dharmin*) is "space," the *property* [which is to be proved] ([*sādhya*]*dharma*) of the [subject in the thesis] is "it is not an entity." The *logical reason* (*hetu*) is "because it has not originated (*anupapannāt* : *anupādānād*) from a cause (*hetu*)." (Cf. Qvarnström 1989: 122f.; the text of TJ is edited in note 141, the Tibetan text of the *kārikā* on p. 146.)

by demonstrating in the *Vṛtti* his ability to identify the logical subject or the reason in his MHK verse. It is also hard to imagine that Bhāviveka prepared to teach a class on the MHK by composing such explanatory sentences in his room and subsequently distributing them to his students. It is more likely that the text represents students' notes. This could also account for the fact that, with regard to MHK 6.28, the Bo doṅ Paṇ chen "states outright that the intent of the verse is explained differently in the TJ and that he did not see its comment to be a good one (*legs pa ma mthong*)" (van der Kuijp 2006: 186). Gokhale's observation that the TJ "evinces a lack of understanding for long compounds at a few places" (1985: 77) is better understood if we assume that the TJ was recorded by a student and not by a later erudite individual of the same or a similar name, e.g. Bhavya, as some scholars have assumed.[19]

A criterion for distinguishing later additions may be phrases such as *ity alaṃ prasaṅge-na*, which indicate the end of a digression or appendix (*prasaṅga*), given that some of these digressions contain material which only became available after the original composition of the text. Such is the case in Bhāviveka's *Prajñāpradīpa* (PP).

As van der Kuijp has signaled, there are problems not only with Bhāviveka's *Tarkajvālā* (TJ) but also with his PP, which is not available in Sanskrit but for which "we have two different translations: a Chinese version that was prepared by Prabhākaramitra in 630–2 and a circa 800–20 Tibetan version by the 'Indian Mahāyāna Mādhyamika' Jñānagarbha and Cog / Lcog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan … Comparing the two versions, we notice that they presuppose at times quite different readings of the original Sanskrit manuscripts on which they were based" (van der Kuijp 2006: 171).[20] The problem is connected with passages or summaries from the TJ and elsewhere that are found in the PP. One of these, dealing with the refutation of Yogācāra tenets, has been edited by Lindtner (1984) and translated by Eckel (1985); as shown by van der Kuijp (p. 195, note 78), the excursus ends earlier than is found in the edition and translation of Lindtner and Eckel, namely, with the expression *źar la bśad pas chog ste*, or more precisely, with the sentence following the particle *ste*. Another excursus, which is the topic of the paper by van der Kuijp and which deals with the Mīmāṃsā arguments against the omniscience of the Buddha, begins in PP 214a3 with *mu stegs can ṅan pa mig na bas ñi ma'i dkyil 'khor gyi 'od zer mi bzod pa bźin du /* and ends again with the formulation *źar la bśad pas chog go* // (PP 216a7).[21] The discrepancies between the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the PP, as reported by van der Kuijp ("the Chinese translation quotes a verse from an unidentified sutra [*ru jing jie shuo*], the PP's Tibetan counterpart gives this passage in prose and does not at all indicate that it is a quotation, let alone from a sutra!" [2006: 194]),[22] and the fact that the reference to the TJ, "*dBu ma'i sñiṅ po'i de kho na ñid la 'jug pa'i skabs*," which is found in the Tibetan translation of the "Yogācāra appendix" but missing in its Chinese counterpart (p. 195), are best explained if we assume that the digressions were not written by Bhāviveka himself,

[19] For more evidence that the TJ was written by students, see Krasser 2011.

[20] For differences between the Chinese and Tibetan translations, see van der Kuijp 2006: 194f.

[21] The next sentence probably also belongs to this digression, as it is still dealing with omniscience (*de'i phyir de ltar thams cad mkhyen pa ni chos thams cad ṅo bo ñid med pa ñid phyin ci ma log par ston pa bka' lha daṅ mi'i bla ma rnams kyis bkur ba de / de ñid bcom ldan 'das stobs bcu mṅa' ba yin no // gtam ha caṅ 'phros pas chog gi / skabs ñid la 'jug par bya'o* // PP 216a7–b1).

[22] As this digression is too long to have been written in the margin of the PP manuscript, we may assume that it was written on a separate folio (or folios), which was then added to the PP manuscript. This might explain the fact that in the Tibetan translation this digression is added in the comments on *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (MMK) 22.10, while in the Chinese version it appears in the explanation of MMK 22.8; apparently the additional leaf was placed one leaf earlier in the PP bundle that made its way to China. As in the commentary on MMK 22.10 the ten powers of the Buddha to know everything (*tha sñad daṅ rjes su mthun par bcom ldan 'das thams cad mkhyen pa stobs bcu daṅ* PP 213b7) are discussed and as these are the topic of this digression, it seems to be placed more satisfactorily in the Tibetan translation.

but by students on the basis of the teacher's oral instructions while they were being trained to debate by relying on the PP.[23]

As has been shown in the paper referred to above in note 19, the aforementioned appendices or digressions clearly do not belong to the written text of the PP, but reflect additional materials that were used to train young Buddhist monks to debate with Mīmāṃsakas and others. They provide first-hand information on a particular aspect of monastic life and thus allow a fascinating glimpse into the educational system in Buddhist monasteries in India before 630 CE. Until now, we have been aware of debates between great Buddhist masters or between Buddhist and orthodox teachers only from reports of Chinese pilgrims or Tibetan historical sources.[24] Thus, it is vital that these digressions be studied.[25] Such *prasaṅga*s will be the topic of a research project to be conducted at our institute by Ritsu Akahane, if the funds are granted.

Another example that is better explained in terms of "students' notes" than "copy of a copy of an autograph" is Dignāga's (ca. 480–540) *Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti* (PSV), available in two quite different Tibetan translations that are normally considered "poor" translations with transmission mistakes. While the corruptions that occurred during the transmission of these two Tibetan texts (*la*/*las*, *kyi*/*kyis*, etc.) can be easily explained, the differences in the translations cannot. Many of the problems, however, are solved and new perspectives opened if one considers the possibility that the two translations may have been made from two different versions of class notes, class notes that were not unproblematic.[26]

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[23] A text in which *ācārya* also occurs and which is replete with *prasaṅga*s is Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (*yata ācāryo 'bhidharmakośaṃ vaktum ādriyata ity āha* AKBh on AK 1.3; *ucyata ity ācāryavacanaṃ darśayati* AKBh 8,8–9; and, e.g., *samāpta ānuṣaṅgikaprasaṅgaḥ* AKBh 36,19–20 = *źar la 'oṅs pa'i skabs rdzogs so* // D no. 4090, 52b2; for more passages see AKBh-Index s.v. *źar la 'oṅs pa*). The first occurrence of *ācārya* is glossed by Yaśomitra as *śāstrakāra* (AKVy 10,23). This text certainly deserves a study which includes the Tibetan and Chinese translations.

In the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayavyākhyāna*, a commentary on the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā* (both texts are attributed to Nāgārjuna), there is also a reference to the *mūla* as *slob dpon*, which has led Lindtner to doubt Nāgārjuna's authorship of the *Vyākhyāna*; cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1990: 70 note 21. Another example where the "author" in the commentary refers to "himself" as *ācārya* is, as mentioned in Seyfort Ruegg (1990: 64 and note 20), found in Haribhadrasūri's *Anekāntajayapatāka*. See also the discussion on the authorship of the *Vākyapadīyavṛtti* (on *Vākyapadīya* 1) concerning the occurrence of *ihabhavat*/*tatrabhavat* in the *Vṛtti* (Houben 1999 and 1999a). On Abhinavagupta's view concerning the author of *Vākyapadīyavṛtti* 1, see Ratié forthcoming, note 61: "(although modern scholars have been wondering whether the VPV is Bhartṛhari's, Abhinavagupta has no doubt concerning its authorship, as noticed in Iyer 1969, p. 22: thus in ĪPVV, vol. II, p. 226, he quotes VPV I, pp. 214–215, and introduces it with the words *tad āha tatrabhavān bhartṛhariḥ*, 'this is what the master Bhartṛhari has said [in...]'): *tasmāt pratyakṣam ārṣaṃ ca jñānaṃ saty api virodhe bādhakam anumānasya.* 'For this reason, perception and the knowledge of Seers invalidate inference even when there is a contradiction [between them].'"

[24] The main narratives of these debates have been collected and evaluated in a very informative and easily readable paper by José Cabezón (2008), who draws on Chinese and Tibetan historical and biographical writings about famous Indian debates. In the same volume, Georges Dreyfus (2008) deals with debates in Tibetan monasteries, where the situation was quite different, as the monks did not have to fight with real Mīmāṃsakas. For an extensive treatment of debates in Tibetan monasteries, see Dreyfus 2003.

[25] There are more such digressions in the PP, and the end might be indicated with a formulation similar to the one we have already seen (*źar la bśad pas chog ste*/*go*); the beginnings are not yet clear. All of them have been commented upon by Avalokitavrata in his PPṬ: PP 92a6 (PPṬ Śa 74a4), PP 108a1 (PPṬ Śa 136a4), PP 122b1 (PPṬ Śa 186a3), PP 144a7 (PPṬ Śa 266a7), PP 148b6 (PPṬ Śa 283b3–4), PP 184b4–5 (PPṬ Za 76a2–3), PP 224a1 (PPṬ Za 227a7–b2), PP 258b5 (PPṬ Za 336b2).

[26] It should be added that the PSV exemplar used by Jinendrabuddhi to compose his commentary *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* contains material from the PSV that has no equivalent in either of the two translations (which was determined both during work on the second chapter of Jinendrabuddhi's PSṬ, and independently by Katsura and his team with regard to the third chapter; see Katsura 2009: 160). Thus, we know there were at least three different PSV manuscripts. It goes without saying that parts of the reconstructions of Dignāga's PSV based on this material and fragments available elsewhere constitute an artificial text that never existed in this form. Reconstructing the work is nevertheless a necessary step

If we were in a better position and had several Sanskrit manuscripts of the PVSV, the TJ, the PP and the PSV, for example, then, assuming that the scenarios outlined above are true, it would become quite clear that in each case "Urtext" means something quite different. In case of the PVSV, it might indeed refer to the text that Dharmakīrti himself wrote or edited. In case of the TJ, however, it might refer to the notes taken by one or even more students. In the case of more than one student, we would be dealing with different texts that with care may be used to correct each other, but one cannot make a single text from the notes of student A and student B. Moreover, the Urtext of the MHK verses embedded in the TJ might go back to the pen of Bhāviveka. Similarly, the *prasaṅga*s included in the Tibetan translation of the PP and those in the Chinese translation constitute two different texts, while the PP itself may originally have been written by Bhāviveka himself. But this still needs to be examined. In the case of the PSV, the two Tibetan translations reflect two different texts, presumably notes taken by two students A and B. For his commentary, however, Jinendrabuddhi seems to have used the notes of yet another student, student C. While for practical reasons we reconstruct only one Sanskrit text from these different materials, it goes without saying that the result of such efforts does not reflect the Urtext, the spoken version of the PSV, but a mixture of the notes of three different students, together with Jinendrabuddhi's explanation of the third student's notes. Even if we had Sanskrit manuscripts, a stemma in this case could at best only show a dependence on the notes of A, B and C, but this never would lead to an Urtext of the PSV as it was taught by Dignāga.

The translations of a text are also problematic in terms of stemma, albeit for other reasons. It is clear that when dealing with texts of the Buddhist tradition, the Tibetan and Chinese translations need to be considered whenever they are available. Many of the early Tibetan translations were later revised (*źus dag*), although information concerning the manuscripts that were consulted is rarely found in the colophons. An exception is the colophon of the Tibetan translation of Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra*, which informs us that the Indian *paṇḍita* Tilakakalaśa and the Tibetan Lotsāba Bande Pa tshab ñi ma grags translated a manuscript that looked Kashmiri (*kha che ba'i dpe daṅ mthun pa ltar*) in the Kashmir city of Anupamapura (*groṅ khyer dpe med*), possibly present-day Śrīnagar. It continues by stating that this translation was later improved (*legs par bcos*) by the Indian *paṇḍita* Kanakavarman and Pa tshab in Lhasa (*ra sa*) based on a manuscript from eastern Ñi 'og. This Tibetan translation thus reflects at least two Sanskrit manuscripts. In the case of the translation of Dharmottara's *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* (NBṬ), the colophon supplies no information about the Sanskrit manuscripts that were used, stating only that the translation was prepared by Jñānagarbha and Dharmāloka (in about 800) and later was revised by Sumatikīrti and Blo ldan śes rab (1059–1109). On the basis of a fragment of an extra-canonical Tibetan translation of the NBṬ found in Tabo Monastery, Lasic (2007) has been able to show that the later translator team relied on a manuscript that was different from that of the earlier team. Although evidence is lacking in the colophons, it seems reasonable to assume that circumspect translator teams tried to secure more than one manuscript before starting their work, for they, like present-day scholars, were aware of problems in transmission lines. In view of this, some of the Tibetan translations may represent a Sanskrit text that did not exist, at least not in the form implied by the translations. Given

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towards a proper understanding of Dignāga. The first chapter has been reconstructed by Steinkellner (available at http://ikga.oeaw.ac.at/Mat/dignaga_PS_1.pdf); chapter 2 is under preparation by Horst Lasic; chapter 3 is under preparation by Katsura, who has presented first results (PS 3.1–31) in Katsura 2009: 157–159, 165; chapter 5 has been reconstructed in Ole Holten Pind, *Dignāga's philosophy of language. Dignāga on anyāpoha. Pramāṇasamuccaya V — texts, translation and annotation.* PhD dissertation, University of Vienna 2009.

these textual circumstances, it is difficult to place such translations properly into a stemma or use them to draw any concrete conclusions.

To conclude, I would like to stress the importance when editing a text of working out whether it was written by the presumed author himself or by a student. In the latter case, it is difficult to determine whether redundant statements belong to the text, or whether they should be considered marginal notes that were erroneously incorporated into the text during the copying process. Two passages from the *Hetubindu,* which I am in the process of editing, may suffice to demonstrate this problem:

> *tadaṃśavyāptyā dṛṣṭāntadharmiṇi sattvasiddher dharmidharmavacanāt sādhyadharmiparigrahaḥ.* ***siddhe*** (’***pi***? Tib. *kyaṅ*)[27] *punarvacanaṃ* ***niyamārtham āśaṅkyeta****, sajātīya eva sattvam iti siddhe ’pi tadabhave vyatireke sādhyābhāve ’sattvavacanavat. dharmidharmavacanaṃ* ***siddhe*** ’***pi*** *dṛṣṭāntadharmiṇi bhāve tadaṃśavyāptivacanāt tatraiva bhāva****niyamārtham āśaṅkyeta****. tatsāmarthyād ...*[28]
>
> ... (Even?) if [the occurrence in the property bearer of the example] is established, it might be suspected that the mention [of the property bearer] again has the purpose of restricting [the logical reason to the example alone].[29] [This is just the same] as in the case when, although the absence (*vyatireka*) [of the logical reason] in the absence of that [*sādhya*] has already been established on account [of the mention of] (*iti*) “presence in similar instances alone,” the mention of the [logical reason’s] absence (*asattva*) in the absence of the *sādhya* [by Dignāga has the purpose of a restriction]. Even if the occurrence in the property bearer of the example is established on account of *tadaṃśavyāpti* being mentioned, it might be suspected that the mention of the property of the property bearer has the purpose of a restriction that [the logical reason] occurs only there [in the example]. ...

As is quite clear, the sentence *dharmidharmavacanaṃ siddhe ’pi ... āśaṅkyeta* after the example (*sajātīya eva ... ’sattvavacanavat*) is merely a repetition of the sentence *siddhe ... āśaṅkyeta* before the example, supplying text that in the first sentence must be assumed from the context. The Tibetan construes the example with the repetition. If the original

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[27] *api* is supported by the Tibetan translation (*kyaṅ*) and Vinītadeva’s commentary (*grub pa’i mtha’ smra bas* ***grub kyaṅ ṅes par bya ba’i phyir yaṅ smos su dogs par ’gyur te*** *źes bya ba la sogs pa smos te |* ***grub kyaṅ ṅes par bya ba’i phyir yaṅ*** *smos pa yaṅ* HBṬ$_{V}$ D 104a2–3), but not by the parallel passage in the PVSV (see note 28) nor by Arcaṭa’s commentary (see note 29).

[28] This text has been emended on the basis of the material presented by Steinkellner in his reconstruction of the *Hetubindu*, although I am not including all of the relevant arguments here. The manuscript of the *Hetubindu* (HB$_{ms}$ 1b4–2a1) reads: *tadaṃ*$_{1b5}$*śavyāptyā* | *dṛṣṭāntadharmmiṇi satvesiddher ddharmidharma*◯*vacanāt sādhyadharmmiparigrahaḥ | siddhe punarvacanaṃ niyamārtham āśaṅkyeta | sajātīya eva sa*¦$_{1b6}$.. .. ..[*sādhyābhāve ’sattvavacanavad dharmmidharmma*]*vacanam* | siddhe pi dṛṣṭāntadharmmiṇi bhāve tadaṃśavyāptivacanāt* | .. .. ..* $_{2a1}$ *bhāvaniyamārtham āśaṅkyeta | tatsāmarthyād ...*

◯ = string hole; .. = unreadable akṣara; [] = difficult to read/nearly illegible

The corresponding reconstruction by Steinkellner runs as follows (HB 1*.13–16): *tadaṃśavyāptyā dṛṣṭāntadharmiṇi sattvasiddher dharmivacanāt sādhyadharmiparigrahaḥ, siddhe ’pi punarvacanaṃ niyamārtham āśaṅkyeta. sajātīya eva sattvam iti siddhe ’pi tadabhave vyatireke sādhyābhāve ’sattvavacanavat tadaṃśavyāptivacanāt siddhe ’pi dṛṣṭāntadharmiṇi sattve dharmivacanam tatraiva bhāvaniyamārtham āśaṅkyeta. tasmāt sāmarthyād ...*

The text of Dharmakīrti’s *Svavṛtti*, the source of our formulation, reads (PVSV, ed. Gnoli 1960: 2.2–6): *tadaṃśavyāptyā dṛṣṭāntadharmiṇi sattvasiddher dharmivacanāt sādhyadharmiparigrahaḥ. siddhe punarvacanaṃ niyamārtham āśaṅkyeta, sajātīya eva sattvam iti siddhe ’pi vijātīyavyatireke sādhyābhāve ’sattvavacanavat. sāmarthyād ...*

[29] My additions in [ ] are based on Arcaṭa’s explanation in HBṬ 13.14–17: *tat kutaḥ pāriśeṣyāt dharmivacanāt sādhyadharmiparigraha iti manyamānaḥ siddhāntavādy āha –* ***siddhe*** *tadaṃśavyāptyā dṛṣṭāntadharmiṇi sattve* ***punar*** *dharmiṇo* ***vacanaṃ*** *dṛṣṭāntadharmiṇa eva yo dharmaḥ sa hetur iti* ***niyamārtham āśaṅkyeta.*** *tataś ca cākṣuṣatvādaya eva hetavaḥ syuḥ, na kṛtakatvādaya ity aniṣṭam eva syāt. tasmād upacāraḥ kartavya iti*. Strangely enough, only the words in **bold** are *pratīka*s found in our manuscript, not the rest of the statement, although it is presented as a quotation (*siddhe ... kartavya iti*).

manuscript was written by Dharmakīrti and the second sentence was a marginal note in that manuscript, then it has been inserted into the text in the wrong place, and, moreover, should be removed as it is not original. If, on the other hand, the *Hetubindu* was only taught orally and the text we have here is based on notes taken by a student, then the second sentence might be Dharmakīrti's answer to a student's question regarding the exact meaning of the first, shorter sentence. If this is the case, there is no reason to remove the redundant portion. If the former scenario is accurate, the marginal note must have crept in quite early, as it is commented upon by Arcaṭa (HBṬ 13,24ff). Whether Vinītadeva's comments were based on a text that contained this repetition is not clear.[30]

The next example I would like to adduce is less complicated.

> *bījādivad anekānta iti cet.*[31] *syād etat – bījādayo 'ṅkurāder jananasvabhāvāḥ santo 'pi na kevalā janayanti, salilādikāraṇāntarāpekṣatvāt. tadvad bhāvo 'pi vināśe syād iti.*[32]
>
> If [one objects] that [the logical reason] is ambiguous, like in the case of a seed and so on. The following could be [objected]: "Although seeds and so on are indeed of the nature to produce sprouts and so on, they do not produce [them] alone, because they depend on other causes such as water. As in this case, an entity also must be [dependent] for its decay."

Again it is obvious that the statement introduced with *syād etat* explains the short *pūrva-pakṣa* formulated in the previous half-sentence, but again, it is not clear whether this passage should be considered part of the original *Hetubindu* text. Both Vinītadeva and Arcaṭa knew the text in this form. As they both state the obvious, namely that the second statement explains the former,[33] they are of no help in clarifying the problem. The curious explanations in the margin of the *Hetubindu* manuscript, which probably stem from a student who read the text with a teacher, are also of no help. They simply state that the former was formulated by the opponent (*tatra paraḥ prāha*) and the latter by Dharmakīrti (*siddhāntavādī prāha*).

Although I cannot yet decide how to proceed with the edition of the *Hetubindu* — I am still collecting such irregular cases — the problem has hopefully become clear. The question of the Urtext is relevant not only for sūtras, but also for *śāstra*s, and I thus would like to ask my colleagues to keep their eyes and minds open for this type of hitherto ignored irregularity, so that we might finally be in a position to set some criteria for making decisions about the original texts, if indeed this is possible at all.

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[30] After explaining the example, Vinītadeva only states that it is certain (*gnas*, **sthita*) in this case the same way that by mentioning *tadaṃśavyāpti* the property of the example is metaphorically addressed. He then goes on to explain the next sentence, which begins with *tatsāmarthyāt* in our manuscript (HBṬV 104a5–6: *de bźin du 'dir yaṅ* ***de'i chas khyab pa smos pas*** *dpe'i chos ñe bar gdags par bya'o źes bya bar gnas so || 'di ñid la gtan tshigs* ***de lta bas na śugs kyis*** *źes bya ba la sos pa smos te |*). Here it is not possible to decide whether *de'i chas khyab pa smos pas* is from the root text and corresponds to *tadaṃśavyāptivacanāt*, or whether it is just part of his explanation of the example.

[31] The punctuation is problematic, of course.

[32] The manuscript reads (7a5–6): *bījādivad anekānta iti cet** | *syād etat** | *bījādayo 'ṅkurāder jananasva¦7a6bhāvāḥ santo pi na kevalā janayanti* ׀ *śalilādikāraṇāntarāpekṣatvāt** | *tadvad bhāvo pi vināśe syād iti* |. Steinkellner's reconstruction (HB 8*.16–18): *bījādivad anekānta iti cet, syād etat: bījādīnām aṅkurādijananasvabhāvānām api salilādikāraṇāntarāpekṣaṇāt kevalā na janayanti, tadvad bhāvo 'pi vināśe syād iti.*

[33] Arcaṭa states (HBṬ 83.15): *atra ca parasya vacanāvakāśam āśaṅkyāha –* ***bījādivad*** *ityādi.* ***syād etat*** *ityādinā etad eva vibhajate –* ***kevalā na janayanti*** *iti.* Vinītadeva (HBṬV 124a2–3): *gźan gyi 'khrul pa gleṅ pa'i dogs pa bsu bar |* ***sa bon la sogs pa bźin du*** *źes bya ba la sogs pa smos so || de ñid rnam par grol ba'i phyir | '****di sñam du*** *źes bya ba la sogs pa smos te |*.

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AAS – Austrian Academy of Sciences (Vienna)

AASP – Austrian Academy of Sciences Press (Vienna)

AK – *Abhidharmakośa*, see AKBh

AKBh – P. Pradhan (ed.), *Abhidharma-Koshabhāṣya of Vasubandhu*. Patna 1967.

AKBh-Index – Akira Hirakawa *et al.*, *Index to the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Peking Edition). Part three – Tibetan-Sanskrit. Tokyo 1978.

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MHK – *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* — Chr. Lindtner (ed.), *Madhyamakahṛdayam of Bhavya*. Adyar: The Adyar Library and Research Centre 2001.

PP – *Prajñāpradīpamūlamadhyamakavṛtti* (Bhāviveka) — Derge dBu ma vol. 2, no. 3853, Tsha 45b4–259b3 [= Peking vol. 95, no. 5253, Tsha 53b3–326a6].

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STTAR – Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region

TAR – Tibetan Autonomous Region

TJ – *Tarkajvālā* (Bhāviveka) — Derge (D) dBu ma vol. 3, no. 3856, Dza 40b7–329b4 [= Peking (P) vol. 96, no. 5256, Dza 43b7–380a7].

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Sanskrit Manuscript Projects in the China Tibetology Research Center

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As a member of the Institute of Religious Studies in the China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC), in the following paper I will present from the perspective of our institute a brief retrospect of previous projects, an introduction to projects in progress and several future plans under consideration in the China Tibetology Research Center. By doing so, we expect to gather comments and suggestions so as to improve our studies of the Sanskrit manuscripts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) in China.

1. Previous projects

1.1 The photographing and cataloguing of the manuscripts

In the 1980s, Professor Dorje Cedan (多杰才旦), then the Director-General of the CTRC, organized the photographing and cataloguing of the Sanskrit manuscripts in Lhasa. Professor LUO Zhao (罗炤) was entrusted with the task of photographing and cataloguing the collection, and with the help of his Tibetan colleague Phun tshogs tshe brtan (平措次旦), he compiled four catalogues in total, two in 1984 and two in 1985:[1]

1. LUO Zhao 1984a
Luo bu lin ka Bei ye jing Mu lu (Gan zhu er)《羅布林卡貝葉經目錄 （甘珠爾）》 / *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Nor bu gliṅ kha (bKa' 'gyur)*, unpublished;

2. LUO Zhao 1984b
Luo bu lin ka Xin cang Bei ye jing Mu lu (Dan zhu er)《羅布林卡新藏貝葉經目錄 （丹珠爾）》 / *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Newly Deposited in the Nor bu gliṅ kha (bsTan 'gyur)*, unpublished;

3. LUO Zhao 1985a
Bu da la gong Suo cang Bei ye jing Mu lu (Gan zhu er) Di yi ben 《布達拉宮所藏貝葉經目錄 （甘珠爾） 第一本》 / *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Potala Palace (bKa' 'gyur)*, Vol. 1, unpublished;

4. LUO Zhao 1985b
Bu da la gong Xin cang Bei ye jing Mu lu (Dan zhu er) Di yi ben 《布達拉宮新藏貝葉經目錄 （丹珠爾） 第一本》 / *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Newly Deposited in the Potala Palace (bsTan 'gyur)*, Vol. 1, unpublished.

LUO Zhao's efforts and contributions, to quote Ernst Steinkellner, were "a giant step forward, a step as valuable as the impressive endeavours in the first half of the last century of Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana and Giuseppe Tucci."[2]

1.2 The editing of the manuscripts

Due to various reasons, these Sanskrit manuscripts in the CTRC collection had not been fully examined and studied, and only one manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* was entrusted to JIANG Zhongxin (蒋忠新) to be edited. His transliteration of this manuscript was

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[1] Cf. LUO Zhao 2009.

[2] Cf. Steinkellner *et al.* 2009: 8. Later, these catalogues were condensed into one abridged version by Sandhak (桑德) in the late 1980s. Cf. Sandhak no date.

published as the 3rd volume in the Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region (STTAR) series in 2006.[3]

2. Projects in progress

2.1 Cooperative projects with the Austrian Academy of Sciences

Since more detailed information about the past course and future prospects of this pioneering and fruitful cooperation established by Professor Ernst Steinkellner and Professor Lhagpa Phuntshogs (拉巴平措) is presented by Helmut Krasser in his contribution to this volume, here I would like to confine myself to a very brief description of the cooperation.

Since 2004, the Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia in the Austrian Academy of Sciences has cooperated with the Institute of Religious Studies in the CTRC in editing Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet. This is the beginning of cooperation between the CTRC and academic organizations outside of China. In order to publish the fruits of the cooperation, the STTAR series was established. Up to now eleven volumes have been jointly published:[4]

1. STTAR 1

I *Jinendrabuddhi: Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā 1, Critical Edition*. (eds.) Ernst Steinkellner, Helmut Krasser, Horst Lasic. Beijing-Vienna: China Tibetology Publishing House, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2005.

II *Jinendrabuddhi: Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā 1, Diplomatic Edition*. (eds.) Ernst Steinkellner, Helmut Krasser, Horst Lasic. Beijing-Vienna: China Tibetology Publishing House, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2005.

2. STTAR 2

Dharmakīrti: Pramāṇaviniścaya, Chapters 1 and 2. (ed.) Ernst Steinkellner. Beijing-Vienna: China Tibetology Publishing House, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2007.

3. STTAR 3

Palm-leaf Manuscript of the Sanskrit Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtram. (3 vols) (ed.) JIANG Zhongxin. Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2006.

4. STTAR 4

Vasubandhu's Pañcaskandhaka. (eds.) LI Xuezhu, Ernst Steinkellner, Toru Tomabechi. Beijing-Vienna: China Tibetology Publishing House, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2008.

5. STTAR 5

Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts. (ed.) Toru Tomabechi. Beijing-Vienna: China Tibetology Publishing House, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2009.

6. STTAR 6

Candrakīrti's Vajrasattvaniṣpādanasūtra (Vajrasattvasādhana). (eds.) LUO Hong, Toru Tomabechi. Beijing-Vienna: China Tibetology Publishing House, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2009.

7. STTAR 7

A Unique Collection of Twenty Sūtras in a Sanskrit Manuscript from the Potala. (ed.) Bhikṣuṇī Vinītā. Beijing-Vienna: China Tibetology Publishing House, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2010.

[3] See below 2.1.

[4] Several other texts are in preparation and will be published in the same series in the near future.

8. STTAR 8
Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścaya, chapter 3. (eds.) Pascale Hugon, Toru Tomabechi. Beijing-Vienna: China Tibetology Publishing House, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2011.

9. STTAR 11
The Buddhakapālatantra, chapters 9 to 14. (ed.) Luo Hong. Beijing-Hamburg: China Tibetology Publishing House, 2010.

10. STTAR 14
Abhayākaragupta's Abhayapaddhati, chapters 9 to 14. (ed.) Luo Hong. Beijing-Hamburg: China Tibetology Publishing House, 2010.

11. STTAR 15
Jinendrabuddhi's Viśālāmalavatī Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā, chapter 2. (eds.) Horst Lasic, Helmut Krasser, Ernst Steinkellner. Beijing-Vienna: China Tibetology Publishing House, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2012.

The following volumes are forthcoming:

STTAR 9
The Buddhakāpalatantra, chapters 1 to 5. (ed.) Yang Mei. Beijing-Hamburg: China Tibetology Publishing House (forthcoming)

STTAR 10
The Buddhakāpalatantra, chapters 6 to 8. (eds.) Harunaga Isaacson, Li Xuezhu. Beijing-Hamburg: China Tibetology Publishing House (forthcoming)

STTAR 12
Abhayākaragupta's Abhayapaddhati, chapters 1 to 5. (ed.) Yang Mei. Beijing-Hamburg: China Tibetology Publishing House (forthcoming)

STTAR 13
Abhayākaragupta's Abhayapaddhati, chapters 6 to 8. (eds.) Harunaga Isaacson, Li Xuezhu. Beijing-Hamburg: China Tibetology Publishing House (forthcoming)

The successful cooperation has set a model for collaborative study of the Sanskrit manuscripts and has been accepted and highly praised by both scholars and authorities.

2.2 Cooperative projects with Hamburg University

In 2007, a cooperation contract between the Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies at the University of Hamburg and the Institute of Religious Studies in the CTRC was signed. Since then one joint project has been carried out by scholars from both sides, and two other projects are under consideration.

2.2.1 Joint editing project

As the first cooperative project, scholars from both sides began to work on editing the *Buddhakapālatantra* (henceforth BKT) and its commentary by Abhayākaragupta, the *Abhayapaddhati* (henceforth AP). Until now studies of the BKT and the AP could only be based upon fragments in Sanskrit and the Tibetan translations,[5] but by consulting the complete manuscripts preserved in the TAR, we aim to contribute a critical edition and annotated translation of both the AP and the BKT in the near future.

According to the agreement, Harunaga Isaacson is the supervisor of the projects and responsible for editing the 6th chapter of the BKT and the AP, Mei Isaacson is responsible for chapters 1–5, Li Xuezhu is responsible for the 6th and the 7th chapter and Luo Hong

[5] For example, in Davidson 2002.

for chapters 9–14. So far the work on the AP has been effectively carried out, and the draft of the critical edition and annotated translation of the AP has been finished. Part of the BKT has also been tentatively edited and translated.

2.2.2 Projects under consideration

2.2.2.1 The Āmnāyamañjarī

As a second cooperative project, a critical edition of the *Āmnāyamañjarī*, Abhayākaragupta's commentary on the *Saṃpuṭatantra*, is now under consideration.[6] This text is planned to be edited by a group of specialists headed by Harunaga Isaacson.

2.2.2.2 The Paramārthasevā

As a sub-project under the cooperation between the Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies at the University of Hamburg and the Institute of Religious Studies in the CTRC, the critical editing of the *Paramārthasevā* by Puṇḍarīka is also under consideration. This project is planned to be carried out by Francesco Sferra (Director of the Departimento di Studi Asiatici, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" and Board member of the Centre for Tantric Studies, Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, University of Hamburg) and LUO Hong from the CTRC. We plan to prepare a complete critical edition of the Sanskrit text on the basis of all the extant manuscripts, whether kept in Nepal or in the PRC; a critical edition of the Tibetan translation done by the Kāśmīrian Somanātha (Zla ba'i mgon po) in the second half of the 11th century; and an annotated English translation. So far we have re-edited and translated the fragments studied and published by Francesco Sferra.[7] This can serve as a solid basis for further work on this important text.

2.2.3 Formal agreement of exchange of publications

The CTRC and the Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies at Hamburg University have also reached an agreement to sign a formal contract of publication exchange, which would be very helpful for us to develop and enlarge our library so as to support present and future collaborative study of the manuscripts.

2.3 Other projects

With the guidance and help of my teachers and colleagues inside and outside China,[8] and with the generous support of the Institute of Religious Studies in the China Tibetology Research Center, especially that of Prof. Dramdul (郑堆), the present author is editing the following texts.

2.3.1 Guṇaprabha's Vinayasūtra

2.3.1.1 A new manuscript of the Vinayasūtra

A complete 120-folio palm-leaf manuscript of the *Vinayasūtra* from the Potala written in Nepalese hook-topped script and dated 1270 CE was identified and reported by the present author in 2008.[9] This manuscript sheds new light on the *Vinayasūtra* and its transmission history:

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[6] Only one fragment in Sanskrit has been studied by scholars, see Tomabechi and Kano 2009.
[7] Cf. Sferra 2007a, Sferra 2007b and Sferra 2008.
[8] With apologies for not listing them one by one, to all of my teachers and colleagues I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude.
[9] Cf. LUO Hong 2009.

a. The substantial divergences between the new manuscript and those known to us make it possible to draw tentatively the *stemma codicum* of the *Vinayasūtra*.
b. The variants in the new manuscript support a less known Tibetan translation of the *Vinayasūtra*.
c. With the help of the new manuscript, we can try to reconstruct the recensions of Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra*.

2.3.1.2 Critical edition of the Vinayasūtra

The aim of critically editing the *Vinayasūtra*, a compendium of the vinaya literature of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, is to reconstruct — on the basis of Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese textual witnesses — as far as possible Recension A and Recension B of the vulgate redacted by Guṇaprabha according to the Mathurā tradition.

2.3.2 Saroruha's Śrīhevajrabhaṭṭārakasya cakraviṃśatikāstotra

The Tibetan translation of this text has been critically edited by Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp.[10] This is the first attempt to critically edit the Sanskrit text of this short eulogy. There are two Sanskrit codices of the *Hevajrastotra*. One is among the collection of the *Hevajrasādhanasaṃgraha*[11] photographed in Ṅor monastery by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana. Photographic reproductions are kept in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, shelfmark: Xc 14/39. The other manuscript is from the TAR; a photographic reproduction of this manuscript is available on pp. 37–38 in Box 110 of the CTRC collection.

Both manuscripts are used to prepare a critical edition of this eulogy, which was probably composed by Saroruha for the use of practitioners cultivating the *Utpattikrama*. For in other closely related works by Saroruha, it is mentioned that at a certain phase of a ritual, the practitioner should recite this eulogy to please the deities.

The critical edition and annotated translation have been finished and will be published in *Tantric Studies II*.[12]

3. Future plans

The Sanskrit panel convened by Professor Ernst Steinkellner and Profesor DUAN Qing and held by the CTRC in Beijing in 2008 was a successful meeting. Effective communication among scholars and authorities concerned has taken a step further towards mutual understanding. This can serve as a basis for future projects. The following is a list of the future plans which are considered as priorities in the CTRC. Comments and suggestions are most welcome to facilitate future cooperations and efforts in this direction.

3.1 The way to foster effectively a new generation of Sanskritists in China.

We are considering the possibility of raising a special fund to support the training of young scholars in the CTRC. Matters of concern are the regulation of the application, supervision and evaluation of the fund, the responsibilities of the relevant authorities, the trainers and also the trainees. Besides, we consider that it is absolutely necessary to establish a systematic training course for the trainees, which should consist of training in languages and in the special demands of the field as well as in techniques used in cataloguing and editing manuscripts.

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[10] Cf. van der Kuijp 1987.
[11] Cf. Isaacson 2009.
[12] LUO Hong forthcoming.

3.2 The possibility of establishing a system of visiting scholars in the China Tibetology Research Center.

This is another way to realize cooperation between the CTRC and foreign institutes. We are considering raising a fund to invite renowned scholars to work together with scholars in the CTRC for a certain period of time. By doing so we expect to improve effectively the study of Sanskrit manuscripts in our institute and to contribute publications of high quality. The specialities concerned, the publication and the copyright of the results of the joint projects and the duration of each project will be considered and discussed on a case-by-case basis.

3.3 Regular and official exchange of information and publications.

Constant and formal academic relationships are essential and mutually beneficial. We have already reached such an agreement with the Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies at Hamburg University, and we sincerely hope that constant communication and exchange between the CTRC and other foreign academic institutes can be initiated and established.

Finally, we would like to close this short paper with one sincere *smon lam* that the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the TAR can be consulted by scholars both inside and outside China and with their efforts be duly edited, distributed and shared by all mankind.

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Sandhak

no date *Kruṅ go’i bod kyi śes rig źib ’jug lte gnas su ñar ba’i ta la’i lo ma’i bstan bcos (spyin śog ’dril ma’i par) kyi dkar chag mdor gsal bźugs so*. /《中国藏学研究中心收藏的梵文贝叶经（缩微胶卷）目录》(unpublished).

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The Sanskrit Manuscript Research Project at Taisho University*

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The Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism at Taisho University has published a series of authorized facsimile editions of Sanskrit manuscripts of Buddhist texts. They are as follows:

1. "*Śrāvakabhūmi*" Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscript in 1994[1]
2. *Amoghapāśakalparāja* Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscript in 1997
3. *Abhisamācārika-Dharma* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin in 1998
4. A Collection of Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscripts in Tibetan *dBu med* Script in 2001
5. Palm-leaf Sanskrit Manuscripts of *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and *Jñānālokālaṃkāra* in 2004

1. Historical background

Taisho University was founded in April 1926. Its distinct feature as a Buddhist university is that four different Buddhist schools, i.e. the Tendaishū, Shingonshū Buzanha, Shingonshū Chisanha, and Jōdoshū, participated in the foundation and are still taking a leading part in the management of the university. In 1926, the Department of Sanskrit Studies was opened and its staff focused upon Sanskrit manuscripts. In this connection, two pioneers contributed to the establishment of a distinctive approach to academic research in Sanskrit studies at Taisho University. First, Rev. Kawaguchi Ekai (1866–1945), who taught Tibetan as a professor, is rather well known for his expeditions to Tibet at a time when all access was denied to outsiders. His purpose was, as a Buddhist, to search for the Dharma. As a result of his two journeys to Tibet, he brought back to Japan not only a Tibetan canon but also Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts. The Sanskrit manuscripts were included in the collection of the Tokyo University Library, which we can nowadays browse via the Internet (http://utlsktms.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/). Incidentally, Matsunami Seiren compiled the catalogue of this collection[2] and his son Matsunami Yoshihiro participated in the research at the Potala Palace in Lhasa which will be mentioned below. Second, Wogihara Unrai (1869–1937) was another great scholar working at Taisho University during its early period. He studied and edited various Buddhist texts on the basis of Sanskrit manuscripts. Most of us probably appreciate his editions of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, Yaśomitra's *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā Prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā*, etc. Graduates and students of Sanskrit studies at Taisho University still admire him for his establishment of a tradition, i.e., reading texts on the basis of Sanskrit manuscripts.

2. Contact with the China Library of Nationalities

In preparation for the commemoration of its 70th anniversary, Taisho University planned a special project following in the footsteps of the pioneers mentioned above. With the funding allocated to this project, the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism at Taisho University made an agreement with the Cultural Palace of Nationalities in Beijing to conduct joint research on Buddhist Sanskrit materials preserved at the China Library of Nationalities in the spring of 1990. This is the very beginning of our research project with several organizations in the People's Republic of China (PRC).

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* Special thanks go to Prof. Kimura Takayasu, who kindly provided us with useful information about this Research Project of the Taisho University from its beginning.

[1] *Śrāvakabhūmi* within double quotation marks indicates the manuscript in which not only the *Śrāvakabhūmi* but also other texts are included.

[2] *A catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library*, Suzuki Research Foundation, Tokyo, 1965.

In July 1990, Mano Ryūkai (then president), the late Saitō Kōjun, Kimura Takayasu, Yaita Hideomi, and Kubota Shin'ichi conducted the first research tour to Beijing. They were welcomed at the airport not only by staff of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities and the China Library of Nationalities but also by the members of the State Ethnic Affairs Commission. On this occasion, they could check the original Sanskrit manuscript of the "*Śrāvakabhūmi*," because this was the main object of interest for the members of the Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group, which had begun in April 1979 and still remains active, even though the membership has changed.[3] Moreover, the Taisho University deputation visited the Cultural Relics Press, which has been responsible for the printing of the facsimile editions. At that time the printing of the Sanskrit manuscript of the "*Śrāvakabhūmi*" was in progress. The model for this print seems to have been the 1985 facsimile edition of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*.

In December of 1990, our members (Saitō Kōjun, Kimura Takayasu, Yaita Hideomi, and Takahashi Hisao) visited the China Library of Nationalities again. At that time Takahashi checked the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* and immediately identified the Sanskrit text of the famous and important *Kōmyō-shingon* in Shingonshū and Jōdoshū, a *dhāraṇī* by whose repetition the brightness or glory of the Buddha may be obtained. Incidentally, he is the very person who discovered the original Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in the bundle he checked first at the Potala Palace. In 1992, our members (Endō Yūjun, the late Maeda Ryōdō, the late Matsunami Yasuo, Tanaka Bun'yū, Noguchi Keiya, the late Saitō Kōjun, Watarai Zuiken, Ōtsuka Nobuo, and Matsunami Yoshihiro) were allowed to conduct research on the materials not only in Sanskrit but also in Tibetan and Chinese. As is well known, the Sanskrit manuscripts kept at the China Library of Nationalities used to belong to Zha lu ri phug Monastery in Tibet, as reported by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in his journey to Tibet in 1936.[4]

3. Research in sKu 'bum Monastery and publications of facsimile editions

Contrary to our expectations, even in 1993 the publication of the "*Śrāvakabhūmi*" facsimile edition was not yet realized. In this year, Tada Kōbun became Taisho University's main negotiator and began to take the initiative in arranging research tours to various places in the PRC. Following a proposal from the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the China Library of Nationalities, our members decided to conduct research on Buddhist texts preserved at sKu 'bum Monastery in Qinghai province. In August, our members (the late Hayashi Ryōshō, then president, Tada Kōbun, Nishioka Ryōkō, Ichishima Shōshin, the late Saitō Kōjun, Hirokawa Gyōbin, and Kimura Takayasu) visited the China Library of Nationalities for negotiations and moved on to Xining in Qinghai province in order to conduct research on the textual materials at sKu 'bum Monastery together with other personnel from Taisho University (Tanaka Bun'yū, Ikeda Kōryū, and Fukuda Takanori). A total of three research tours to sKu 'bum Monastery were conducted (1993, 1994, and 1995). The late lecturer Maeda Ryōdō, who participated in the tours in 1994 and 1995, made a noteworthy contribution as chief compiler of the catalogue of Tibetan works preserved at sKu 'bum monastery.[5] In 1994, moreover, we were invited to Inner Mongolia. Tada described his negotiating method as follows:

> I never insisted upon our request strongly but always waited for their proposals. What I did in the negotiation was introduce our members. For instance, many

[3] In detail, see below.

[4] Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana,"Second Research of Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet." In: *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 23–1, 1937: 11–57.

[5] *A Catalogue of Buddhist Texts Preserved at sKu 'bum Monastery in Qinghai Province, China*, Enlarged and Revised Version, The Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taisho University, 2000 (in Japanese).

> Buddhist scholars are available in our group and thereby it is possible for us to conduct any research on the materials preserved at Buddhist sites. If necessary, I provided information about how the cultural heritage should be preserved. Anyway I visited many places in the PRC.

His face-to-face talks with Chinese people must have developed a foundation for mutual trust between various organizations in the PRC and Taisho University. Without his activities, the series of facsimile editions would never have appeared.

It was in 1994, i.e. four years after the first agreement, that the facsimile edition of the "*Śrāvakabhūmi*" Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscript was published, in which not only the *Śrāvakabhūmi* but also other *bhūmi*s, viz. the *Cintāmayī bhūmi*, the *Pratyekabuddhabhūmi*, the *Asamāhitā bhūmi*, the *Śrutāmayī bhūmi*, the *Paramārthagāthā*, the *Ābhiprāyikārthagāthā*, the *Śarīrārthagāthā*, etc. are included. Since then, our study group has attached an introductory booklet or book to the facsimile editions, in which a script table is always provided. Suzuki Kōshin, who also releases fonts for Sanskrit and Tibetan on his website, was responsible for the original idea of these script tables and their technical execution (using Adobe Photoshop).[6]

After publication of the facsimile edition of the "*Śrāvakabhūmi*" Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscript, two study groups began at the Institute in order to prepare the publication of the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* and the *Abhisamācārika-Dharma* respectively. Ōtsuka Nobuo wrote the introductory booklet attached to the facsimile edition of the *Amoghapāśakalparāja*. This study group is still active at the Institute. The main member of the *Abhisamācārika-Dharma* Study Group was the late lecturer Matsunami Yasuo.

4. Research at the Potala Palace

In the course of this project, our main negotiators, Tada Kōbun and Kimura Takayasu, had opportunities to meet Chinese officials of the Central Government and of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). After negotiations with the Culture Department of the Central Government, the Administrative Department of Historical Relics of TAR and the Administrative Department of the Potala Palace, we obtained permission to gain access to Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the TAR. Our first visit to Lhasa took place in the summer of 1997. The members were as follows: Tada Kōshō (then vice-president), Matsunami Yoshihiro, Yoshida Kōseki, Tada Kōbun, the late Saitō Kōjun, Kimura Takayasu, the late Maeda Ryōdō, the late Matsunami Yasuo, Yaita Hideomi, Yonezawa Yoshiyasu, Hamada Chijun, Ikeda Kōryū, Kimura Shūjō, Shimomura Eishin, Fukuda Takanori, and NIU Litao. In this tour, however, the research at the Potala Palace was cancelled when we arrived in Lhasa. We visited the Nor bu gling ka Palace and found out that Sanskrit manuscripts preserved there had been returned from the China Library of Nationalities in Beijing. Among these, we examined the First *Bhāvanākrama* reported by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana. It was interesting for us to know the relationship between Tucci's edition of the First *Bhāvanākrama* and the manuscript.[7]

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[6] The fonts are downloadable from http://www.chofukuji.jp/takaragi/. Suzuki Kōshin, "The Script of the Śrāvakabhūmi Manuscript." In: *Studies on the Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, ed. by the *Śrāvakabhūmi* Study Group and the Buddhist Tantric Texts Study Group, The Sankibo Busshorin, Tokyo, 1995: 21–38.

[7] Giuseppe Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts Part II*: *First Bhāvanākrama of Kamalaśīla: Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts with Introduction and English Summary*, ISMEO, Rome, 1958: Reprinted in *Minor Buddhist Texts Parts I and II*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1986: (313)–(598). According to Tucci, the manuscript was preserved at the monastery of the sPos khang. Cf. Yaita *et al.*, "On a Sanskrit Manuscript of the First *Bhāvanākrama* from Ża-lu," *AICSB* 20, 1998: (106)–(116). In this article, Yaita suggests that the Sanskrit text in Tucci's edition was based upon a different manuscript from that reported by Sāṅkṛtyāyana. However, Kimura and Yonezawa, who checked the microfilm at the China Library of the Nationalities during the preparation of this article, are of the opinion that the manuscript reported by Sāṅkṛtyāyana is the basis of the Sanskrit text in Tucci's edition.

In the tour of 1997, we had a mission to select a Sanskrit text for the fourth facsimile edition. Although the research at the Potala Palace was cancelled, we suggested to the staff of the TAR that they publish a facsimile edition of the original Sanskrit manuscripts preserved at the Nor bu gling ka Palace in Lhasa at that time. As the microfilms were kept at the China Library of Nationalities, Kimura Takayasu and Yonezawa Yoshiyasu went to Beijing in order to select a Sanskrit text for the fourth facsimile edition in March 1998. As a result, the publication of *A Collection of Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscripts in Tibetan dBu med Script* was planned and realized in 2001. It contains not one text but several: the *Vinayasūtra*, an extract version of the *Vinayasūtravṛtti*, the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, and the **Lakṣaṇaṭīkā*.

The long-awaited research into the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved at the Potala Palace was realized in the summer of 1999. The members who examined the original Sanskrit manuscripts there were Nishioka Ryōkō (then an executive board member), Matsunami Yoshihiro (then president), Takahashi Hisao, Tada Kōbun, Kimura Shūjō, Kimura Takayasu, the late Matsunami Yasuo, the late Maeda Ryōdō, Yonezawa Yoshiyasu, Ōtsuka Nobuo, NIU Litao, and Fukuda Takanori. On that occasion, the Administrative Department of the Potala Palace provided us with the original catalogue compiled by Phun tshogs tshe brtan. We heard that the catalogue of Sanskrit texts had not yet been completed, because he was the only staff member who had knowledge of Sanskrit at the Potala Palace and he was simultaneously making catalogues of Thanka paintings. The catalogue consisted of two parts, i.e. palm-leaf manuscripts and paper manuscripts. By that point, in 1999, the palm-leaf manuscript catalogue had 235 text entries in 79 bundles, while the paper manuscript catalogue had 54 text entries in 23 bundles. Two years later, we received the supplement, in which 24 text entries in 7 bundles are listed. However, these numbers do not show all Sanskrit manuscripts preserved at the Potala Palace, and most probably there are more manuscripts not yet listed. Most of the Sanskrit titles, especially those listed in the palm-leaf manuscript catalogue, seem to be based upon the Tibetan *dBu-med* transliteration on the cover (1a) of the manuscript and some of them, therefore, needed to be emended on the basis of the description of the colophon. Nonetheless, this catalogue enabled us to check many important Sanskrit texts whose existence had not hitherto been known. We noticed the existence of the original Sanskrit manuscripts of such works as, for instance, the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* of Candrakīrti, the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* of Dharmakīrti, the *Munimatālaṃkāra* of Abhayākaragupta, etc., among the palm-leaf manuscripts, and the *Nyāyamukha* of Dignāga, the *Viniścayasaṃgrahanī* as a part of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, the *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* of Bhāviveka, etc., among the paper manuscripts. What we selected for publication as a facsimile edition was the bundle containing the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. In order to prevent any undesirable disclosure of information, we decided to treat this publication plan as top secret even within Taisho University until the final stage of negotiations.

In the summer of 2001, we (Tada Kōbun, Kimura Takayasu, Kimura Shūjō, the late Matsunami Yasuo, Kimura Shūmei, Yonezawa Yoshiyasu, and NIU Litao) visited Lhasa again. Our purpose was not only to negotiate for the publication but also to conduct research on Sanskrit manuscripts. We visited not only the Potala Palace but also the Tibet Museum opened in October 1999 in front of the Nor bu gling ka Palace. During this tour, we were informed that the Sanskrit manuscripts at the Nor bu gling ka Palace were in the charge of the Tibet Museum. Apart from the materials returned from Beijing, we noticed the existence of the original Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā*, the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, etc. Except for them, however, we could not know what Sanskrit manuscripts were preserved there from the list provided by the Museum because it contains

information about the material, viz., palm-leaf sutra (*bstan 'gyur* or *bka' 'gyur*) and the size only, without text titles.

On December 14 2001 we announced our discovery of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, for we received printed copies of the facsimile edition. In 2004, we could finally release *The Facsimile Edition of the Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts of the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa and the Jñānālokālaṃkāra*, with the permission of the proper authorities in China, together with the 3-volume set *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa and Jñānālokālaṃkāra: Transliterated Sanskrit Text Collated with Tibetan and Chinese Translations* (I Introduction, II Transliterated Text of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, III Transliterated text of the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra*).

For the sixth facsimile edition, we selected the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* at the Potala Palace, or alternatively the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* at the Tibet Museum. In 2003, we planned a further research tour to Lhasa. But the tour itself was cancelled due to the SARS outbreak in the PRC. In the meantime, we made a plan for an educational program of Sanskrit training for Tibetan students. However, it was never realized. Unfortunately, the joint research project of Taisho University has not made any progress since the fifth publication. This might be due to the political situation in the PRC. In October 2006, the late Maeda Ryōdō, the late Matsunami Yasuo, Yonezawa Yoshiyasu, and NIU Litao attended the China Tibetan Culture Forum at Beijing and travelled to Xining in Qinghai province and Lhasa in the TAR. Then we happened to know that the chairmen of both the Qinghai and TAR Governments were aware of the importance of Sanskrit manuscripts in the PRC. We hope from the bottom of our heart that these important source materials will become available to the academic world in the near future.

5. Features of Sanskrit manuscript research at Taisho University

Why were we able to get access to and investigate these important Sanskrit manuscripts? On this point, both Tada and Kimura have the same opinion. Kimura's speech for the private session in his Buzanha ends with the following conclusion.

> We believe that our sincere attitude as Buddhists is understood and trusted by Chinese people. Moreover, we work together not as individuals but as a group. Our group consists of not only researchers but also persons who, remaining behind the scenes, support the negotiations and the actual research tours. The success of the Sanskrit Manuscript Research Project could not be attained without such supporters. They worked not for themselves but for other people. It is nothing but a realization of the Bodhisattva spirit of Mahayana Buddhism.[8]

It is indeed true that many people from Taisho University contributed to the Sanskrit Manuscript Project to the best of their ability. The series of publications by Taisho University is nothing but the result of group work. We do not have enough information about what was going on on the PRC side. Nonetheless, we believe that our activities as a group were understood and became the basis for official permission by the proper authorities in the PRC.

The group work style is also a feature of academic research at Taisho University. When a certain text became available for publication, a study group began at the Institute. It means that not one person but a group of members engaged with textual studies.

6. Study groups at the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism

As was mentioned above, our institute has published the facsimile editions of manuscripts of the "*Śrāvakabhūmi*," the *Amoghapāśakalparāja*, the *Abhisamācārika-Dharma*, the *Vi-*

[8] "My Journey to Tibet," delivered at Buzanha Lecturers' Meeting of Ibaraki Prefecture, May 4 2003.

nayasūtra, the *Vinayasūtravṛtti,* the *Vigrahavyāvartanī,* the **Lakṣaṇaṭīkā,* the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra.* In most cases, we have undertaken research on these texts by organizing study groups at our institute. Exceptions are the transliterations of the *Vigrahavyāvartanī* and the **Lakṣaṇaṭīkā,* which are the results of study undertaken by Yonezawa Yoshiyasu and Suzuki Kōshin as individuals.

Of these texts, the transliteration of the *Abhisamācārika-Dharma,* the *Vinayasūtra,* the *Vigrahavyāvartanī,* the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra* has at least been completed. On the other hand, others are still in progress. It is clear that our study groups are not necessarily making progress as quickly as expected, if we carefully look into each study group.

7. Śrāvakabhūmi study group

Of these, take the Śrāvakabhūmi study group for instance. It was started in 1979, fifteen years before the facsimile edition was published. The reason for starting the group was to read the edition of Karunesha Shukla[9] by comparing it with the Chinese and Tibetan translations. It soon became apparent that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* needed re-editing. Shukla's edition was based on the photographs of the manuscript taken by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana at Zha lu monastery in Tibet in 1938. In 1981, the group obtained photocopies of the photographs, which were not particularly easy to read, and started to produce a Sanskrit edition and Japanese translation to publish in the *Annual* of our institute.

Because of the research conducted by the group over a decade, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* was chosen for publication out of many manuscripts when our institute established a relationship with the Cultural Palace of Nationalities in Beijing and made an agreement to conduct joint research on the Sanskrit manuscripts in 1990. The manuscript of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* preserved at the China Library of Nationalities in the Cultural Palace of Nationalities is, in fact, the one discovered and photographed by Sāṅkṛtyāyana at Zha lu monastery.

Since 1991, when we obtained the microfilm of the manuscript prior to the publication of the facsimile edition, we have worked on it and published *Śrāvakabhūmi, Revised Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation, The First Chapter* (1998) and *The Second Chapter* (2007).[10] We are planning to finish editing the third chapter in two years. Concerning the fourth chapter, a critical edition of the first half together with an English translation was published by Florin Deleanu of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies[11] and the latter half is now being prepared for publication. Therefore, revision of all of the four chapters will hopefully be completed in the near future.

During the process of re-editing, we were able to correct errors made in Shukla's edition thanks to the microfilm and facsimile edition of the manuscript, which are much clearer than the photographs taken by Sāṅkṛtyāyana, and point out many missing passages in the manuscript itself on the basis of the readings of the Tibetan and Chinese translations. In addition, we are able to read the parts of the manuscript unreadable on Sāṅkṛtyāyana's photographs because they were hidden with pins or other folios. Nevertheless, Sāṅkṛtyāyana's photographs have not lost their value in that the original manuscript has lost the edges of some folios after they were photographed in 1938, and these parts can be seen on his photographs.

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[9] Karunesha Shukla, *Śrāvakabhūmi of Ācārya Asaṅga*, Tibetan Sanskrit Work Series Vol. XIV, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1973.

[10] These books are revised versions of the articles which have been published in *AICSB*.

[11] Florin Deleanu, *The Chapter on the Mundane Path (Laukikamārga) in the Śrāvakabhūmi: A Trilingual Edition (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese), Annotated Translation, and Introductory Study*, Studia Philologica Buddhica: Monograph Series XX, International Institute for Buddhist Studies, the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, Tokyo, 2006.

On the other hand, we have come across cases in which the readings of the Sanskrit manuscript and the Tibetan and Chinese translations all disagree. In these cases, the study group was always thrown into confusion and was not able to decide what emendation we should make.

8. Advantages and disadvantages of group study

It is probably true that we are able to publish the transliteration of a manuscript rather quickly by dividing the work among the members of a group in order to make the text available to the public as soon as possible. Transliteration itself is a rather simple task and its duration can be shortened by sheer force of numbers as long as the script of the manuscript is clear. In addition, it is possible to eliminate mistakes by cross-checking among members. On the other hand, if we attempt to be more critical by comparing with some other manuscript or a translation, this may not always be the case. When the contents are incomprehensible or sentences are grammatically incorrect, the group's discussion often stalls.

Concerning the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa,* for example, we first published the diplomatic transliterations of the Sanskrit texts two years after the manuscript had become available to us, taking the view that it was necessary to publicize these newly found texts as soon as possible. This was facilitated by the fact that the manuscript is written in clear characters, with few grammatical mistakes and no substantial damage to the support. We also attempted to produce editions of these two works in a relatively short time by keeping annotations to a minimum. In doing so, however, we sacrificed the opportunity to carry out a careful investigation of the readings in the four translations, especially the oldest available Chinese rendition by ZHI Qian,[12] which is generally abstruse but contains a great number of interesting sentences. Our intention was to provide scholars with access to the texts so that they could engage in research on them, deepen their understanding and correct our mistakes in the end.

With regard to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, on the other hand, the purpose of the study group was to revise Shukla's edition and to produce a more reliable text by comparing the readings of the manuscript with those of the translations. The text is corrupt or missing in many parts and it is necessary to emend and reconstruct it. As a result, thirty years have already passed since we started the Śrāvakabhūmi study group, but we have not yet finished editing the text.

In this way, it is necessary to vary the way of publishing the text of a certain manuscript depending on whether the manuscript is new or re-edited, clear or not, and so on. As researchers, we tend to aim at elaborate study. In fact, we are not necessarily satisfied with the result of some of our projects, in terms of academic depth. We nevertheless have to avoid the two pitfalls of putting speed of publication before academic quality and of not publishing at all as a result of striving for perfection.

9. Problems in manuscript study

When undertaking a manuscript project, it is sometimes not possible for us to choose what text to read. This is true for the *Vinayasūtra* and its *Vṛtti.* They are included in *A Collection of Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscripts in Tibetan dBu med Script*. We soon realized that, in some parts, these texts were much more than we could handle. If their readings were clearly understood, actual harm might have been limited. In reality, the sūtras have abbreviations and the commentary does not accord with the sūtras in many cases. We do not think, in addition, that the Tibetan translator understood the contents well because the

[12] *Foshuo weimojie jing*, Taisho No. 474.

Tibetan translation often disagrees with the Sanskrit and does not make sense. Consequently, the Sanskrit reconstruction in Bapat and Gokhale's edition[13] is often misleading. Under these circumstances, we are struggling with our limited knowledge of Vinaya to figure out the contents.

It is very important for us in such a case to be in communication with experts. We obtained useful advice from Chung Jin-il and Shayne Clarke with regard to Vinaya texts and felt the importance of expert instruction more than ever. In the same way, members of the Śrāvakabhūmi study group were greatly benefitted by advice from Lambert Schmithausen when he visited Japan in 2006 in order to give a series of lectures at the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies. This happy opportunity materialized only after his retirement, thanks to the college, which is organized enough to invite professors from abroad.

10. Future prospects

An increasing number of manuscripts have been made available to us these days and it is our duty to publish them without unnecessary delay or loss of quality. In our opinion, it is necessary to form a team in one way or another in order to handle such a task. The participation of experts plays an indispensable part in maximizing results. However, the number of experts is limited and they are often unavailable or too expensive to invite for consultation in person. We hope some kind of matchmaking procedure will be established among researchers or between researchers and manuscripts.

Appendix: Selected Bibliography of Research on the basis of the Facsimile Editions published by Taisho University

Abbreviations

AICSB: *Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taisho University,* The Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taisho University.

JNIB: *Journal of Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies,* Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies.

Śrāvakabhūmi

Śrāvakabhūmi, The First Chapter, Revised Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation, by Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group, Sankibo Busshorin, Tokyo, 1998.

Śrāvakabhūmi, The Second Chapter, with Asamāhitā bhūmiḥ, Śrutāmayī bhūmiḥ, Cintāmayī bhūmiḥ, Revised Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation, by Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group, Sankibo Busshorin, Tokyo, 2007.

"The *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Part XXII Sanskrit Text, Analysis, and Translation of the Tṛtīyaṃ Yogasthānaṃ I" by Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group, *AICSB* 30, 2008: (1)–(79).

"The *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Part XXIII Sanskrit Text, Analysis, and Translation of the Tṛtīyaṃ Yogasthānaṃ II" by Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group, *AICSB* 31, 2009: (1)–(81).

"The *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Part XXIV Sanskrit Text, Analysis, and Translation of the Tṛtīyaṃ Yogasthānaṃ III" by Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group, *AICSB* 32, 2010: (1)–(47).

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dBu med manuscript

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Various Aspects of Dealing with Buddhist *codices unici*

Michael Hahn (Marburg)

In the field of Buddhist philology and textual criticism, *codices unici* are not particularly rare or remarkable. Due to the well-known state of the transmission and preservation of Buddhist manuscripts in the countries adjacent to India, there are many famous works preserved in only one exemplar or fragment of an exemplar, as is the case with the Gilgit manuscripts, or with many texts discovered in Central Asia. The opposite case, a work preserved in a great number of copies, recensions, and translations, like the *Udānavarga*, is also met with, but will not be discussed, although highly interesting from a different theoretical point of view.

In the course of my study of the extant (and not so small) corpus of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature of Nepal, wherever in the world it is preserved, I have found that quite a few important works have survived in only one copy, either physically or at least from the point of view of textual criticism. Examples are:

Buddhacarita by Aśvaghoṣa (less than 50 per cent preserved)*
Ratnāvalī by Nāgārjuna (60 per cent only)*
Pāramitāsamāsa by Āryaśūra (complete)
Jātakamālāṭīkā (1–15) by an anonymous author
Jātakamālā by Haribhaṭṭa (30 per cent only)*
Śiṣyalekha by Candragomin (98 per cent)
Nāgānandanāṭaka by Harṣadeva (98 per cent)
Saptakumārikāvadāna by Gopadatta (complete)
**Ajātaśatrvavadāna* by Gopadatta (incomplete)
Kapphiṇābhyudaya by Śivasvāmin (92 per cent)*
Vṛttamālāstuti by Jñānaśrīmitra
  and *Vṛttamālāvivṛti* by Śākyarakṣita (99 per cent)*
Vidagdhavismāpana by Ratnākaraśānti (complete)
  and its commentary by Paṇḍita Aśoka (complete)
Maṇicūḍajātaka by Sarvarakṣita (complete)

These are only samples. A complete list would be much longer. While on the one hand this specific situation relieves editors of the mechanical duties of collating a certain number of manuscripts and establishing a stemma, it compels them, on the other hand, to develop other criteria and principles for dealing with his sole source. I will discuss some of these criteria and principles, the use of other testimonia or ancillary sources and the possible influence that the primary source may have on an ancillary source, e.g., a Tibetan translation. The recent editions of the Sanskrit texts of Candragomin's *Śiṣyalekha*, Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā*, Śivasvāmin's *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, and Jñānaśrīmitra's *Vṛttamālāstuti* will illustrate this.

It has to be emphasized that the list of texts given above no longer reflects the actual state of affairs, but only the situation when I was working on them a decade ago. In the meantime, in the case of those texts marked by an asterisk, new sources have turned up or have at least been reported to exist (without being accessible). However, my paper will deal only with works that are in fact still represented only by a single witness.

As stated above, it is quite normal that editors of Buddhist texts have to work with only one primary witness of the text they are studying. Often, however, there are important and valuable secondary sources that greatly facilitate the editorial work, like Tibetan or Chinese translations, or close parallels from the Pāli Tripiṭaka. Parallels from other parts of

the Sanskrit canon can also prove helpful, be they stock phrases or similar ideas expressed in similar words. These ancillary sources enable the editor to correct mistakes or fill gaps.

The situation is different in the case of the shastric and poetic literature. Good examples are the texts microfilmed or copied by Rahula Sankrityayana during his four exploratory missions to Tibet in the thirties of the last century. In most cases the editors had to work on the basis of single manuscripts, albeit rather good ones. In all these cases a great familiarity with the subject matter was the main precondition for establishing a by and large correct text, especially when there were no secondary sources of the abovementioned type. The typical problems and difficulties the editors of these texts faced are illustrated in the editions and re-editions of the philosophical works of Jñānaśrīmitra and Ratnakīrti.

As is well known, one of my main fields of research is the poetic and didactic literature of Indian Buddhism that, in my opinion, forms a most important complement to the extant classical Sanskrit literature. Unfortunately, only a small part of it has so far been edited, translated and studied, and found its way into the authoritative surveys of Indian literature. In general, the histories of Indian literature confine themselves to the two epics composed by Aśvaghoṣa, the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda*, Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, and Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. Only occasionally some of the minor works, such as the hymns composed by Mātṛceṭa or Candragomin's "Letter to a disciple" (*Śiṣyalekha*), are also mentioned. Even the most comprehensive work in this field, A. K. Warder's monumental *Indian Kāvya Literature*, cannot be regarded as up to date, because Warder's manuscript was more or less completed when about 35 years ago a revived interest in this subject brought to light a considerable number of new and important works.

My own contribution has been a systematic survey of the remnants of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal, wherever it has been preserved. Between 1975 and 1985 I visited the major libraries where Buddhist manuscripts from Nepal are kept and in most cases I was given permission to microfilm the manuscripts I was interested in. The result is a collection of microfilms of more than 1,000 manuscripts now kept in the library of the Institute of Indian Studies (Indologisches Seminar) at the University of Bonn. In 1988, I gave a brief report of my exploration tours in a volume celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Indologisches Seminar as an independent institute. It is followed by Helmut Eimer's list of titles of this collection. On the basis of these manuscripts, several Buddhist works were edited or re-edited, either by myself or by my students at Bonn and Marburg. Some important works whose Sanskrit originals could not be traced were edited on the basis of their Tibetan translations.

While analyzing the manuscripts collected at Bonn, I was surprised to find how often a certain text has survived only in a single copy. E.g., it could be shown that the two paper manuscripts of Candragomin's *Śiṣyalekha* from St. Petersburg and Tokyo are mere copies of the palm leaf manuscript dated 204 N.S. (~ 1084 CE), kept in the Cambridge University Library, or that five of the six extant manuscripts that contain nine or ten legends from Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā* go back to one among them, the *Bodhisattvajātakāvadānamālā*. The latter manuscript is undated but one of its descendants was copied, according to its colophon, in 810 N.S. (~ 1690 CE) so that the archetype has to be earlier than that date. In the case of the *Śiṣyalekha*, the edition of the Sanskrit text was facilitated by the existence of a good or at least fairly good (but heavily corrupted) Tibetan translation of the root text and of two Sanskrit commentaries. With their help, more than 30 serious mistakes could be corrected and almost all the gaps caused by the physical damage of the manuscript could be closed. This manuscript also shows that the rule of thumb "The older the manuscript, the better its textual quality" is not always valid, because its 116 stanzas are marred by ca. 200 minor and almost 50 major mistakes or gaps. An instructive case is stanza 112, whose first line contains the compound *prakaṭavipula**yakā**gādhaḥ*. It is a Dvandva compound,

whose four members, by way of *śleṣa* or *double entendre*, simultaneously refer to a pond and to the Buddha. The two syllables °*yakā*° (marked by bold face) are unintelligible. Their Tibetan equivalent is the hapax legomenon *byin gzhol* whose meaning becomes clear from Prajñākaramati's *Śiṣyalekhavṛtti*. There it is stated that *byin gyis gzhol ba* — this is the full form — means *dge ba la gzhol ba* "devoted or inclined to what is wholesome." There is only one Sanskrit term palaeographically close to *yakā* that yields the required meaning, namely *prahva*.

After the publication of the critical edition and English translation of the *Śiṣyalekha* in my book *Invitation to Enlightenment*, Diwakar Acharya discovered another copy of the palm leaf manuscript that was done when the latter was less mutilated than it was when the two other copies (St. Petersburg and Tokyo) were prepared. In 2007, he published a list of 25 readings that either deviate from the readings reported by me or supplement it (see Diwakar 2007). In 15 cases, the new readings confirm my emendations or restorations of missing text. The remaining 10 new readings will be briefly discussed here. Parentheses ( ) are used for physically lost portions of the manuscripts, square brackets [ ] for mutilated or only partly legible letters, while pointed brackets < > designate letters omitted by the scribe. For the splendid emendations in lines 95c, 97b, and 100a I am indebted to Mitsuyo Demoto (Marburg).

1) Stanza 7 is mutilated. On the basis of its Tibetan translation —

chos kyi sprin de phan pa mdzad pa'i don du g.yos ||
chos kyi bdud rtsi mya ngan 'das pa mchog gi rgyu ||
ro gcig gdung ba sel ba char chu bzhin du phab ||
de ni snod la brten nas ro rnams du mar gyur ||

The cloud of the dharma that has been produced in order to become useful
has poured down the nectar of the dharma, the cause of the highest nirvāṇa,
that has (only) one taste and removes pain, as if it were rain water;
depending on the condition of the vessel, it takes various tastes.

— in my edition of 1999 I had restored its missing portions as follows:

dharmāmbuvāha iva yo 'bhyudito hitāya
dharmāmṛtaṃ jalam ivaikarasaṃ vavarṣa |
tāpāpa(hāri pari)ni(r)v(ṛt)i(kāraṇaṃ ca
pātrā)ś(r)ayeṇa yad anekarasa[ṃ babhūva] || *7* ||

The new manuscript reads *tāpāpanodanam iva* .... in line c which makes my reconstruction of that line obsolete. The six still missing syllables have to fit the following metrical pattern: ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓. Moreover, the eighth syllable, beginning with *va*, has to be long. Hence the ninth syllable has to begin with a consonant cluster or the vowel of the eighth syllable is to be lengthened, e.g., by a *dīrghamātra* or an *anusvāra*. The last two syllables could be °*hetuṃ*, the equivalent of Tibetan *rgyu*. I am not able to propose a meaningful text for the other four syllables. As for the end of line d, I now prefer to read *anekarasatvam āpa* because °*rasa* seems to be followed by a conjunct letter and the last syllable looks more like *pa* than *va*.

2) Stanza 8d ends in *ḥ*, as does the palm leaf manuscript. This does not confirm my tentative reconstruction

(*tasmai namaḥ puruṣarūpamahāhradāya*)

based on the Tibetan translation

mtsho chen mi yi gzugs can de la phyag 'tshal lo ||

Hence my alternative reconstruction might be closer to the original text:

(*tebhyo namaḥ puruṣarūpamahāhradebhya*)*ḥ*

3) In stanza 11a I had restored the three missing syllables as *śikṣā(padeṣu)*, based on the Tibetan translation *bslab gzhi*. The new manuscript, however, reads *śikṣābalena*. °*padeṣu* is confirmed by the *Śiṣyalekhaṭippaṇa* (*bslab pa'i* ***gzhi rnams la***) and the *Śiṣyalekhavṛtti* (*bslab pa'i* ***gzhi*** *bcas pa*). Hence there is no need to alter the restoration, although the alternative text is also meaningful.

4) In stanza 16b the new manuscript reads *nirayā* (!) *sughorā* (!) instead of *nirayāś ca ghorāḥ*. Apart from the two missing visargas, *ca* is required by the context (*tiṣṭhantu tāvad iha sarvajanāpavādāḥ sarvāś ca pāpagatayo nirayāś ca ghorāḥ*) and confirmed by the Tibetan: *re zhig skye bo kun gyis dpyas dang sdig pa yi || 'gro ba kun* ***dang*** *dmyal ba mi bzod phar zhog gi* ||. Therefore the new reading is to be rejected.

5) In stanza 41a the new manuscript repeats the scribal error of the palm-leaf manuscript: °*caṃcacchaṭā*(!)*nikara*° instead of °*cañcajjaṭānikara*°. The emendation **jaṭā*,"locks," is confirmed by the Tibetan *ral pa'i tshogs mang* and corroborated by the *Śiṣyalekhaṭippaṇa* that explains: *ral pa'i tshogs mang ba ni skra'i tshogs bsgyings pa'o* ||: "An 'ample mass of locks' means 'a spreading mass of hair'."

6) In stanza 54c the new manuscript repeats the spelling error of the palm-leaf manuscript: °*sakalāvalī*° instead of °*śakalāvalī*°, Tibetan *dum phreng ba'i*.

7) In stanza 57c the new manuscript reads *ghaṭṭitaṃ* for *ghaṭitaṃ* of the palm-leaf manuscript. From the metrical point of view *ghaṭitaṃ* is not possible since the first syllable has to be long. The stanza describes how the hell beings develop some hope when the entrance gate is opened for a short moment, but become utterly disappointed when the door panels of karma are closed again. In classical Sanskrit as recorded by the PW we would expect *ghāṭitaṃ* "closed," and I emended accordingly. However, Schmidt in his *Nachträge* has the entry "[*ghaṭṭ*,] *ghaṭṭita* = *ghaṭita*, geschlossen, Divyāv, 29,7.12. ... Mit *ud*, °*udghaṭṭate* aufgehen (von der Tür gesagt), S I,99,11 Ko. (*udghaṭṭamāna*)." "S" is the abbreviation for Somadeva's *Yaśastilakacampū*, ed. Kāvyamālā No. 70. Thus it seems that *ghaṭṭitaṃ* is indeed a possible alternative for *ghāṭitaṃ*. Nevertheless, we cannot be sure as to what Candragomin himself wrote because *ghaṭṭitaṃ* is perhaps no more than the emendation of an intelligent scribe. The wrong reading *ghaṭitaṃ* could as well have originated from **ghāṭitaṃ*. Therefore the case remains undecided.

8) In stanza 63b my emendation *āropayanti* (for *ācopayanti*) is confirmed by the new manuscript, but not the following restoration **śivam uttama*bodhibījam* (for the unintelligible *sivanentasa*), Tibetan *byang chub mchog gi sa bon dge ba'ang*. Here the new manuscript reads *subham anantasubodhi*°, which is unmetrical and not supported by the Tibetan in its second part. The restored text is to be kept.

9) In stanza 97, the new manuscript simply confirms the reading *tanniṣphalaḥ* of the palm-leaf manuscript. Mitsuyo Demoto suggested emending *tanniṣphalaḥ* as **tā niṣphalāḥ* with *niṣphalā* meaning "die Menses nicht mehr habend" (PW; attested only in the *Amarakośa*!), "a woman past child-bearing" in order to have a meaningful text:

> *aṅkasthitena śiśunā vivaśena yāsāṃ*
> *pītaḥ payodhararasaḥ praṇayānuyātaḥ |*
> **tā niṣphalāḥ* pracuradurlalitaikabhājaḥ*
> *ko nāma dasyur api hātum ihotsaheta || 97 ||*

> Who on earth, even the lowest of the low,
> could force themselves to abandon their mothers,
> when they have passed the age of child-bearing,
> whose milk, joined with their affectionate love,
> they drank as helpless infants on their laps,

although they received in return
nothing but their many naughty pranks?

In the Tibetan translation, *niṣphalāḥ* seems to have been rendered rather freely:

byis pa pang na btsas pa ci yang mi nus pas ||
gang gi nu zho byams pa'i shugs kyis gzags 'thungs pa ||
ngal ba mang bsten byams pa bsten pa de dag 'dir ||
shin tu ma rabs zhig na'ang spong bar su zhig spro || 97 ||

Who on earth, even if born in a very low family,
would readily abandon her
who, having endured many toils [because of him],
[always] maintained her love [towards him],
and whose milk, trickling down under the force of her love, he drank
when he was helplessly resting ('protected') on her lap?

The two commentaries *Śiṣyalekhaṭippaṇa* (***ngal ba*** [= *durlalita*] *rtse ba la sogs pa'o ||* ***gcig pu bsten pa*** [= *ekabhājaḥ*] *zhes bya ba ni rkyen sbyin no* ||) and *Śiṣyalekhavṛtti* (*bu'i ched du las kyi mtha' sna tshogs la 'bad pas ngal ba mang po ston kyang bu la byams pa sten pa*) clearly show that *ngal ba mang bsten* represents *pracuradurlalitaikabhājaḥ*. The word order of line b suggests that *byams pa'i shugs kyis gzags* is a free rendering of *praṇayānuyātaḥ* while *byams pa bsten pa* in line c corresponds to *niṣphalāḥ.* Since there is no semantic agreement, it might have been taken from the *Śiṣyalekhavṛtti*, replacing the lost original translation.

10) In stanza 100a; I had tried to restore the lost portion of the first line as

(na yānaiḥ) [śreṣṭhai](r) naiva ca nṛpatilakṣmīparikarair

on the basis of the Tibetan translation, which runs:

gzhon bdes mi thob mi dbang 'byor pa'i yo byad rnams kyis min ||

Not by comfortable vehicles it is attained,
and not by the luxury of royal status

In order to maintain the construction I had to alter *saṃprāpya* of the palm-leaf manuscript to *sā prāpyā* in line c. Now the new manuscript reads *na mārasyodyāne na ca* (?). Mitsuyo Demoto suggested the following text behind this corruption:

*na *sā ramyair yānair* na ca nṛpatilakṣmīparikarair*
na dārair nāpatyair na surabhavane nāsuragatau |
*kathaṃ cit *saṃprāpyā viṣayasukha<sa>ṃbhogaparamair*
labhante yā(ṃ) prīti(ṃ) parahitasukhādhānaniratāḥ || 100 ||

Not by comfortable vehicles
and not by the luxury of royal status,
not by wives or children, not in the palace of the gods,
or in the state of existence as a demigod—
not by any of these means
can those for whom enjoyment of the objects of the senses
is the greatest good attain, even through their greatest efforts,
a happiness that parallels the joy of those
who devote themselves to creating happiness
and welfare for others.

To sum up: in one case the younger copy has preserved a better reading (*tāpāpa**nodanam iva***) and in a second case its still faulty reading helped to restore the original text (*na* ***sā ramyair yānair na ca***). There is one more stanza where a better solution can be proposed than the one given in *Invitation to Enlightenment*, pp. 114–115, where I had also overlooked the fact that stanza 95 forms a grammatical unit with the following stanza 96:

yaiḥ sārdham etya hasitaṃ lalitaṃ pragītam
ekatra pītam aśitaṃ kṛtāś ca goṣṭhyaḥ |
*kālakrameṇa *gamitāḥ kati ke 'pi* ramyā*
nītāḥ samāś ca viṣamāś ca daśāḥ kathaṃ cit || 95 ||

Of those with whom we used to laugh, play, sing,
drink, eat, and converse in company with one another,
many who were dear to us have, over time, been forced to depart,
and were somehow led into good and bad conditions.

The palm-leaf manuscript actually reads *gamitā* ***kalike*** *'pi*, and the Tibetan translation of the stanza runs as follows:

gang dang lhan cig 'dus nas bgad cing rtses pa dang ||
glu blangs dga' 'dun byas shing gcig tu zos 'thungs dang ||
dus kyi rim pas ***me tog rna rgyan*** *dengs byas dang ||*
gnas skabs ci zhig ltar mnyam mi mnyam byas pa yi ||

(The relatives) with whom one has been associated, laughed,
played, sung, amicably conversed, eaten and drunk,
(who), in the course of time, have made the flowery ear-ornament wither,
have somehow created 'even' and 'uneven' occasions, ...

The crucial term in this stanza is *kalikā*. Here it does not mean "an unblown flower, a bud," but has to be taken as diminutive of *kalā*, here signifying "a short span of time." Mitsuyo Demoto suggested emending *kalike 'pi* as *kalikāpi* (where the *dīrghamātra* was perhaps misread as *avagraha*) and keep the reading *gamitā* of the palm leaf manuscript. This is the corrected translation of the Sanskrit text:

Of those with whom we used to laugh, play, sing,
drink, eat, and converse in company with one another,
with whom we have spent, over time, (many) happy moments,
and experienced good and bad situations, ...

It is clear that the Tibetan translators had not understood *kalikāpi ramyā* properly. Their rendering *me tog rna rgyan*, "ear-ornament of flower," seems to be a mixture of *kalikā*, "bud," and *karṇikā*, "ear-ornament." The *Śiṣyalekhaṭippaṇa* has the following explanation: *dus ni me tog dang ldan pa'o* || which I understand as "As for 'time,' it is (circumscribed by a term that etymologically means) 'endowed with a flower'." This looks like a typical case of the juxtaposition of definiendum and definiens: "As for *kalikā*, (etymologically meaning) 'endowed with a flower,' it (here) designates (a short span of) time."

In the case of Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā*, the Tibetan translation proved to be of invaluable help, despite its generally poor quality, because its extremely mechanical character enables the editor to see whether the translators had the same text in front of them or not. However, its literalness can occasionally lead the editor astray by creating a wrong expectation of what the text should read. In my first edition of four legends from Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā* (Hahn 1992) I misread two Sanskrit words because I was influenced by the Tibetan. Instead of *tanutram*, "armour ('protector of the body')," I read *tanutvam* with the Tibetan *yang ba nyid*, "lightness," and in the second case I read *uṣṭrāḥ*, "camels," instead of *usrāḥ*, "cows," because the Tibetan has *rnga ma rnams*, "camels." Hence, the editor has to reckon with such mistakes and should become suspicious whenever the meaning is in contradiction with the style of the author of the text at issue.

A very special case is Śivasvāmin's poem *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*. This is a Buddhist *mahākāvya* composed in Kashmir in the second half of the ninth century. Its source is a legend from the *Avadānaśataka*, the *Kapphiṇāvadāna*. It is retold in such a manner that it fulfils all the requirements of a "great ornate epic." Until recently, it has not been possible to properly assess the quality of the work, because the *editio princeps* by Gauri Shankar (Lahore 1937) is marred by countless mistakes that affect more than 50 per cent of its

roughly 1,100 stanzas. The main reason for the defects of this edition is the insufficient manuscript material: two incomplete manuscripts from Orissa (now kept in Madras) and the transcript of a good but unfortunately incomplete manuscript from Nepal; 22 of its 56 leaves (one of them blank) are missing in the National Archives, Kathmandu. Under these circumstances the task committed to Gauri Shankar was hopeless. Thanks to the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, access to the leaves preserved in Kathmandu became possible, and by good luck I discovered 18 of the 22 missing folios in the library of Ryūkoku University, Kyōto. Very soon it became clear that this manuscript that is now split up in two library collections and that I abbreviate as "N" is the only one that permits us to reconstruct the original wording. It is extremely well written, practically free of mistakes, and characterized by a most sophisticated marking system that separates the words or even members of a compound whenever the text is difficult or contains a *double entendre*. This marking system can be regarded as a "commentary in a nutshell." Both parts of this precious manuscript were used for the appendix to a reprint of Gauri Shankar's *editio princeps*, in which almost 50 per cent of the text was presented in an improved edition (Gauri Shankar/Hahn 1989), and for a new edition of the whole text accompanied by a facsimile reproduction of the manuscript and its diplomatic transliteration (Hahn 2007).

At the Stanford conference, the question was raised whether it is sensible to publish facsimile reproductions of manuscripts in book form, or whether they are better distributed electronically. As in many other cases, I would like to suggest a *madhyamā pratipad*, a "middle position." For financial reasons paper publications can certainly not be done in all cases that might seem desirable. However, there are some cases in which a manuscript is both a source of information and a cultural document or piece of art. In such cases, the reproduction is justifiable, especially when the owner and protector of such a precious item is willing and in a position to financially support the publication. The reproduction of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* manuscript, for example, was made possible through the generous support of Ryūkoku University.

That a facsimile edition, in whatever form, should accompany the publication of an important *codex unicus* seems not to be in question. There are too many instances where a reader would like to check whether another reading is also possible, especially in those cases where the manuscript is not easy to decipher. In my second edition of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* there are several passages where repeated study of the manuscript and greater familiarity with Śivasvāmin's style enabled me to improve the text. One example may suffice.

In the introduction to the reprint of 1989 I discussed a few passages in order to illustrate the superiority of the new manuscript. With regard to stanza iv.25 I wrote:

> A particularly noteworthy case is stanza IV.25:
>
> 5) ***atibalavati*** *śatrau tulyaśauryodaye vā*
> *dadhati samucitatvaṃ nīticintāntarāyāḥ |*
> *vada sunayavivakṣālakṣyatāṃ* ***yānti*** *tūla-*
> *plavalaghimasu rājan* ***ke 'salāḥ*** *kośaleṣu || IV.25 ||*
>
> The printed text read *ati balavati* instead of *atibalavati* (printing mistake?), *tucchatūla-* instead of *yānti tūla-*, and *koṣalāḥ* instead of *ke 'salaḥ*. I do not see any possibility of arriving at an intelligible interpretation of the second half of the stanza: even its construction seems hardly possible. The text of N, on the other hand, has a most suitable meaning in the context of the canto which is, for the major part, a fiery speech of Subāhu, in which he urges king Kapphiṇa to wage war against King Prasenajit of Kośala immediately:

> "If the enemy is too strong
> or shows the same degree of prowess,
> then it is most appropriate to raise the obstacle
> [to immediate action] 'consideration about the right policy.'
> O king, say, who are the fighters (*asala*) among the Kośalas,
> who are as light as a small ship made of cotton,
> and show the characteristics [that would justify]
> the wish to talk about the best policy?"
>
> The only problem that remains is the so far unattested word *asala* whose meaning has to be something like "hero, fighter, warrior, opponent" (perhaps to be analysed as *asa-la* "bow-holder"). The origin of the mistake is conspicuous. The Avagraha before *sa* makes the letter *ke* look like *ko* and so *ke 'salāḥ* of N became *kośalāḥ* in N2 and the subsequent copies. Once this mistake had happened, the original reading could not be restored, as the sequence *kośalāḥ kośaleṣu* looks as if it was intended and nobody would expect the faulty passage here. The text of N is, however, absolutely unambiguous, as the Avagraha can be clearly distinguished from the *dīrghamātra* sign and in addition to that, there is a small stroke after *ke* which separates the word from the following *'salāḥ*. (pp. xviii–xix of the postscript. A few mistakes are tacitly corrected.).

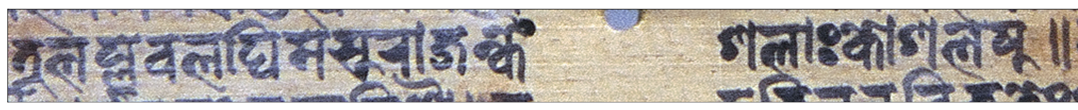
While preparing the new critical edition, I discovered that I had overlooked the anusvāra above the avagraha before °*salāḥ*. So the word in question reads (*a*)*ṃsalāḥ*, not (*a*)*salāḥ*. Since *aṃsalāḥ* means "the strong," the interpretation becomes much easier, because we need not have recourse to the unattested formation *asala*-.



tū la pla va la ghi ma su ' rā ja nke ' 'ṃsa lāḥ ' ko śa le ṣu " ||

The reason for this oversight is most likely the quality of my source material. While preparing the appendix to the 1988 reprint I had to work with black and white prints of the manuscript as filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project and in part only with photostat copies taken from these prints. In many places only high-quality photographs permit one to differentiate between mere spots of dirt and intentionally placed anusvāras or the sometimes very tiny or indistinct strokes or dots that are meant to separate whole words or members of a compound.

In the National Archives, Kathmandu, there exists a second palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, dated 1528 AD and abbreviated as "N2," which seems to be a copy of the older palm-leaf manuscript. It is complete, beautifully written, and its quality is much better than that of the two incomplete manuscripts from Orissa that were used by Gauri Shankar. At the same time its readings are inferior to those of "N," and moreover the scribe entirely omitted the extremely helpful marking system. This is how line iv.25d appears in "N2":



tū la pla va la ghi ma su rā ja nkeṃ śa lāḥ ko śa le ṣu

This might be the origin of the defective reading in the two later manuscripts.

For the facsimile edition of 2007 Prof. Yūshō Wakahara from Ryūkoku University took excellent colour photographs of both parts of the manuscript that are hardly distinguishable from the original. Even the folio that is damaged by water can be deciphered to a large

extent. Here experts might be able to regain some of the completely lost portions by applying advanced computer techniques.

So far I have discussed those cases where copies of the original manuscript or ancillary sources helped to improve a badly transmitted primary source. Now I would like to briefly mention a few cases where access to a primary source helps to mend mistakes that have crept into a secondary source in the course of transmission. They mostly concern Chinese and Tibetan translations of Indian texts. Both experience and common sense tell us that it is very unlikely that a great corpus of texts remains untainted when transmitted over a span of more than a millennium, as is the case with the texts belonging to the Chinese and Tibetan Tripiṭakas. Only those texts that are well translated and regularly studied in their new environment have any chance of remaining unaltered. The other works are liable to become corrupt in the course of being copied repeatedly. There are certain standard types of mistakes that occur again and again. In the Chinese translations certain characters become replaced by others that have a similar shape. In the Tibetan translations we find a mixture of graphic and acoustic mistakes.

Twenty-five years ago one of my Japanese PhD students, Dr. Yukihiro Okada, studied the Chinese translation of Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* in close comparison with its Sanskrit original and its Tibetan translation. He could detect quite a few mistakes in the Taishō edition. Sometimes the correct reading could be found among the variant readings, sometimes it had to be restored by way of emendation.

Another of my Japanese students, Dr. Naoki Saito, studied the Tibetan translation of Āryaśūra's *Pāramitāsamāsa* or "Compendium of the Moral Perfections." This is a very unusual work that stands out by its rather free rendering of the Sanskrit original and its high percentage of words and expressions belonging to the "old language" or *rnying skad*. Although it is obvious that Vairocanarakṣita, who translated the work without the assistance of an Indian paṇḍita, had a very good understanding of the text, many passages are difficult to understand without additional explanation or access to the Sanskrit original. Dr. Saito, who also re-edited the Sanskrit text of the *Pāramitāsamāsa* on the basis of a *codex unicus*, not only solved several corrupted passages of the original work with the help of its Tibetan translation, but was also able to restore the original wording of more than 90 corrupt words in the Tibetan translation. About 60 of the 365 stanzas of the Tibetan *Pāramitāsamāsa* are quoted in Tsongkhapa's *Lam rim chen mo*. In most cases where the canonical blockprints of the 18th century are corrupt, the correct reading can be found in the *Lam rim chen mo*. This is an indication that Tsongkhapa's text was much more intensively studied than the canonical version.

An even greater number of mistakes than in the canonical version of the Tibetan *Pāramitāsamāsa* can be found in the Tibetan text of Jñānaśrīmitra's "Praise in the Form of a Garland of Metres" or *Vṛttamālāstuti*, which is a hymn in praise of Mañjuśrī that illustrates 150 different Sanskrit metres. I edited and translated the Tibetan text in my PhD thesis (Marburg 1967) that was published in 1971. At that time, the Sanskrit original was thought to be irretrievably lost. In 1976, I got access to a palm-leaf manuscript containing the commentary by Śākyarakṣita, and one year later I learnt that the *Vṛttamālāstuti* had been published in Benares by the Nepalese Yogi Naraharinath on the occasion of the Buddha Jayantī in 1956. Recently I published a slightly improved version of the Sanskrit text along with a German translation. The comparison of the Tibetan translation with the Sanskrit original showed that the Tibetan text as preserved in the Tanjur contains more than 80 corruptions. Again without the Sanskrit original there was no possibility of detecting and correcting them. Here are just a few samples:

Stanza	Text of the printed edition	Corrected text	Sanskrit text / Notes
21b	*rgyu chen blo ldan*	**rgya chen blo ldan*	*pṛthudhiyaḥ*
22d	*'char ro*	**mtshar ro*	*citram*
27d	*rgyan ni spel* (NP) *bar byed*	**rgya ni sel* (CD) *bar byed*	*udasyati ... mudrām* (*rgyan ni* is a dittography for *rgya ni*!)
29a	*rigs ni 'char byed ri bo*	*rigs *kyi 'char byed ri bo*	°*kulodayaśailaṃ*
30b	*'byor pa*	*'byor *pas*	*bhūtyā*
31a	*tshig ni*	**tshogs ni*	°*nivahaḥ*
31d	*med pa*	**mkhar rnga** [!]	°*paṇavo*
34c	*sna tshogs rnam par 'phro ba'i 'od zer phreng ldan* (CD) or *sna tshogs rin chen 'od zer phreng ldan* (NP)	**rnam pa sna tshogs rin chen* 'od zer phreng ldan*	*nānāratnamarīcimālinī*. For the metrically restored *rnam pa sna tshogs* cf. *rnam pa sna tshogs* = *vividha*- 78d, 118c, 138 and = *nānāvidha*- 122c
47c	*sdug ldan*	**stug ldan*	*sāndra*°
54a	*yon tan rab 'bar*	**rang bzhin* rab 'bar*	*svabhāvojjvalā*
54b	*bsngags par 'od ldan*	*bsngags par *'os pa**	°*ślāghinī*
55b	(*zhe sdang*) *ma dag*	(*zhe sdang*) **me dag*	*dveṣāgnir*

As for the Sanskrit text of the *Vṛttamālāstuti*, it is based on Yogi Naraharinath's edition of 1956. Although it is an excellent piece of work, for which most presumably also the *codex unicus* of Śākyarakṣita's commentary was used, I had to alter the edited text in more than 50 places. The mistakes range from mere printing errors to more serious cases like *bhaṅgatāṃ* for (correct) *bhavyatāṃ*, °*mukha*° for °*sukha*°, °(*sṛ*)*ṣṭiḥ* for °*dṛṣṭiḥ*, *tava vapuḥ* for *tava puraḥ*, *anaṅgacirasthitam* for *anaṅgavijṛmbhitam*, *eti* for *īśa*, *vidhi* for *divi*, °*lārciṣ ca* (*te*) for °*lārciścayo*, *sāndra*° for *sāntra*°, *tanīya*° for *tadīya*°, *bhāram* for *bhāvam*, *manasi* for *bhavasi*, and so on. In almost all these cases the corrections are based both on the commentary (my main source) and the Tibetan translation, that was done with the help of the very same commentary. Stanza 62 of the *Vṛttamālāstuti* is lost in Yogi Naraharinath's manuscript. However, the Tibetan translation and the commentary enabled me to present a reconstruction of the stanza, since its metre (*bhujaṅgaprayāta*) is known. It is a most remarkable feature of the Indian edition that the editor added to it photographs of the manuscript, a long time before the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project was launched. Due to the small size of the booklet and the insufficient quality of the plates, only some portions can be read. Nevertheless, the reproduction enabled me to verify that stanza 62 is indeed lost and not just omitted by inadvertency on the part of the editor.

The last point I would like to mention is the *codex unicus* of Sarvarakṣita's *Maṇicūḍajātaka*. From two points of view, this is a very peculiar manuscript. First, it is the only complete manuscript that is written in the rare *bhaikṣukī lipiḥ*. The only other specimen of this script we have, apart from a few brief inscriptions in the eastern part of India, is a fragmentary sub-commentary on Candragomin's *Vyākaraṇasūtra* called *Candrālaṃkāra* by an unknown author. Second, the text is written in a quite unusual Middle Indic dialect or mixture of Sanskrit and Middle Indic. The language shows similarities with that of the so-called Patna *Dhammapada* that Peter Skilling tentatively ascribes to the Sāṃmitīya school. Since the author of the *Maṇicūḍajātaka* definitely belongs to this school, as is evidenced by his cosmological treatise *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā* (cf. Okano 1998), the language of the *Maṇicūḍajātaka* might be a reflex, albeit an artificial one, of the canonical language of the Sāṃmitīyas. The present whereabouts of this precious manuscript is shrouded in darkness. It is not quite clear whether Giuseppe Tucci, who saw it in a Tibetan

monastery in 1948, microfilmed or actually purchased it. The existence of the manuscript was known through various hints since the beginning of the sixties. Since 1976 I repeatedly tried to get hold of it because of my interest in the Maṇicūḍa legend. However, more than 20 years passed until by good luck a microfilm of the manuscript was discovered in a cupboard in the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente in Rome. My Italian colleague Francesco Sferra, who was aware of my interest in the text, generously sent me prints and scans of the manuscript and permitted me to study and publish the text. I entrusted the task to my former student Albrecht Hanisch who completely deciphered the manuscript, supported by a grant of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. A first preliminary report on the two manuscripts in the *bhaikṣukī lipiḥ* can be found in Hahn 2005. Albrecht Hanisch gives much more detailed information in his two articles of 2006 (on the *Maṇicūḍajātaka*) and 2007 (on the *Candrālaṃkāra*).

Meanwhile the complete text of the *Maṇicūḍajātaka* has become accessible in a monograph by Albrecht Hanisch that contains a diplomatic transliteration of the text together with a facsimile edition of the manuscript, a comprehensive analysis of the script, and a long and learned introduction that deals with all aspects of the text, its language and script. At the end of 2008, it appeared in a newly founded series in Rome, *Manuscripta Buddhica*, where it forms a substantial part of vol. I. A second monograph that is currently being prepared by Albrecht Hanisch will consist of the edited version of the text, its English translation and a study containing a grammatical and literary analysis of the text. This second monograph, to appear in the series *Indica et Tibetica*, is not yet fully completed.

As for the approach to a text like the *Maṇicūḍajātaka*, Albrecht Hanisch followed the model of the best editions of the Gilgit manuscripts and the manuscripts found in Central Asia, carefully distinguishing between "Befund," the text as it is preserved in the manuscript, and "Bearbeitung," the edited version of the text, as he assumes it to have been conceived by the author. The ancillary materials are scarce. What we have are the parallel versions of the Maṇicūḍa legend and the only other extant work of Sarvarakṣita, his cosmological poem *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā*, that has fortunately been edited in an exemplary manner by Kiyoshi Okano. While the literary parallels are of no great help, because Sarvarakṣita closely follows the classical recension of the legend as edited by Ratna Handurukande (1967), the *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā*, although composed in Sanskrit, proved to be an invaluable tool, because it is written in virtually the same style, which is characterized by Sarvarakṣita's predilection for the figure of speech called *yamaka* or paronomasia and the metre āryā. All the 376 stanzas of the *Maṇicūḍajātaka* are composed in the āryā metre, and the refined structure of this metre was the most reliable check of the correctness of the text. Whenever the first transliteration contained a violation of metre, it later turned out to be a misreading of the manuscript. The improved reading always produced the most sensible meaning and was also preferable from the point of view of style.

There is trustworthy information that among the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Tibet there are more specimens of texts written in the *bhaikṣukī lipiḥ*, even some that in language and style quite closely resemble the *Maṇicūḍajātaka* composed by Sarvarakṣita. Their future analysis will be greatly facilitated by the work done by Albrecht Hanisch.

In this paper I have discussed some of the cases where a Buddhist text is preserved only in one independent manuscript, a *codex unicus*. What I wanted to show is that the problems the editor is facing can be very different. The first and foremost factor is the quality of the *codex unicus*, physically as well as textually. Among the texts mentioned on p. 333, the manuscripts of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, *Vṛttamālāvivṛti*, *Vidagdhavismāpana* and its commentary, and the *Maṇicūḍajātaka* stand out on account of their textual quality. Only the last three works are also physically undamaged; the first two are suffering from the loss of one or more folios, and moreover some parts of the extant leaves are broken off. At the

other end of the scale are the manuscripts of the *Saptakumārikāvadāna*, its *ṭīkā* (not listed), *Śiṣyalekha*, and *Ajātaśatrvavadāna*. The codices of the *Buddhacarita* and the *Jātakamālā-ṭīkā* are of mediocre quality, the rest is of decent or good quality. The next and no less important factor is the size, nature, and quality of ancillary sources. These can consist of:

a) copies of the *codex unicus* that were done before it suffered from various forms of damage;
b) secondary recensions of the original work, such as later recasts, which preserve at least parts of the original work;
c) commentaries;
d) translations into other languages, e.g. Chinese or Tibetan;
e) translations of commentaries into other languages;
f) testimonia, i.e. quotations in other works.

The case of Candragomin's *Śiṣyalekha* is particularly instructive, since many of the defects of the *codex unicus* could be mended with the help of ancillary sources, in this case belonging to the categories b, d, and e. This could also have been demonstrated by the edition of the Sanskrit text of Gopadatta's *Saptakumārikāvadāna*, where ancillary sources of the categories b, c, and d helped to restore the original text where the (rather recent) *codex unicus* was utterly faulty.

The case of Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā* was briefly mentioned because it demonstrates the possible pitfalls of the ancillary sources. Here we have, apart from a few stanzas preserved in medieval anthologies of Sanskrit verses, only one additional source, its Tibetan translation. Its great literalness lends it almost the weight of another manuscript, yet its mediocre quality may occasionally lead the editor astray when the Sanskrit manuscript is faulty or difficult to read.

The cases of Śivasvāmin's *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* and Sarvarakṣita's *Maṇicūḍajātaka* were mentioned as examples of extremely demanding texts where the reproduction of the *codex unicus* became imperative, because of the absence of ancillary sources in both cases, the (literary) difficulties of the first work and the palaeographic and linguistic difficulties of the second.

The case of Jñānaśrīmitra's *Vṛttamālāstuti* and its *Vivṛti* by Śākyarakṣita was mentioned as an illustration of how good manuscripts of a work and its commentary, even *codices unici*, can help to understand better the corruptions in an originally very good and reliable secondary source, the canonical Tibetan translation.

The trivial consequence of these observations is that conscientious editors have to secure and study all the known and accessible primary and secondary sources when embarking upon an editorial project, especially in the case of a *codex unicus*, and that they should nevertheless be aware that their task is not a mechanical one, that mistakes may lie on either side, and that nothing can replace a good and long philological training, a great familiarity with the subject matter, and common sense.

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Reflections on the Pali Literature of Siam[1]

PETER SKILLING (HUA HIN)

The Pali literature of Ceylon — the classical texts of the Tipiṭaka and the commentaries — is comparatively well known. G. P. Malalasekera (1899–1973) devoted a monograph to the subject in 1928, and what is commonly understood by "Pali Literature" today is essentially the "Pali Literature of Ceylon," in the sense of having been transmitted by the Mahāvihāra tradition of the island. The Pali literature of Burma was described by Mabel Bode (?–1922) in a monograph published over one hundred years ago.[2] But the Pali literature of Siam has not been adequately described, and it is scarcely recognized as an independent category or field of research.[3] A large number of Pali texts, presumably composed in Siam, remain in manuscript, unstudied, unedited, and often uncatalogued.[4] If we date these texts, tentatively, to the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries, we see that there is an enormous gap in our knowledge of the history of Pali literature and of Southeast Asian Buddhism. Many of the texts in question were important in the religious life of societies beyond Siam, including Laos and Cambodia. The "Pali literature of Siam" impacts on the religious history of mainland Southeast Asia or "Indochina" in many ways. I do not think that the importance of this literature can be gainsaid.

Classical Pali literature is generally accepted as "ancient," but how ancient is a point of contention. Dating uses the geological and archaeological metaphors of stratigraphy; the oldest strata are identified through the contextualized internal and corroborative external evidence of language and contents — and the evidence of archaeology itself. The "Pali canon" was preserved and transmitted in Ceylon, and eventually in Southeast Asia. Is it, then, an "Indian" collection? The argument for the antiquity and the Indian origin of the collection rests *inter alia* on the fact that the referential environment of the texts reflects a particular period of North Indian history, and that this environment is innocent of references to Ceylon as well as of Sinhala linguistic interference.[5] This supports a conclusion

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[1] I thank Ven. Phra Anil Sakya, Santi Pakdeekham, Jak Cholvijarn, Giuliana Martini, and others for their help with this article, and the Lumbini International Research Institute and the Khyentse Foundation for their support. In this contribution, I write "Pali" rather than "Pāli," "Gandhari" rather than "Gāndhārī." "Sanskrit" and "Prakrit" have long been naturalized; they are perfectly respectable terms, used rather than "Saṃskṛta" or "Prākṛta." Why, then, should we write "Pāli" and "Gāndhārī"?

[2] G. P. Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, London: The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1928; Mabel Haynes Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, London: The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1909. For the Ceylonese manuscript tradition, Pali and vernacular, there is the marvellous opus of K. D. Somadasa, *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library*, The Pali Text Society/The British Library, 7 vols., 1987–1995.

[3] What is now called "Thailand" was known as "Siam" in the pre-modern period, the period with which this chapter is largely concerned. "Thailand" became the official name of the country in 1939, except from 1945 to May 11, 1949, when it was renamed Siam, after which it was again renamed Thailand. The official name is Kingdom of Thailand, *Rāja-āṇācakra daiy* (ราชอาณาจักรไทย). The Pali literature of Siam is scarcely mentioned in books on either Pali or Siam. One of the few specialists to give serious attention to the subject has been Oskar von Hinüber: see his *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996 (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies Vol. 2), especially Chapter XII.

[4] The most comprehensive studies of Pali literature composed in Thailand are those by Supaphan Na Bangchang: *Wiwathanakan wanakhadibali sai phrasuttantapidok thitaeng nai prathetthai* [The Development of Pali Literature related to the Suttantapiṭaka composed in Thailand], Bangkok, Samnakphim haeng Chulalongkornmahawithayalai [Chulalongkorn University Press], 2533 [1990]; *Wiwathanakan ngankhian phasabali nai prathetthai: caruk tamnan phongsawadan san prakat* [Development of the writing of Pali in Thailand: inscriptions, legendary histories, chronicles, letters, proclamations], Bangkok: Munlanithi Mahamakut Rachawithalayai nai Phraboromarachupatham [Mahamakut University Foundation under Royal Patronage], 2529 [1986].

[5] See, most recently, Alexander Wynne, "The Historical Authenticity of Early Buddhist Literature: A Critical Evaluation," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 49 (2005): 35–70; Anālayo, "The

that the Pali canon — or rather, certain texts or sections of the Pali canon — was closed at a relatively early date, before the texts were introduced to Ceylon. Therefore, runs the argument, the early strata attest to early, even pre-Aśokan, phases of Buddhism.

Whatever the case (and the debate remains fruitful, regardless of whether or not it will or can ever be resolved), there is no early manuscript or epigraphical evidence whatsoever for Pali canonical texts, either in India or in Sri Lanka.[6] However one might choose to interpret the much-abused term "early,"[7] there are simply no Pali inscriptions, let alone manuscripts, from the Anurādhapura or Polonnaruwa periods of Ceylon, that is, for about 1,500 years during which Buddhism was the dominant court ideology on the island, and the Buddhist *saṃgha* was one of its leading institutions. The oldest known Pali inscriptions, dating to *circa* the fifth to the eighth centuries, come not from Ceylon but from central Siam and from lower Burma. These are relatively short canonical and non-canonical citations (including many examples of the *ye dhammā* stanza) rather than original compositions. These epigraphs are our oldest Pali texts *sensu stricto*.[8] What has been described as the "oldest Pali manuscript" comes, surprisingly, from Kathmandu, Nepal; it consists of four folios of the *Vinaya Cullavagga* written in a North Indian script and dated to *circa* the ninth century.[9] The Southeast Asian Pali inscriptions are centuries older than this unique manuscript fragment, and they are one thousand years older than the palm-leaf manuscripts of Ceylon or Southeast Asia, of which the oldest surviving examples — and there are only a few of these — date from the fifteenth century.[10]

Siam has been especially significant in the European awareness of Buddhism and of Pali.[11] The idea of Pali as a *language* of Buddhism seems to have first been encountered by Europeans in early seventeenth-century Ayutthaya,[12] and some of the first Pali manuscripts to reach Europe were Khom-script texts, also from Ayutthaya, preserved today in the Bibliothèque nationale and the Missions Étrangères in Paris. Pali manuscripts in the Sinhala script were brought from Ceylon to Denmark by Rasmus Rask (1787–1832), and are kept in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. "The first critical editions of Pāli texts were

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Historical Value of the Pāli Discourses," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 55 (2012): 223–253.

[6] For the one early Indian epigraphical citation, on the four truths, which is close to Pali, but which differs syntactically from the received text, see Tsukamoto Keisho, *A Comprehensive Study of the Indian Buddhist Inscriptions*, Part I, *Texts, Notes and Japanese Translation*, Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1996, IV Sarnāth 94, and K. R. Norman, "The Four Noble Truths," in K. R. Norman, *Collected Papers* II, Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 1991: 210–223 (originally published in *Indological and Buddhist Studies [Volume in honour of Professor J.W. de Jong]*, Canberra, 1982: 377–391).

[7] For some of the drawbacks of the "shibboleth" of "early" and "late" see Michael Willis, *The Archaeology of Hindu Ritual: Temples and the Establishment of the Gods*, Cambridge University Press, 2009: 268, n. 148.

[8] See P. Skilling, "The Advent of Theravāda Buddhism to Mainland South-east Asia," *JIABS* 20/1 (1997): 93–107; "Some Citation Inscriptions from South-East Asia," *JPTS* XXVII (2002): 159–175; "Traces of the Dharma: Preliminary reports on some *ye dhammā* and *ye dharmā* inscriptions from Mainland South-East Asia," *BEFEO* 90–91 (2003–2004): 273–287. For the problems of dating, see P. Skilling, review of Janice Stargardt, "Tracing Thought Through Things: The Oldest Pali Texts and the Buddhist Archaeology of India and Burma," *Asian Perspectives* 44(2) (Fall 2005): 386–390.

[9] Oskar von Hinüber, *The Oldest Pali Manuscript. Four Folios of the Vinaya-Pitaka from the National Archives, Kathmandu* (Untersuchungen zur Sprachgeschichte des Pali II), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999.

[10] See table at Nalini Balbir, "Thoughts about 'European editions' of Pāli texts," *TIJBS*, Volume I 2553 [2009]: 6 (full article, pp. 1–19).

[11] For the role of seventeenth-century French ambassador Louis de La Loubère in the knowledge of Buddhism, see Heinz Bechert, "The Earliest Reliable Information on the Central Conception of Buddhism in Western Writing: The Report by Simon de La Loubère (1691)," in Christine Chojnacki, Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Volker M. Tschannerl (eds.), *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka, Festgabe für Adelheid Mette*, Swisttal-Odendorf, 2000 (Indica et Tibetica 37): 57–64.

[12] See William Pruitt, "References to Pāli in the 17th Century French Books," *JPTS* 11 (1987): 121–131, and, more recently, Kate Crosby, "The Origin of Pali as a Language Name in Medieval Theravada Literature," *JCBSSL*, 2 (2004): 70–116.

based on manuscripts kept there."[13] European collections and the cataloguing activities of colonial-period scholars, both in the libraries of Europe and in the field in Asia, have figured prominently in the modern classification and understanding of Pali literature and manuscript traditions.[14]

Thailand today is conventionally divided into four regions — Centre, North (Lanna), Northeast, and South, all of which have their own manuscript traditions. My study is restricted to the manuscript traditions of Central Siam. There are several types of manuscripts and formats. There are two primary scripts for the writing of Buddhist texts: *Khom bali* ขอมบาลี and *Khom thai* ขอมไทย,[15] and there is a clear division of labour between the two: Pali texts are written in *Khom bali* and Thai-language texts are written in *Khom thai*.[16] Secular texts were written in a third script, the Thai script (*aksonthai* อักษรไทย). When a primary text was written in the Thai script, for example in the great compendium of Thai law, the "Three Seals Law Code" (*Kotmai trasamduang* กฎหมายตราสามดวง), Pali citations were written in *Khom bali*.

Whether written in Pali or in the vernacular, Buddhist texts were most frequently inscribed with a stylus on palm leaves (*bailan* ใบลาน).[17] The preparation of palm leaves was described by Montgomery Schuyler in a paper published in 1908:[18]

> The leaves of the palm tree are brought in from the country in large bundles, each leaf being about eighteen inches long and doubled in the middle. These leaves are given to the priest by the peasants as a means of "making merit." The first operation in converting the leaves into the finished manuscript is to divide them by cutting out the midrib, thus making two leaves of each leaf of the tree. These leaves are then made up into bundles of some hundred pieces each and are then placed between boards tightly tied up and wedged in a press. While still

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[13] Balbir, op. cit., p. 1. Balbir's article gives a concise introduction to the history of Pali studies in Europe and aspects of the evolution of the "European edition."

[14] For a survey see Oskar von Hinüber, "Two Jātaka Manuscripts in the National Library in Bangkok," *JPTS* X (1985): 1–3 (complete article pp. 1–22).

[15] The temples around Bangkok and in Ratchaburi and other provinces with a Mon heritage (usually dating to the late Ayutthaya and early Bangkok periods) preserve large numbers of uncatalogued Mon manuscripts, written in the Mon script in Pali or Mon language. They are beyond the scope of this article.

[16] For an explanation of *Khom thai*, see Kannika Wimonkasem, *Tamrarian aksonthaiboran, aksonkhomthai aksonthamlanna aksonthamisan* [Handbook for the study of ancient Thai scripts: Khom Thai, Tham Lanna, and Tham Isan], Bangkok: Rongphim Nititham Kanphim, 2552 [2009], Chapter 2. See also Thawat Punnothok, *Aksonthaiboran: laiseuthai lae wiwathanakan aksonkhongchonchatthai* [Ancient Thai scripts: *Laisuethai* and the development of writing systems of the Thai people], Bangkok: Samnakphim haeng Chulalongkornmahawithayalai [Chulalongkorn University Press], 2549 [2006], Chapter 4.

[17] For the preparation of palm-leaf and paper manuscripts in Siam, see Kongkaew Weeraprachak, *Kantham samutthai lae kantriam bailan* [The production of paper manuscripts and the preparation of palm leaves], Hosamut Haengchat/Krom Sinlapakon [National Library/Fine Arts Department], 2530 [1987]; Praphon Reuangnarong, "Nangsuebut" [Paper manuscripts], *Saranukrom wathanatham phaktai phoso 2529* [Encyclopaedia of Southern Thai Culture BE 2529], Songkhla: Sathabantaksinkhadisueksa Mahawithayalai Sinakharinwirot Songkhla, 2529 [1986], *Lem* 10: 3941–3945; Kongkaew Weeraprachak, "Nangsue boran" [Ancient books], ibid.: 3945–3950 (reprinted in *Saranukrom wathanathamthai Phaktai* [Encyclopaedia of Thai Culture: Southern Region], *Lem* 17: 8328–8337 and 8337–8344, respectively). For the history of the Tripiṭaka and the evolution of libraries in Siam, see HRH Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Tamnan hophrasamut ho phramontiantham ho wachirayan ho phutthasasanasangkhaha lae ho samut samrap phra nakhon* [History of the Ho Phrasamut, Ho Phramontiantham, Ho Wachirayan, Ho Phutthasasanasangkhaha and Ho Samutsamrapphranakhon], first edition 2459 [1916], repr. Bangkok: Rongphim Aksonchaoernthat, 2512 [1969].

[18] Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., "Notes on the making of palm-leaf manuscripts in Siam," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 29 (1908): 281–283, as cited in George Cœdès, *The Vajirañāṇa National Library*, Bangkok: Bangkok Times Press, 1924: 15–16. Schuyler (1877–1955) was U.S. Consul General in Bangkok, 1904–1906. He published *Index verborum of the fragments of the Avesta*, New York: The Columbia University Press, 1901 (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, Vol. 4), and *A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama with an Introductory Sketch of the Dramatic Literature of India*, New York: The Columbia University Press, 1906 (Columbia University Indo-Iranian series, Vol. 3).

> there, the edges of the leaves are trimmed smoothly with a semi-circular knife which is in a handle some two feet long. After sanding the leaves to give them a smooth surface for writing or rather inscribing, the bundles are then ready for the next stage in the book-making process.
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> After the surface of the leaves has been sanded and made in good condition for receiving the strokes of the scribe's stylus, the actual copying of the books can begin. Each copyist has in front of him, as he squats on the floor of the temple, a frame about eighteen inches in height somewhat resembling an artist's easel, on one ledge of which rests the manuscripts to be copied and on the other ledge the blank leaves for the new volume. The pen or rather the stylus is a needle-point, like a needle of a sewing-machine, inserted in a wooden handle resembling an enormous cigar about eight inches in length. Before doing any writing the scribe marks lines, usually five in number, on each leaf by means of strings which are placed in a frame with the ends tied and the rest loose. These strings are then blackened with soot from the bottom of a rice-pot, and the strings are placed in postion over the palm-leaf and then snapped. The result is a series of lightly marked black lines on the leaf which serves the writer as a guide for his stylus. The copyist then holds the blank leaf in his hand and with the needle point scratches the letters of the text on the prepared surface of the leaf. It is remarkable how the writer holds the leaf in his hand and does not rest it upon any surface for steadiness. The letters when scratched are, of course, almost invisible unless carefully examined, as no colouring substance is put on the pen point. In order to render the writing clearer the entire surface of the leaf is smeared with soot and then wiped off and scoured with clean sand. The black adheres to the scratches and is removed from the rest of the surface by the sand. When a sufficient number of pages are ready, they are placed in a press and the edges trimmed off and sometimes gilded. The leaves are formed into a volume by being tied together with a string running through holes in the middle of the leaf. Each leaf is usually written on both sides, so that there are two pages of five lines each on every palm-leaf. A book almost always consists of twelve, and a double book of twenty-four, leaves.

As Schuyler noted, the text is written on five lines per leaf; the letters are widely spaced and easy to read in comparison with Burmese- and Sinhala-script manuscripts, which regularly have ten or more lines per leaf. Each leaf bears a folio number centred in the left margin of the verso; the numbers are formed from the consonants of the Indic alphabet in combination with twelve vowels, using *Khom bali* or *Khom thai* as appropriate. The first sequence of twelve leaves is numbered *ka* to *kaḥ*, the second sequence *kha* to *khaḥ*, and so on:

1–12 *ka kā ki kī ku kū ke kai ko kau kaṃ kaḥ*
13–24 *kha khā khi khī khu khū khe khai kho khau khaṃ khaḥ*

The twenty-four leaves are strung together with a white cotton string through the left-hand hole of a pair of string-holes, making one bundle or *phūk* ผูก, which, ideally, amounts to forty-eight folio sides, not counting title pages and blank protective pages.[19] Each bundle has a title page giving bibliographic details including the title and the bundle number, often on both the front and the back leaves.[20] A short text may take up a single bundle or may have less than twenty-four leaves. Long texts are measured by number of bundles. A very

[19] The Thai word *phūk* (v.) means "to tie," "to bind," or, here, "to string together." The same term is used in northern Thai (Lanna Thai) and Lao. Khmer uses *khsae* (n., "string"). The *phūk* system is widely used throughout Indochina; the Burmese tradition, like that of Lanka (and, apparently, northern India), uses much larger "stacks" although the principles of the pagination system are similar. Other terms for the pagination of manuscripts, such as *aṅga*, warrant comparative studies in regional manuscript traditions.

[20] Manuscripts in the northern Lanna and cognate traditions (Tai Khün, Tai Lü) in the Shan-Lao-Sipsongpanna region are usually exceptionally well-categorized and labelled.

long text — for example the *Visuddhimagga* — may be divided into two large sets of many bundles, each wrapped in a separate cloth, called "*mat*" (มัด); sometimes these "volumes" are labelled in Pali as "anterior part" and "posterior part" (*paṭhama-* and *pacchima-bhāga*).

The distribution into *phūk* is entirely physical; that is, it does not correspond to chapters, sections, or natural text breaks (in this it resembles the Tibetan *bam po* and the Chinese *juan* 卷, "scroll"). For example, in the manuscripts consulted by the editors of the *Bimbābhikkhunīnibbāna* (for which see below), the distribution of the narratives across the three *phūk* is not consistent, as may be seen from the following examples:[21]

(No. 1) *phūk* 1: Beginning to Narrative 30;
phūk 2: Narrative 30 (continued) to Narrative 65;
phūk 3: Narrative 65 (continued) to end.

(No. 2) *phūk* 1: Beginning to Narrative 29;
phūk 2: Narrative 29 (continued) to Narrative 63;
phūk 3: Narrative 63 (continued) to end.

(No. 3) *phūk* 1: Beginning to Narrative 26;
phūk 2: Narrative 26 (continued) to Narrative 60;
phūk 3: Narrative 60 (continued) to end.

The sides or edges of the leaves may be plain, lacquered, or gilt. Royal editions have sumptuous covers, made of carved wood or carved ivory, wood inlaid with glass, mother of pearl, or shell, or wood coated with gilt lacquer or painted with Thai or Chinese designs.[22] The regnal emblem may be embossed in gold on the inside cover page.[23] Little known, the royal editions are masterpieces of the fine arts of the Bangkok or Ratanakosin period (1782–present). Each manuscript was protected by a wrapper made from fine textiles, often imported from India, and bound by a long woven ribbon or cord.[24] Title markers were made of woven cloth, wood, ivory, or brass.

In addition to palm-leaf manuscripts, there are paper accordion or leporello books. These are not used for the transmission of Pali texts as such, but rather for Thai-language texts, commonly written in the Thai script, on law, medicine, astrology, fortune-telling, and other topics. A unique type of paper book is the so-called "Phra Malai" manuscript, which contains a (varying) set of Pali and Thai texts used in ritual chanting. The large manuscripts are beautifully calligraphed on thick, creamy paper in both *Khom bali* and *Khom thai* scripts, and are accompanied by colourful illustrations (which are not necessarily related to the texts).[25] The manuscripts were used both as a support for chanting and for

[21] *Bimbābhikkhunīnibbāna*, 31–32.

[22] For examples in colour see Kongkaew and Weerat, *Khamphi bailan chababluang nai samai ratanakosin* [Royal editions of palm-leaf manuscripts in the Ratanakosin Period], Bangkok, Hosamut Haengchat/Krom Sinlapakon [National Library/Fine Arts Department], 2527 [1984]; for black and white see Cœdès, *The Vajirañāṇa National Library*.

[23] See Kongkaew and Weerat, *Khamphi bailan chababluang*, for examples from the first five reigns.

[24] For wrappers from the Bangkok-period Wat Makut, see *Sinlapawatthu Wat Makutkasatriyaram* [Art objects in Wat Makut Kasatriyaram], Bangkok: Borisat Rongphim Krungthep, 2553 [2010]: 222–241.

[25] For English language studies of Thai manuscripts and painting, we are profoundly indebted to the late Henry Ginsburg (1940–2007), who was curator of Thai and Cambodian collections at the British Library for over thirty years: see his *Thai Manuscript Painting*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989; *Thai Art and Culture: Historic Manuscripts from Western Collections*, London: The British Library, 2000; "A monk travels to heaven and hell," in Nigel Allan (ed.), *Pearls of the Orient: Asian Treasures from the Wellcome Library*, London and Chicago: The Wellcome Trust/Serindia Publications, 2003: 145–159; "Ayutthaya Painting," in Forrest McGill (ed.), *The Kingdom of Siam: The Art of Central Thailand, 1350–1800*, San Francisco: The Asian Art Museum, 2005: 95–109; "Thai Painting in the Walters Art Museum," *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum*, Vol. 64/65, 2006–2007 (*A Curator's Choice: Essays in Honor of Hiram W. Woodward, Jr.)*: 99–148, especially 134–147. Most recently see

teaching the art of reading, and they had their own ritual presence, being kept in a special ornate box (*hip phra malai* หีบพระมาลัย) in front of the reciters. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the production of traditional paper had greatly declined, due to the import of cheap foreign paper and changes in use and demand.[26] In the twentieth century, Phra Malai manuscripts began to be typeset and printed; one edition in use today is published by So. Thamphakdi, Bangkok.

Various types of paper books are also produced in regional cultures. They have different names and formats, and may be used for different genres. White paper manuscripts in the Tai Khün tradition include Pali monastic formularies (*kammavācā*) and recitation texts. Prominent among the latter is the *Paṭiccasamuppāda-sutta*, a text which has a long history of inscription in various versions or translations across India and Central Asia to China. Southern Thai paper manuscripts (*nangsue but* หนังสือบุด) contain *inter alia* rhythmic versions of local Buddhist narratives.[27] And so on — literature of this type from the various regions of Siam remains to be systematically surveyed.

Everything connected with manuscripts was part of an ideology of benefits and blessings (*ānisaṃsa*). The main inducement to sponsor manuscripts came from texts and sermons on the "the merits of making a Tripiṭaka" or "the merits of making a Dhamma book"; ancillary texts extol the merits that accrue from gilding manuscripts, offering wrappers, offering cabinets, and so on.[28] Many royal palm-leaf editions of the Tripiṭaka were produced during the first century of the Bangkok period, from the reign of King Rāma I (Phrabatsomdet Phraphutthayotfa Chulalok Chaoyuhua: r. 1782–1809) up to that of King Rāma V (Phrabatsomdet Phrachulachomklao Chaoyuhua, commonly known in the West as King Chulalongkorn: r. 1868–1910).[29]

The nineteenth century was a period of transition, innovation and change for the written word and the manuscript, not only in Siam but across Asia. In Siam, King Rāma IV (Phrabatsomdet Phrachomklao Chaoyuhua: 1804–1868, r. 1851–1868) broke the monopoly of the Khom script when, during his long career as a monk before he took the throne in 1851, he invented the "Ariyaka script" for the writing of both Pali and Thai and implemented it within his circle of influence.[30] Prince Mongkut invented two forms of Ariyaka for Pali, a cursive, handwritten form and a square form for typesetting. Modeled on the roman alphabet, Ariyaka has 41 letters (33 vowels and 8 consonants, plus 10 numerals). It is written on a single line, vowels following consonants — there are no superscripts, subscripts, or surrounding vowels, and no conjunct consonants. This was a bold project, "a significant feature of part of [the future] King Mongkut's reformation of Thai Buddhism."[31]

Forrest McGill (ed.), *Emerald Cities: Arts of Siam and Burma, 1775–1950*, San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 2009: 173–179.

[26] For the use of paper in Siam, see C.E. Gerini, *Siam and its Productions, Arts, and Manufactures (1911)*, [Hertford., Stephen Austin and Sons, Ltd., 1912] repr. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2000, 262–267. For a description of the production of paper around the turn of the twentieth century, see the note by W.F. Lloyd in Gerini, op. cit., 266–267, and A. Cecil Carter (ed.), *The Kingdom of Siam 1904*, repr. Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1988: 270–271. The classical study is Dard Hunter, *Papermaking in Southern Siam*, Chillicothe, OH: Mountain House Press, 1936 (this book can be accessed in colour at http://content.lib.utah.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/DardHunter&CISOPTR).

[27] Many of the texts published in *Wannakamthaksin wannakamkhatsan* [Southern Literature, Selected Literature], 13 vols., Bangkok: Amarin Printing and Publishing Ltd., 2548 [2005], are from *nangsue but*.

[28] See Peter Skilling, "For merit and Nirvāṇa: The production of art in the Bangkok Period," *Arts Asiatiques* 62 (2007): 76–94.

[29] See HRH Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Tamnan hophrasamut*; Cœdès, *The Vajirañāṇa National Library*; Kongkaew and Weerat, *Khamphi bailan chababluang*.

[30] For tables and examples see Churairat Laksanasiri, *Chaklaiseuthai su aksonthai* [From Laiseuthai to Aksonthai], Bangkok: Samnakphim haeng Chulalongkornmahawithayalai [Chulalongkorn University Press], 2551 [2008]: 246–273. The Ariyaka alphabet for the writing of Thai — which has 37 consonants and 28 vowels — is beyond the scope of this paper.

[31] Quotations from Venerable Phra Anil Sakya, "King Mongkut's Invention of a Universal Pali Script,"

The royal monk-scholar sought not only to replace the Khom script with an entirely new script, but also to standardize Pali usage by supplanting traditional writing systems with a universal system, thereby facilitating communication among Buddhists, whatever their linguistic or national backgrounds: “He intended it to be used internationally to promote authentic Buddhism based on the Pali Canon, the heart of King Mongkut’s reformation of Thai Buddhism.” The new script was adopted for a period within the royal monk’s circle, in both the temple and the palace — it was not restricted to monks — and internationally for correspondence with monks in Ceylon and elsewhere. In the end it did not catch on, although there is evidence that Ariyaka was used into the 1880s, that is, into the reign of King Mongkut’s son and successor King Chulalongkorn, who was soon to introduce new and more lasting changes in the use of Pali.

Ariyaka brought with it at least two other innovations: texts in Ariyaka adopted some elements of Western punctuation and principles of formatting, and they were printed on paper as bound books.[32] The use of Ariyaka immensely simplified the process of printing. According to a note in the *Bangkok Calendar* for 1848, “His Royal Highness has prepared a new character for the Pali which is called Ariyk [read *Ariyaka*]. The K’om [*Khōm*] or Cambojan character is generally used to write Pali in Siam. To make a font of K’om would require about *one thousand* matrices; but it requires only *forty-one* for a font of Ariyk.”[33] Apparently only a few titles were printed, such as the *Pātimokkha*, the *Dhammapada*, and a chanting book, and no complete Tripiṭaka was ever attempted. Still, these were major changes: a new script, punctuation, formatting, and printing on paper as bound books.

Another innovation inspired by the book in the latter part of the nineteenth century was that, while manuscripts were still inscribed in Khom letters on palm leaf, they were sometimes kept in large hardwood cases with hinged covers, the titles written on rounded spines which gave them the appearance of European books. No longer wrapped in cloth and laid horizontally in stacks in closed gilt cabinets, they were stored upright in special wooden cabinets, often with glass doors — the manuscripts became objects of display like books in a library. Examples are kept in the “Prasad Phra Traibidok” at Wat Makut in Bangkok,[34] at Wat Niwet Thamprawat in Bang Phra In, and (in Mon script) at Wat Paramaiyikawat in Nonthaburi. The last two were sponsored by King Chulalongkorn.

The last royal editions on palm leaf were those made by King Chulalongkorn in the 1890s. In 1895, King Chulalongkorn produced the first printed Tripiṭaka, using the Siamese letters rather than the Khom or Ariyaka scripts. The printed edition was a new step towards the dissemination of the Tripiṭaka in a modern format. Although the idea of a

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in Peter Skilling, Jason A. Carbine, Claudio Cicuzza, and Santi Pakdeekham, eds., *How Theravāda is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2012: 401–413.

[32] Mongkut’s innovations were part of broader developments in the use of printing by missionaries and private firms, a process that had been initiated in the late seventeenth century. For the state of printing in Siam in the first decade of the twentieth century, see Gerini, *Siam and its Productions*, Group XXIII, The Art of Printing. For the history of printing in Siam, see *Sayamphimpakan: prawatisatkanphim nai prathetthai* [Sayamphiphakan: The history of printing in Thailand], Bangkok: Matichon, 2549 [2006] (*Sinlapawathanatham chabapphiset*). See also Michael Winship, “L’imprimerie thaïlandaise des origines à 1851,” in Jean-Pierre Drège, Mitchiko Ishigami-Iagolnitzer, and Monique Cohen (eds.)*, Le livre et l’imprimerie en Extrême-Orient et en Asie du Sud* (Bordeaux: Société des Bibliophiles de Guyenne, 1986): 265–280; Gérald Duverdier, “La transmisson de l’imprimerie en Thaïlande,” *BEFEO* 68 (1980): 209–259.

[33] *Bangkok Calendar* for 1848, cited in Gerini, *Siam and its Productions*: 257–258, fn. 4 (the bracketed matter and italicization are after Gerini, who notes that the notice was reprinted in the *Siam Repository*, 1869: 329). It is not clear to me whether the figure “one thousand” refers to *Khom bali* with its conjunct consonants and vowel combinations, or to *Khom thai*. In addition to the characters needed for Pali, *Khom thai* would need conjunct consonants, Sanskrit consonants and vowels, Thai vowels not used in Indic alphabets, tone markers, and other symbols. I have not so far seen any evidence that matrices for *Khom thai* were ever manufactured.

[34] *Sinlapawatthu Wat Makutkasatriyaram*: 50.

universal script had been abandoned, tables at the beginning of each volume illustrated the "transliteration of the Siamese alphabet and signs as used in the Pali text of this book" giving the key to the Siamese in Roman letters, which by this time had become the standard script for Pali in Europe (the Pali Text Society, of which King Chulalongkorn was a patron, had been founded in 1881). This was praised by Robert Chalmers (1858–1938, raised in 1919 to the peerage as Baron Chalmers, of Northiam in the County of Sussex):[35]

> The King of Siam has abandoned the exotic Cambodian for the native Siamese character. To Europeans this may seem a small matter; to the average Siamese it is a revolution … To a Western eye it is a very great gain to find the text intelligently divided into punctuated sentences, with the component words of each sentence duly separated one from another. The difference in appearance is that between barbarism and civilization … … Another point is the excellent scheme of transliteration which, with a paged table of contents (*kittipatta*) precedes the text of each volume. With the aid of this very useful key to the Siamese characters, the Pali text can be read without difficulty by European scholars, who will be grateful for the consideration thus shown to their needs in Siam …

The intellectual challenges of the nineteenth century and the reforms initiated by the two monarchs, Mongkut and Chulalongkorn, irrevocably reduced the status of the Khom script: no longer was it the sole vehicle for the writing of Pali, and as the twentieth century progressed it was replaced by the Thai script for both Pali and Thai. Today the "sacred" *Khom bali* letters are used only for magical and cabalistic purposes, such as the inscription of *yantras*, *mantras*, and *gāthā*.

In this paper I am unable to present manuscript statistics for Bangkok or for Thailand as a whole. The reason is simple — very few exist. I do not know of any publicly accessible complete scientific inventories of the holdings of temples and libraries of Siam. In Bangkok alone, there must be hundreds of thousands of manuscripts, at least if one takes the *phūk* as the primary unit. Some data is, however, available for Wat Bovoranives Vihara, which was built by the "Second King" in 1824–1832 during the reign of King Rāma III; the future King Mongkut (Rāma IV) was the first abbot there when he was a monk. Wat Bovoranives has a huge collection: 1,456 volumes comprising 15,351 *phūk*.[36] King Mongkut was a great Pali scholar, and Wat Bovoranives became an active, international centre of Pali studies, with the result that the collection is a treasury of Pali texts. The oldest manuscript, *Parivārapāli* in Khom script, is dated CE 1620. This compares with the oldest manuscript in the National Library of Thailand, *Samantapāsādikā vinaya-aṭṭhakathā (dutiya) pācittiyavaṇṇanā*, a well-preserved Khom-script "red-lacquer" (*chadthub*) edition dated CE 1615.[37] The collection of Wat Makut Kasatriyaram, founded by King Mongkut in 1868 after he had assumed the throne, has nearly 20,000 bundles. Of these, only 35 bundles containing 17 titles are royal manuscripts, most on metrics or grammar. The remaining 835 titles, distributed in 17,250 bundles, are ordinary (non-royal) editions in the

[35] Robert Chalmers, "The King of Siam's Edition of the Pali Tipiṭaka," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1898: 1–10.

[36] Information from Ven. Anil Sakya, "Palm-Leaf Manuscripts: A Gateway to Buddhist Literature and Culture," paper given at The First International Conference on Palm-Leaf Culture (co-organized by Yunnan University and People's Government of the Sipshuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture, Sipshuangbanna), Jinghong City, Yunnan Province, China, April 21–22, 2010. The Wat Bovoranives collection was catalogued by the National Library in 2009. I am grateful to Ven. Anil Sakya for providing a copy of his paper with permission to quote from it.

[37] Ven. Anil Sakya, op. cit.

Khom, Mon, Burmese, Sinhalese, Tham Lanna, Tham Isan, and Thai Noi scripts.[38] There is also a collection of folding paper manuscripts.[39]

Statistics are important if we want to assess what texts were popular — in the senses of popular for study, curriculum, preaching, recitation, ritual — at certain places and certain times. For the pre-modern period, this does not mean popular for consumption or reading — manuscripts did not circulate like books and private reading was limited. We lack adequate studies on the sociology and economy of manuscripts, of production and circulation, of libraries, literacy, and reading habits.[40] There is little if any evidence for the commercial distribution of books or manuscripts in available social records. Palm-leaf and paper manuscripts were produced by monks and scribes in monasteries or monastic circles. Court editions were produced by scribes from the Department of Scribes (*Krom ālak* กรมอาลักษณ์) and the fine arts were done by palace artisans of the "Ten classes of artisans" (*Chang sip mū* ช่างสิบหมู่).

Statistics are not available, but lists of titles are; these give at least an idea of the scope of Thai Buddhist literature. The Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation (Bangkok), in cooperation with the Lumbini International Research Institute (Lumbini, Nepal), has published several works to promote a knowledge of the Pali literature of Siam based on early twentieth-century lists of manuscripts in the National Library, Bangkok.[41] An early list of works composed in Siam was published by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab in 1923.[42] This list, however, is limited to scholastic texts with known authors. The bulk of the Pali literature of Siam is anonymous, and cast in the *sūtra* and *jātaka* genres.[43]

In the following, I give some random examples of Pali texts that until recently have been neglected and are practically unknown in modern scholarship.

1. *Bimbābhikkhunīnibbāna:* The Nibbāna of Bimbā Bhikkhunī

The *Bimbābhikkhunīnibbāna* has been edited in Roman script by Sayam and Rungrot as a research project that has not so far been published.[44] The text is three bundles long.[45]

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[38] "Tham Lanna" and "Tham Isan" are the "Dhamma script" of the North and the Northeast, respectively (effectively the same script, also known as "Lanna" or "northern Thai" script). "Thai Noi," in Laos called simply Lao script, is related to the Sukhothai script, used for writing mainly non-religious texts on palm leaf in the Mekong basin.

[39] *Sinlapawatthu Wat Makutkasatriyaram*, 50. *Chotmaihet Watmakutkasatriyaram* [Record of Wat Makut Kasatriyaram], Bangkok: Borisat Amarin Printing and Publishing, Ltd., 2553 [2010]: 294–303.

[40] For aspects of manuscript culture in the North, see Daniel M. Veidlinger, *Spreading the Dhamma: writing, orality, and textual transmission in Buddhist Northern Thailand*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006; for Laos and Thailand, see Justin Thomas McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words: Histories of Buddhist Monastic Education in Laos and Thailand*, Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 2008.

[41] See Peter Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham, *Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam: A catalogue based on the Sap Songkhro*, Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation/Lumbini International Research Institute (*MST*, Volume 1), 2002; Peter Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham, *Pāli and Vernacular Literature Transmitted in Central and Northern Siam*, Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation/Lumbini International Research Institute (*MST*, Volume 2), 2004. For an inventory of the related manuscript literature of Cambodia, see Olivier de Bernon, Kun Sopheap, Leng Kok-An, *Inventaire provisoire des manuscrits du Cambodge*, Première partie, École française d'Extrême-Orient (*MST*, Volume 3), Paris, 2004. For an annotated transcription of a northern Thai manuscript catalogue, see Santi Pakdeekham (ed.), *Piṭakamālā: "The Garland of the Piṭaka"*, Bangkok and Lumbini: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation/Lumbini International Research Institute, 2011 (*MST*, Volume 8).

[42] *Fragile Palm Leaves for the preservation of Buddhist Literature*, No. 7 (December 2545/2002): 19 (from Prince Damrong's introduction to *Saṅgītiyavaṅsa*).

[43] For examples of selected texts in a range of genres, see the works of Supaphan Na Bangchang (note 4 above).

[44] Sayam Phataranuprawat and Rungrot Phiromanukun, *Kantruatchamra lae kanseuksachoengwikhroh khamphi phimphaphikkhuninipphan chabap phasabali* [An edition and analytical study of the Pali version of *Bimbābhikkhunīnibbāna*], Bangkok: Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, 2546 [2003]. The editors note that the manuscripts assign a variety of titles to the text — *Bimbānibbānavatthukathā*,

The *Bimbābhikkhunīnibbāna* takes its setting from the *Yasodharātheriyāpadāna*.[46] The Buddha's wife and the mother of his son Rāhula, here called Bimbā, approaches him and announces that she will soon pass away, that is, "enter *nibbāna*" — hence the title of the text, which places it in the Siamese genre of "*nibbāna* texts."[47] She briefly relates 72 occasions during past lives when, in one way or another, she transgressed against the Buddha, her husband or mate through all these lives. Each story is introduced by *iti vatvā aparam pi nidānaṃ āharan tī āha* ("after saying this, bringing up another story/event, she said …"). At the end of each confession, Bimbā asks for the Buddha's forgiveness. For example, with regard to an occasion when, as the Bodhisatta's wife, she was consumed by jealousy and tore up his robe after he had become a monk under the Buddha Dhamma-dhara, she says:[48]

> *bhante jitamāra eso cīvarachindanadoso atthi taṃ sabbaṃ dosaṃ khamatha bhante.*
>
> Sir, The One who has Conquered Māra, there is this fault of tearing up the robe: forgive that whole fault, sir.

After this, she relates one occasion pertaining to her son Rāhula (at this time a monk and an *arahat*) and asks his forgiveness. The Buddha then relates two stories and asks Bimbā's forgiveness. After her cremation, the Buddha relates another five stories to illustrate Bimbā's good qualities. This makes altogether eighty narratives in the version consulted. (Until the study by Sayam and Rungrot, the *Bimbābhikkhunīnibbāna* was accessible only through a printed palm-leaf Thai sermon version printed in 2514 [1971] by So. Thamphak-di, Bangkok. This version, which is divided into 12 *kan* กัณฑ์ [*kaṇḍ*, or chapters], has twenty fewer stories.)

Bimbābhikkhunīnibbāna was the basis for the *Bimbābhikkhunīnibbāna Khamchan*, a poetic version from the late Ayutthaya or early Bangkok period,[49] and for verse *khamklong* versions, which were particularly popular in the South.[50] During the First Reign, the *Bimbābhikkhunīnibbāna* was cited as authoritative in answer to a "Royal Enquiry" asking whether a lightning strike augured ill.[51]

Bimbābhikkunīnibbāna, *Phra Bimbāyasodharānibbāna*, *Bimbānibbānasūtra*, and *Yasodharātherī-bhikkhunīparinibbāna* — but that to avoid confusion they keep to the title *Bimbābhikkhunīnibbāna*. I follow suit.

[45] The statement that it is four bundles long in the old catalogues (see for example *PLTCS*, § 2.138) is apparently a typing error: see *BBhN*, p. 30.

[46] See G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, [1937] Repr. New Delhi: Oriental Reprint/ Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., II, 741–744, s.v. "Rāhulamātā." As far as I know, the Pali version has not been translated into a European language; for a translation of the Sinhala *Yasodharā-padānaya*, see Ranjini Obeyesekere, *Yasodharā, the Wife of the Bōdhisattva*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009. Obeyesekere (pp. 10–11) describes the text as "a much expanded twelfth or thirteenth century version of the Pali *Yasodharāpadāna* … [O]f which there are many palm leaf manuscript versions still found in temple libraries in Sri Lanka." For problems of identity and name, see André Bareau, "Un personnage bien mystérieux: l'épouse du Buddha," *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et les Vinayapiṭaka anciens, III. Articles complémentaires*, Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1995 (Monographies, nº 178): 119–147. Neither Malalasekera nor Bareau were aware of the Siamese "Bimbā texts."

[47] See *BBL*, 58. The *Sāvakanibbāna* (*PLTCS* § 2.235) — a collection of 67 *nibbāna* stories — does not include a *Bimbānibbāna*.

[48] *BBhN*, 132–133.

[49] *BBhN*, Appendix *Kho*: edited for the first time from the sole known manuscript from the National Library.

[50] *BBhN*, 367–369; for one edition of *Phimphachaengchat khamkap* [Bimbā reveals her (past) lives] from the South, see *Wannakamthaksin wannakamkhatsan* [Southern Literature, Selected Literature], *Lem* 3, Bangkok: Amarin Printing and Publishing Ltd., 2548 [2005]: 295–406.

[51] HRH Prince Damrong Rajanubhab (ed.), *Phrarachaphongsawadan Krungratanakosin rajakanthi 1 Phraya Thiphakorawong (Kham Bunnag) riapriang* [Royal Chronicle of Ratanakosin, First Reign, com-piled by Chaophraya Thiphakorawong (Kham Bunnag)], Bangkok, Kromsinlapakorn, 2531 [1988]: 60;

… During a rainstorm lightning struck the gable end of one of the porticos of the Amarintharaphisek Hall [in the Royal Palace] and it caught fire. The King was concerned that the lightning that struck and caused the fire at the audience hall at that time might imply an unlucky omen for affairs of state. The Buddhist monks, headed by Somdet Phra Sangkharat and monks of the rachakhana rank [the Saṃgharāja and the royally ranked senior monks], all assured the king that they had searched in the ancient Pali scriptures, as well as in mundane knowledge[52] and had found that according to traditional beliefs handed down since ancient times, a lightning strike was considered to mean good luck … According to the ancient scripture entitled Bimba Nibbana (*khamphi phimphanipphan* **คัมภีร์พิมพานิพพาน**), if any city's walls were struck by lightning, even though enemies might come to invade that city, it would always defeat them …

"Bimbā's Nibbāna" was sometimes depicted in art. Particularly fine is a rectangular cloth painting bearing the caption "Bhimbāṇibhāna **ภิมพาณิภาณ**" in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. Ginsburg assigned a date 1880–1900 to the painting, which seems reasonable.[53]

2. *Bimbābilāpa:* Bimbā's Lament[54]

The library of Wat Khao Yisan, Samut Songkhram province, has an interesting collection of manuscripts, some going back to the Ayutthaya period, including an ancient *Rasavāhinī* (*PLTCS* §2.153, 154), a *Lokanayajātaka* (*PLTCS* §2.192) dated BE 2298 [1755], and rare texts like *Candasuriyadīpanī*, of which the National Library possesses only a single copy. The *Bimbābilāpa* is represented at Wat Khao Yisan by a Thai version in five bundles in Khom script.[55] Each bundle starts with verses of homage in Pali followed by the traditional *sūtra* opening, *evaṃ me suttaṃ*;[56] the text narrates the life of the Buddha from his departure from the palace to his return to Kapilavatthu. The Pali version from the same collection is one bundle long, consisting of 29 folios inscribed with five lines of text in Khom script.

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for an English translation see Thadeus Flood and Chadin Flood (tr., ed.), *The Dynastic Chronicles, Bangkok Era, The First Reign. Chaophraya Thiphakorawong Edition*, Volume One: Text, Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1978: 164–167. The passage is not found in the original manuscript prepared by Chaophraya Thiphakorawong (*Phrarachaphongsawadan Krungratanakosin rajakanthi 1 chabap Chaophraya Thiphakorawong, Chabap tuakhian* [Royal Chronicle of Ratanakosin, First Reign, Chaophraya Thiphakorawong edition, Manuscript version], Bangkok: Amarin, 2539 [1996]: 121–123). Prince Damrong's addition to Chaophraya Thiphakorawong's draft version is based on old sources like the "Royal Enquiries" (*Phrarājapucchā*: records of enquiries put by the king to the high-ranking monks, dating from the Ayutthaya to Bangkok periods). It is an example of Prince Damrong's careful editorial intervention.

[52] "Searched in the ancient Pali scriptures, as well as in mundane knowledge" translates *daitruatkhondu nai phra bali lae khamphiphutthasat lae lokasat* **ได้ตรวจค้นดูในพระบาลีและคัมภีร์พุทธศาสตร์และโลกศาสตร์**.

[53] "Thai Painting in the Walters Art Museum," 125. The well-preserved painting (63.5 x 48 cm) is a gift from the Doris Duke Charitable Foundation's Southeast Asian Art Collection 2002 (35.385). A few letters of the caption, in a lozenge at the bottom of the painting, are not clear, but the inscription certainly refers to "Bimbānibbāna" with orthographic peculiarities of the age. Ginsburg was not aware of the "Bimbā *Nibbāna*" texts, with the result that his commentary is erroneous. The painting seems to belong to the same set as another one of "Bimbā's Lament": see below, n. 61.

[54] The spelling is inconsistent; taking the Sinhala form into account, it appears that the title should be "Bimbā-bilāpa (= *-vilāpa*: cp. Sanskrit *vi-lap*, "wail, lament, bewail")." In Thai we usually find *bilāp(a)*. In Siamese it is normal to use "*bh*" (ภ) in place of "*ba*" (พ), and vice versa, there being no difference in pronunciation — the name is often spelt "Bhimbā," or *nibbāna* often *nibhāna*.

[55] Rungrot Phiromanukul, "Phimphaphilapasut," in *Damrongwichakan: ruambotkhwam tang wichakan khanaboranakhadi* [Damrong: Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology] *pi 2545*, Vol. 1, Part 2, Bangkok: Khana Boranakhadi, Mahawithalaisinlapakorn [Faculty of Archaeology, Silpakorn University], 2545 [2002]: 177–213. Rungrot gives a thorough analysis of narrative and textual sources along with the complete Pali text, based on the single Wat Khao Yisan manuscript, presenting the text as in the manuscript without editorial interference.

[56] "*suttaṃ*" for "*sutaṃ*" is common in Siamese Pali manuscripts, in which gemination and degemination are rife.

The narrative does not correspond exactly to the Thai version; it also opens with *evam me suttam* but has no verses of homage. Three "Pāli-siamois" manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, seem to be related;[57] all are five bundles long and in Khom script, described as belonging to the eighteenth century. The titles are *Bhimbābhilāya*(!)*sutta* (§397) and *Bhimbābilābbavaṇṇanā* (§§398, 399).

The textual history of *Bimbābilāpa* is intricate and puzzling — the story opens with the last meal offered by Cunda, after which the Buddha returns to Kapilavatthu, as if for the first time. The narrative includes ten *Narasīhagāthā*[58] and two *jātakas* spoken by the Buddha — the *Mahādhammapālajātaka* (*Jātaka* No. 447) and the *Candakinnarajātaka* (*Jātaka* No. 485). *Bimbābilāpa-parivatta*, Chapter 19 of the *Paṭhamasambodhikathā* edited by Prince Paramānujitajinorasa,[59] is closely related to, and was probably based on, the *Bimbābilāpasutta*. There is a northern Thai prose version copied in CE 1799.[60]

Bimbā's return to Kapilavatthu and presentation of Rāhula to the Buddha are illustrated on a stone relief, a so-called *sema* or boundary stone dated to *circa* the tenth century, from Fadaet Songyang, Kalasin province, in Northeast Thailand. The event is illustrated in the mural paintings of Wat Khonkharam in Ratchaburi province in Central Thailand. A cloth painting in the collection of the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, bears the caption "Bīmbhābīlāba **พิมภาพีลาพ**" in a lozenge at the bottom of the painting.[61]

3. *Puṇṇovādasūtra*: Instruction to Puṇṇa

During the reign of King Songtham (1610–1628), the Buddha's footprint on a hill in Saraburi province became the pilgrimage centre for the court and people of the kingdom of Ayutthaya. The textual source for the legend of the footprint is popularly called *Puṇṇovādasūtra*; this is not a *sūtra* in the sense of a canonical Pali text, but rather an expanded text which combines the *Puṇṇovādasutta* of the Pali *Majjhimanikāya* (*Sutta* No. 145) with its commentary. The narrative of the latter, set in Sunāparanta, was localized in the landscape of Saraburi. Bunteuan Siwaraphot presents the relevant texts as an appendix to his *Ratanamangkhon khamchan*, a long *khamchan* poem on the legend of the footprint and the 108 signs on the feet of the Buddha composed by Bunteuan in honour of Queen Sirikit of Thailand on the occasion of her fifth birth cycle in BE 2547 [2004].[62] This gives the text

[57] A. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits sanscrits et pālis*, 2e fascicule — manuscrits pālis, Paris: Ernest Leroux Éditeur (Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits), 1908: §§ 397–399.

[58] For these see Heinz Bechert, "Narasīhagāthā and Śrī-Śākyasiṃhastotra," *Adyar Library Bulletin* 31/32 (1967/8): 567–579.

[59] Somdet Phramahasamanachao Kromphraparamānujitajinorasa, *Paṭhamasambodhi (phasa bali) chabapkhatlok chak khamphibailan aksonkhom*, Bangkok: Sahathamik Chamkat, 2537 [1994]: 176–182. The chapter is not in the earlier recension of *Paṭhamasambodhi*, for example the Pali Text Society edition: George Cœdès (ed.), edition prepared by Jacqueline Filliozat, *The Paṭhamasambodhi*, Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 2003 (reviewed Petra Kieffer-Pülz, "Die *Paṭhamasambodhi*: Eine 'indochinesische' Buddhabiographie?" *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band 160 (2010): 415–434).

[60] Donald K. Swearer (tr.), "Bimbā's Lament," §43 in Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (ed.), *Buddhism in Practice*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995 (Princeton Readings in Religion). The Sinhala "Yasodhara's lament" relates to the Bodhisattva's "great departure" rather than his return to Kapilavastu: see "Yasodharāvata (The Story of Yasodharā) also known as Yasodharā vilāpaya (Yasodhara's Lament)," translated in Ranjini Obeyesekere, *Yasodharā, the Wife of the Bōdhisattva*, Chapter 1. For a translation of an excerpt on "The Buddha's Arrival at Yasodhara's Palace" from the Sinhala *Pūjavāliya*, composed by Māyūrapāda Buddhaputra in 1266, see C[hristopher] H.B. Reynolds (ed.), *An Anthology of Sinhalese Literature up to 1815 selected by the UNESCO National Commission of Ceylon*, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1970: 182–186.

[61] *Emerald Cities*, Cat. No. 58, p. 138: the small (63.5 × 47.0 cm) rectangular painting is assigned the date 1800–1900, gift from Doris Duke Charitable Foundation's Southeast Asian Art Collection, 2006.27.70. The painting seems to belong to the same set that of "Bimbā's Nibbāna" mentioned above.

[62] Bunteuan Siwaraphot, *Ratanamangkhon khamchan chalermphrakiat Somdetphranangchao Sirikit Phraboromarachininath* [*Ratanamangkhon*, a *khamchan* poem in honour of Queen Sirikit], Bangkok,

of the Pali *sutta*, based on Khom-script manuscripts in the National Library, Bangkok. The oldest of these is undated, but is considered to be from the Ayutthaya period; this is the basis of the transcription, for which the original orthography is retained.[63] Bunteuan's Appendix also gives the Pali text of the commentary and modern Thai translations of both *sutta* and commentary. The Pali textual tradition is supplemented by an old Thai vernacular "*Puṇṇovādasūtra*" in the sermon style (*deśanā*).[64] The sermon opens with the date given in Pali prose, mixed with some Thai, equivalent to BE 2353 [1810], that is, from the beginning of the Second Reign (1809–1824). It gives both the time that has elapsed since the Buddha's Nibbāna and the time that remains until, in 5000, his Śāsanā ends:

> parinibbānadivasato paṭṭhāya ajja eko dino sammato bāvīsatidinna *bokwanluang* บอกวันล่วง aṭṭhamāsa *bokdeuanluang* บอกเดือนล่วง tepaññāsasaṃvaccharatisatādhikāni dve saṃvaccharasahassāni atikkantāni ahesuṃ | imasmiṃ paccupannakāle assasaṃvacchare hemanta-utumhi pussamāse sukkhapakkho chaṭṭhamītithīyaṃ sukkavāre anāgate kāle tevīsatidinna temāsa chacattālīsasaṃvacchara chasatādhikāni dve saṃvaccharasahassāni avasesāni bhavissanti |
>
> Today, from the day [of the Blessed One's] passing, one day is conventionally agreed upon:[65] twenty-two days — *announcing the days that have passed* — eight months — *announcing the months that have passed* — two thousand plus three hundred fifty-three years have passed. At this present time, in the year of the horse, in the winter season, in the month of Pussa, it is the bright fortnight, the sixth lunar day, a Friday: as regards the future time, there remain twenty-three days, three months, two thousand plus six hundred and forty-six years.

The 1810 manuscript is the basis of the transcription; two other manuscripts were also consulted, both plain gold (*thongthuep* ทองทึบ) with ordinary wooden covers. The original orthography is respected.[66] After these documents the poetic *Khamchan* version is presented, making altogether four documents which allow us to study the development of the legend from Pali *sutta*, to commentary, to sermon and to poetry.

4. *Buddhapādamaṅgala*: Auspicious Signs on the Feet of a Buddha

The *Buddhapādamaṅgala* starts with the conventional description of the wheel mark on the soles of the feet of a Buddha (*buddhapāda*); it then lists and explains one hundred and eight associated auspicious marks or signs (*maṅgala*). The *Buddhapādamaṅgala* does not fit easily into any of the usual genre categories. Ostensibly it is a commentary on the bare list of one hundred and eight marks and it indeed draws deeply and profusely on Pāli exegetical traditions. Although the *Buddhapādamaṅgala* is a technical work, at the same time it is repetitive and lyrical, almost liturgical — qualities it shares with the Thai and Khmer vernacular verse texts on the one hundred and eight auspicious signs. The list of signs is a compendium of metaphors, which becomes the occasion for an encomium, a

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Krom Sinlapakon [The Fine Arts Department], 2547 [2004], Appendix, pp. 169–213. For an English translation of the commentary from the Pali *Puṇṇovādasuttavaṇṇanā*, see Joel Tatelman, *The Glorious Deeds of Pūrṇa: A Translation and Study of the Pūrṇāvadāna*, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000, Appendix One. H. H. Prince Bidyalaṅkarana summarizes the Thai sermon tradition in "The Buddha's Footprints," *Siam Society Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Publication: Selected Articles from the Siam Society Journal, Volume II, 1929–1953*, Bangkok, The Siam Society, 1954: 37–52, originally read by the Prince at a general meeting of the Society in December, 1934.

[63] This is manuscript 6789/*kho* ข/1, gilt and red lacquer covers (*longchat* ล่องชาด). Two others (6943/*cho* ฉ/1, secondary copy (*rongsong* รองทรง), with inlaid shell covers, and 4108/*jha* ฌ/1, secondary copy, with Chinese style designs in gold and colour (*laykamalo* ลายกำมะลอ) are from the First Reign. Three others are *longchat* with ordinary wooden covers.

[64] Manuscript 4813/*cho* ฉ/1 in Khom script, *longchat*.

[65] The meaning of *eko dino sammato* is not clear to me.

[66] The details are from *Ratanamangkhon khamchan*, 176–177.

tribute to the qualities of the Buddha and his Dharma. The marks are a codification of the ethical, theological, and cosmological landscape of Buddhist life.[67]

Although the *Buddhapādamaṅgala* draws on the canonical and classical Pāli literature of Ceylon, it also shares in a broader intertextuality of Southeast Asian, particularly Thai, Pali literature. This includes close paraphrases of the *Mahādibbamanta* and ideas about *cetiyas* and worship.

5. *Uppātasanti*: Pacification of Calamities

Uppātasanti is a protective text in 271 stanzas which invokes the protection of the past Buddhas, of Maitreya the future Buddha, of the great disciples, male and female, and of an array of deities. It is a learned text that makes allusions to qualities of the Buddhas and others that are scattered throughout the Pali texts, canonical and non-canonical.[68] *Uppātasanti* may be a Northern Thai recension,[69] transmitted also in Burma; a closely related but not identical text, the *Mahāsanti*, is found in Bangkok temple libraries, but the relation between the two recensions is not yet clear. It is characteristic of the Pali literature of Siam to transmit several versions of the same text — textual instability and innovation are the rule. Another example is the *Mahāvaṃsa*. There is the (apparently) original Lankan version, there is an "extended *Mahāvaṃsa*" which is presumed to be from Ayutthaya, and there is a recast version, *Mahāvaṃsamālinī*, which may come from North Thailand.[70]

6. *Jambūpatisūtra*: The Sūtra on King Jambūpati

This is an apocryphal *sūtra*, the dramatic story of how the Buddha tamed the arrogant, mighty King Jambūpati.[71] It opens with *evam me sutaṃ*; the *sūtra* was well-known in Ayutthaya, and used to explain the "crowned" or "adorned" Buddha images (*phraphuttharup songkhreuang* พระพุทธรูปทรงเครื่อง) which proliferated at that time. In addition to the Pali version, which is in two bundles, there are vernacular, sermon, and verse versions. The narrative and plot relate to one of the stories in the "Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish" and to the *Kapphiṇa-avadāna* of the *Avadānaśataka* (No. 88). There is, in fact, another related text in the Siamese manuscript tradition, Pali *Mahākappinadhaja-sūtra* (*PLTCS* §2.158).

7. *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana*: Ornament for the Speech of the Learned

Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana is a Pali translation-cum-adaptation of a celebrated handbook of riddles composed in Sanskrit by Dharmadāsa. The *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana* was among

[67] This is a summary from P. Skilling, Preface to Claudio Cicuzza (ed.), *A Mirror Reflecting the Entire World: The Pāli Buddhapādamaṅgala or "Auspicious Signs on the Buddha's Feet"*, Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation/Lumbini International Research Institute (*MST*, Volume 6), 2011.

[68] Nalini Balbir and P. Skilling are preparing an annotated edition and French translation.

[69] A palm-leaf *Uppātasanti* in Lanna script from Wat Phan-an, Chiang Mai, dated 1824, complete in 1 *phūk* (88 pages), is described in Balee Buddharaksa, *Wannakambali nai Lanna: raicheu ekasantuakhian 89 chabap prakopsarasangkhep sathabanwichaisangkhom mahawithayalaychiangmai* [Pali literature in Lanna: List of 89 manuscripts with summaries], Chiang Mai: Sathaban Wichai Sangkhom, Mahawithayalay Chiangmai [Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, 2543 [2000]: §87.

[70] For a critical edition in Thai script, see Balee Buddharaksa (ed.), *The Mahāvaṃsamālinī-vilāsinī: Critical Text Edition and Translation*, Chiang Mai, Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, 2544/2001. A romanized edition is forthcoming from Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation (Bangkok) and Lumbini International Research Institute (Lumbini, Nepal) in the *Materials for the Study of the Tripiṭaka* series.

[71] See Skilling, *BBL*, 30–32. The Pali text has now been published: Santi Pakdeekham (ed.), *Jambūpatisūtra: A Synoptic Romanized Edition*, Bangkok and Lumbini 2009 (*MST* 5). For the reasons behind the choice of a synoptic edition, see P. Skilling, "An impossible task? The classical 'edition' and Thai Pali literature," *TIJBS* I, 2553 [2009] (The International PhD Programme in Buddhist Studies, Mahidol University): 33–43.

the titles offered to a monastery at Pagan in Burma in 1442, and manuscript copies are found in Burmese, Northern Thai, Lao, and Khmer collections. Siamese collections preserve not only the root text but also several ancillary texts — *upadesa*, *ṭīkā*, *yojanā*, *nissaya*.[72] A complete inventory remains to be made, and only careful editions and sustained study will unravel the relations between the Pali and the Sanskrit, or the Pali root text and the ancillary texts.[73]

Most of the texts described above are not rare — they were included in the Tripiṭaka every time it was copied, and multiple copies exist in the National Library and in temple collections. In three cases (Nos. 5, 6, 7), I have consulted manuscripts from a royal palm-leaf Tripiṭaka called the "Assembly of deities" (*Thep chumnum*, เทพชุมนุม) edition, which was donated by King Rāma III (Phra Nangklao Chaoyuhua: 1824–1851) to Wat Phra Chetuphon, one of the great centres of education in the Bangkok period, popularly known as Wat Pho. The *Thep chumnum* edition has beautiful gilt-lacquer covers and title pages depicting the "assembly of deities" gathered to listen to the Dharma, their hands raised in homage. The texts are neatly inscribed in the *Khom bali* script.

All of the texts discussed above (with the possible exception of *Bimbābilāpa*) were included in the royal manuscript Tripiṭakas of the first five reigns, but none of them are found in any of the Tripiṭakas printed in Siam since the end of the nineteenth century. This reflects a reinterpretation of the word Tripiṭaka at the close of the nineteenth century. Before that, when a Siamese king sponsored a Tripiṭaka, this entailed collecting and copying *all* available Pali texts (and even a few bilinguals) belonging to *all* categories, including not only the classical texts of the Mahāvihāra — the "Pali literature of Ceylon" — but also the commentaries, sub-commentaries, manuals, handbooks, and chronicles, along with an assortment of "apocryphal" — or what I have called "non-classical" — Pali texts known only in Siam.[74] The Tripiṭaka meant the complete corpus of Pali literature, divided into four — not three — main categories: *sūtra*, *vinaya*, *paramattha*, and *saddā* (Sūtra, monastic rules, Abhidhamma, and grammar). It was in this acceptation that royal Tripiṭakas were produced, following a generous standard that promoted and preserved the full range of the Pali traditions of Ceylon, India, and Siam. This inclusivism resembles the Chinese conception of the Tripiṭaka. By the end of the nineteenth century, the ideal of the all-inclusive Tripiṭaka was eclipsed by the exclusive Tripiṭaka prescribed by the Lankan Pali exegetical tradition of Buddhaghosa and others. Perhaps this Tripiṭaka was more consonant with the modernist and historicist aspirations of the age. The exclusive Tripiṭaka became the norm, thereby consigning seven hundred years of Siamese Pali texts to near oblivion.

The alternate Siamese conception of the Tripiṭaka is not well known today. Few premodern discussions of the principles of canonicity have been preserved (the exceptions might be recorded in the "Royal Enquiries" — *Phrarājapucchā*: see n. 51 — which have only been selectively published), and there are no records of the complete contents of any of the nineteenth-century royal editions. Not many of the texts composed in Siam have been adequately studied; those described briefly above represent themes and genres that are characteristic of Siamese literature. The first two revolve around the story of the Buddha's wife Bimbā; they can be seen as part of a fascination with the family life of the Sakyas and the Buddha, evidenced also in the *Vivahamaṅgalaparivatta*, which relates the genealogy of Suddhodana and hence Sakyamuni from the beginning of the aeon, and then details Suddhodana's elaborate marriage ceremonies. This grand event became Chapter 1

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72 See *BBL*, 37.

73 The *Vidagdhamukha* family of texts is under study by Nalini Balbir, who has published some preliminary remarks in "Three Pāli Works Revisited," *JPTS* XXIX (2007): 331–364.

74 For the idea of "non-classical" with reference to Jātakas, see P. Skilling, "Jātaka and *Paññāsa-jātaka* in South-East Asia," *JPTS* XXVIII (2006): 113–173.

of the Prince Paramānujitajinorasa version of the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, setting the stage for the great story of Sakyamuni's bodhisattva career, awakening, and life. The *Puṇṇovāda-sutta* also belongs to the life of the Buddha and the dissemination of the Dharma; it supplies a narrative background for the localization of the cult of the Buddha's footprints. The footprint is more than a cult object, however; it is an encyclopaedic encoding of Buddhist ethics and practices in cosmological symbolism, which is the subject of *Buddha-pādamaṅgala*. The feet and footprints of the Buddha confer security and blessings, answering to one of the main concerns of the individual wandering in cyclic existence, the round of Saṃsāra. The apotropaic verses of the *Uppātasanti* invoke the powers of the Buddhas, the spiritual beings, and the deities to protect the devotee against calamities and to bring good fortune.

None of these five texts owes much to non-Pali traditions. Instead they draw deeply on the Pali tradition, refashioning and embellishing it in order to create new texts with new functions. The *Jambūpatisūtra*, however, is a recasting of a story that was popular in Buddhist societies across Asia, framing the climax of the story in a magically-created royal city that evokes Ayutthaya, the Thai capital, with dramatic supernormal battles that might owe something to the Thai story of Rāma, the *Rāmakian* (รามเกียรติ์). The intellectually and linguistically challenging *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana* is a Pali version of a classical Indian handbook on riddles. The *Mahākappinadhaja* and the *Uṇhissavijaya* (*BBL*, pp. 32–36, 42–45) are also related to northern Indian narratives. The *Lokaneyyapakaraṇa* (*BBL*, pp. 36–37) draws on Indian *nīti* traditions. How and where did these Pali texts come into being? What is their relation to other Indian and non-Indian versions? Is it useful or is it counterproductive to think in terms of "Indian originals"? How did the texts circulate? Who wrote them, who transmitted them? How did the proud king travel to Siam and end up as Jambūpati? How did Dharmadāsa's celebrated collection of riddles become so popular, at least in terms of distribution, in Southeast Asia? These are some of the questions that await serious research.

Whatever the case, it is clear that Siamese Pali literature is not a piecemeal collection of discrete texts passively received from abroad and mechanically translated into vernaculars, or composed by monks in isolated retreats. The Pali literature of Siam has never been inert; active and interactive, it has developed in contact and collision. The texts share verses and text blocks, for example the *Narasīhagāthā* are given in the *Bimbābilāpa*, the *Paṭhama-sambodhi*, and the *Jinamahānidāna*, and most probably other sources. Verses are shared by the *Lokaneyyapakaraṇa* and non-classical *jātakas*, and the latter and non-classical texts like the *Jambūpati-sūtra*. Similarities of phrasing and style run throughout the texts. This web of intertextuality shows that the non-classical Pali texts of Siam are socially and historically related. They constitute a community of Pali texts that share many features and express similar ideologies — of merit, of reward and benefits (*ānisaṃsa*), of hierarchies and obligations, of the adventures and perfections of the Bodhisattva, and of the indescribable power and glory of the Buddha — and which bring felicity, success, and victory. They embed similar value systems, elaborating family relationships as in *Bimbābhikkhunī-nibbāna*, *Bimbābilāpa*, or *Vivahamaṅgalaparivatta*, extolling giving (*dāna*: including the "gift of the body" or self-sacrifice),[75] the fashioning and gilding of Buddha images, and the production of Tripiṭakas. These themes counted in the imaginative and moral life — family matters, merit, security, success, felicity. Many texts were invested with authority through the *evam me sutaṃ* formula; for those who transmitted them, they had been recited by Ānanda at the First Council and had full *sūtra* status.

[75] For self-sacrifice in the Thai tradition, see Arthid Sheravanichkul, "Self-Sacrifice of the Bodhisatta in the Paññāsa Jātaka," *Religion Compass* 2, 5 (August 2008): 769–787; "Self-Sacrifice of the Kings in the *Simhāsana Dvātriṃśikā* and Thai Buddhist Narratives," *Rian Thai: International Journal of Thai Studies* 1 (2008): 1–25.

Most Pali manuscripts are from the nineteenth century. Why this is so is not clear. Is it simply that earlier manuscripts have fallen victims to climate, war, and human negligence? Even if that is the case, we must ask what led to the massive production of manuscripts in the nineteenth century, not only in Siam, but also in Burma. To what degree was Pali a language of intellectual pursuit in the nineteenth century, to what degree was it a prestige language? It was certainly a prestige language; its study was obligatory, and it became embedded in ritual and hierarchical realities. Today Pali remains a language of *memorization* and *recitation* for both monastics and lay persons.

Recent developments

The year 2012 saw a major historical event in Pali studies: the publication of a Thai-script edition of the Pali *Paññāsa-jātaka*, based on central Siamese manuscripts in Khom script: *Paññāsajātaka, Phak phasa thai bali*, published to celebrate the seventh twelve-year cycle of King Bhumibol Adulyadej on 5 December 2011, sponsored by the Omsin peua sangkhom Foundation, printed by Plan Printing Chamkat, 2554.

Vol. 1. *Jātaka* nos. 1–24. 492 pp.

Vol. 2. *Jātaka* nos. 25–48. 548 pp.

Vol. 3. *Jātaka* nos. 49–50. *Pacchimabhāga jātaka* nos. 1–6. 532 pp.

Vol. 4. *Pacchimabhāga jātaka* nos. 7–11, plus *Pañcabuddhabyākaraṇa*. 512 pp.

Each *jātaka* is given first in Thai translation, then in Pali in Thai script. The translations are the classic ones of the first edition. At the beginning of each volume is a facsimile reprint of Prince Damrong's short introduction. Each volume has a set of colour illustrations, one for each *jātaka*, made specially by Samnak Chang Sip Mu (Office of the Ten Crafts) of the Fine Arts Department.

Other new editions have made new Pali genres more widely accessible, such as monastic letters by King Rāma IV written as a monk: Petra Kieffer-Pülz (ed.), *Sīmāvicāraṇa – A Pali letter on monastic boundaries by King Rāma IV of Siam*, Bangkok and Lumbini: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation/Lumbini International Research Institute, 2011 (Materials for the Study of the Tripiṭaka Volume 7). Recent studies have examined aspects of the use of Pali in Southeast Asia, including Cambodia, adding the circulation of texts to the knowledge of functional aspects of Pali.[76]

After initial surveys of manuscript holdings at several temples in Chaiya District, Surat Thani province in central southern Thailand, the Office for Art and Culture (Surat Thani Rajabhat University) has initiated a project to catalogue, preserve, and digitize several of the collections, with Santi Pakdeekham and Peter Skilling as participants. Chaiya district is an ancient cultural centre on the trade routes of the past.

The temple collection of Wat Bodharama includes some interesting titles, such as commentaries that are not generally known like *Gaṇṭhīdasajātaka* (that is, a commentary on the Ten *Jātakas*) and the *Aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā-bāhuṃ*, a commentary on *Bāhūṃ*, a verse chant of the Buddha's eight victories, one of the most common chants. There are many bundles from the *Mūlakaccāyana*, the bilingual Thai-Pali grammar most widely used in the pre-modern period, as well as bundles from the "Seven books of the Abhidhamma," one of the most popular chanting texts. Other texts that belong to the liturgical tradition are *Mahāsamaya-sutta*, *Āṭānāṭiya-sutta*, and *Mahāvessantarajātaka*. *Maṅgaladipanī-aṭṭhakathā-maṅgalasūtra*, composed by Ācariya Sirimaṅgala in Chiang Mai in CE 1524, is an exegesis on the thirty-eight verses of the *Maṅgala-sutta*, widely used not only in Thailand but throughout the region.

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[76] See the essays in Peter Skilling, Jason A. Carbine, Claudio Cicuzza, and Santi Pakdeekham, eds., *How Theravāda is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2012.

Among the rare texts are *Mūlakammaṭṭhāna* and *Mahāmūlakammaṭṭhāna*, meditation texts in Pali which have not yet been edited or published. *Bimbādevī-vilāpa-sūtta* is about the lamentations of Bimbādevī, the Bodhisatta's wife, who eventually becomes a nun (see above). At Wat Bodharama and Wat Samuhanimit there are several versions of *Paṭhama-sambodhi*, a life of Gotama Buddha.

Anāgatavaṃsa is about the future Buddha *Maitreya*, and the *Dasabodhisatta* is about ten Bodhisattas, Maitreya and the nine that will follow him. *Mahāvipāka* and *Buddha-vipākasūtra-vaṇṇanā* belong to the "*vipāka*" family of texts. *Ratanabimbavaṃsa* is a Pali "biography" of the Emerald Buddha. *Phra Buddhaghosā* and *Phra Buddhaghosācārya* are presumed to belong to the family of biographies of the great Pali scholar of the fifth century. Several manuscripts of the *Milindapaṇhā* ("Questions of Milinda") are found in the region. These are important because recent study has showed that this famous work was not at all stable, and was transmitted in several quite differing recensions.[77]

Problems and challenges

The literature outlined above has fallen victim to two conceits. One, not uncommon among Pali scholars, equates the Pali canon of Ceylon with early Buddhism: the only access to "original Buddhism" is through the "Pali canon." Nothing else, whether in Gandhari, in Buddhist Sanskrit, in Chinese or Tibetan or Khotanese translation, is much worth looking at, including the late Pali texts of Siam and Southeast Asia. Another conceit is the "conceit of antiquity." Most Pali manuscripts, even of the "earliest" texts, are late, a few centuries old at best. The Pali literature of Siam is doubly damned as a late literature preserved in even later manuscripts. Which is more interesting or important, a seventeenth-century manuscript composed in Ayutthaya, or a second-century Gandhari fragment? Why should the latter be more attractive to researchers? Is there any imbalance in methodologies that insist on "oldest manuscripts," "early this," and "original that"? These conceits are compounded by complacency — a pervasive conviction that Pali literature is already well known, that almost all the important texts have already been edited and translated, and that there is not much left to do except to translate *Aṭṭhakathā*s or edit and translate *Ṭīkā*s. Young scholars out to forge a career are unlikely to find these tasks or the prospect of re-editing canonical texts like *Majjhima Nikāya* volumes II and III especially appealing. In fact, recent Presidents of the Pali Text Society have been emphatic and public in saying that almost everything needs to be done again — by which they seem to mean that what has been edited needs to be re-edited, and that what has been translated needs to be retranslated. There is good cause for this — I do not know if any of the PTS editions can be described as genuinely "scientific" or "critical," and many of them fall well below the exacting standards exemplified by the editors of the Turfan manuscripts, the Schøyen Collection, or the Gāndhārī Buddhist Texts. PTS editions are too often conflations of the readings of an arbitrary and limited selection of manuscripts, or, more recently, of Asian printed editions which are themselves inadequate.

Even for those who are attracted to this literature there are many obstacles. Access to national collections is difficult, and most temple collections are uncatalogued. The fact that Khom is no longer widely read has contributed to the neglect of temple manuscript collections and their poor state of preservation. European collections may be easier to access, but to obtain copies is often expensive. The quality of the scribal tradition is poor — the manuscripts are rarely free of mistakes, lacunae, and other errors.[78] Editing them is

[77] For a preliminary note, see Peter Skilling, "Problems with Milinda," *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, VIII (2010): 1–24.

[78] Some of the problems of editing Siamese manuscripts are addressed in Toshiya Unebe, "Towards an edition of the *Paññāsajātaka*: Problems and solutions," *TIJBS*, Volume I 2553 [2009]: 44–63 and P.

challenging, and calls for patience and ingenuity. But are these complete Siamese manuscripts any more demanding than the fragmentary "new manuscripts," which teams of devoted scholars have so painstakingly edited?

The study of the "new manuscripts" has transformed our understanding of the evolution of South Asian, Central Asian, and Southeast Asian Buddhism as well as of Buddhist languages, literature, and school affiliation. Our old textbooks have become drastically outdated, and we have to consider new approaches and new paradigms, and reflect on new questions. Surely the Pali literature of Siam should have a place in these paradigms.

Appendix

Manuscript project of the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), Bangkok[79]

An important project of the EFEO Center in Bangkok is being carried out in cooperation with the Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre (SAC), a research institute under the Thai Ministry of Culture, as well as with the Siam Society. The project entails the preparation of inventories and digital records of manuscripts connected with the tradition of Northern Thai *tamnan* or traditional religious chronicles.

Since 2005, Dr. François Lagirarde, the head of this project, has undertaken field trips in the provinces of northern Thailand (ancient Lanna), taking high-quality digital pictures and then coordinating the reading, translating and database processing of the original sources. Two young graduate researchers from Silapakorn University and one photographer have assisted Dr. Lagirarde. The primary aim of this project is straightforward: to give direct access to unpublished primary texts through digital records that can be read on any computer.

To date, hundreds of bundles of palm-leaf manuscripts have been photographed and computerized, making a collection of more than 40,000 images. The pictures have all been taken in one library (the Siam Society in Bangkok) and forty-one different monastic libraries from Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Lampang, Phrae, Nan, Phayao and Chiang Rai provinces (as of May 2013). Access to the monastic collections and permission to photograph has been facilitated by the Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre as an organization of the Thai Ministry of Culture. A database of this digital collection is available on the EFEO website (http://www.efeo.fr/lanna_manuscripts/). It provides a detailed description of every manuscript digitalized by the *tamnan* project with access to its first and last page in high definition. The database stresses the need for identifying and distinguishing the texts and using proper titles. Therefore it always presents the original title(s) of the manuscript by displaying "citation" thumbnails from the original photographs.

As a research programme, the EFEO *tamnan* project aims firstly at providing an overview idea of the *tamnan* genre itself. What are the limits of the genre? What is its social and literary history? How has the *tamnan* genre interacted with other genres and corpora? How has it interacted with sites, local and regional geography, and religious practices? The bibliometric and biblio-economic data will contribute to an enriched and more accurate understanding of the genre.

Skilling, "An impossible task? The classical 'edition' and Thai Pali literature," *TIJBS* I, 2553 [2009]: 33–43.

[79] I am grateful to François Lagirarde for the information that is the basis of this appendix. The description of the project is current as of December 2012. For the *tamnan* genre, see his "Temps et lieux d'histoires bouddhiques: à propos de quelques 'chroniques' inédites de Lanna," *BEFEO* 94, 2007 [2010]: 59–94.

In its second phase, the EFEO *tamnan* project will engage in a more philological and historical approach to the corpus of texts henceforth available. Editions and translations of specific texts are planned, but the project will emphasize the need for comparative readings of different "streams" of texts in order to explain the function of the *tamnan* literature from Lanna, a tradition probably born in the early fourteenth century AD. Although the traditional production of *tamnan* waned as the twentieth century progressed, a "*tamnan* mentality" still animates the landscape of Lanna and functions in new forms such as the printed book and the temple website.

Abbreviations

BBhN	*Bimbābhikkhunīnibbāna*
BBL	Claudio Cicuzza (ed.), *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia, Selected Articles by Peter Skilling*, Bangkok and Lumbini 2009 (MST 5).
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*
JCBSSL	*Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*
JIABS	*Journal of the International Association for Buddhist Studies*
JPTS	*Journal of the Pali Text Society*
MST	*Materials for the Study of the Tripiṭaka*
PLTCS	Peter Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham, *Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam: A catalogue based on the Sap Songkhro*, Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation/ Lumbini International Research Institute (*MST*, Volume 1), 2002
TIJBS	*Thai International Journal for Buddhist Studies* (Published by The International PhD Programme in Buddhist Studies, Mahidol University)

Conventions

Thai names are given in Thai order, under the first name. Japanese names are listed in Japanese order, under family name, which comes first.

For Thai references, the Buddhist Era is given first. When the publication itself gives the Christian Era, I give it following a stroke: BE/CE or CE/BE. When the publication does not give the Christian Era, it appears in square brackets at the end of the entry.

Translations of Thai titles in brackets are my own. They are provisional and not in any way official. Unless otherwise noted, translations from Pali or Thai are my own.

Pali Manuscripts of Sri Lanka

Bhikkhu Ñāṇatusita (Kandy)

1. An Overview of Pali manuscripts in Sri Lanka

There are tens of thousands of palm-leaf manuscripts in Sri Lanka, many of them containing Pāḷi (hereafter: Pali) texts. The first part of this article will give a brief overview of the history of Pali palm-leaf manuscripts in Sri Lanka, the age of manuscripts, where they are located, the materials used, scripts, the general condition of collections, who takes care of them and how they are not taken care of, earlier research, the scientific and cultural value of manuscripts, how they could be made more accessible to the scholarly world and what issues would be faced in order to do so.

1.1 History

The earliest mention of written Pali texts in Sri Lanka is found in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, chronicles describing how the good and bad deeds of kings affected Mahāvihāra Theravāda Buddhism in Sri Lanka. According to these chronicles, the Pali Canon (*tipiṭaka*) and its commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*) were first written down in the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi-Abhaya (Mhv 33.100–101, Dīp 20.20–21) in the 1st century BCE (Geiger 1960: §65). Both chronicles state: "The text of the three piṭakas and the *aṭṭhakathā* thereon … in order that the true doctrine might endure, they wrote them down in books." (*Piṭakattayapāḷiñca, tassa aṭṭhakathampi ca; ... ciraṭṭhitatthaṃ dhammassa potthakesu likhāpayuṃ*) (Geiger 1912: 237). These "books," *potthaka*, were usually made of talipot palm (*Corypha umbraculifera*) or "Ola" palm leaves.[1]

Later on, the *Mahāvaṃsa* records that kings were ordering the copying of manuscripts: King Kassapa had books copied (39.19), King Moggallāna II (537–556) had the Dhamma written down and then held a festival in honour of the books (41.62), King Vijayabāhu (1059–1114) had the Tipiṭaka copied and offered it to the community of monks (60.22), King Sena II (851–855) had the *Ratana-sutta* written down on a gold sheet (*hema-paṭṭa*) (51.79),[2] and King Kassapa V (913–923) had the Abhidhamma Piṭaka written on gold sheets and had the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* book adorned with various jewels and caused a yearly festival to be held in honour of it (52.50–57). Other, later kings also had Pali books copied (Mv 90.37–38, 91.27, 92.13). In the 18th century, King Kittisiri caused many suttas, such as the *Dhammacakka*, to be inscribed on a golden book, had the *Dīghanikāya* copied in one day by scribes, who were amply rewarded, and then had the text recited the whole night long; he also rewarded others who copied books (99.28–35; see Geiger 1960: §63, and Mirando 1985: 66).

Just as in Northern Thailand (see Veidlinger 2007: 130), large rewards were paid to those who copied books, usually monks. In 1509 King Vikramabāhu of Kandy bestowed lands on a monk who had copied the *Saṃyuttanikāya* to compensate him for his labours (Mirando 1985: 21). His successor King Rājādhirājasiṃha rewarded the lay scribe who had inscribed the *Dhammacakka* and other suttas on a book of gold leaves with a gift of lands (Mirando 1985: 69). Laypeople also rewarded monks with gifts of lands for copying texts such as the *Majjhimanikāya* (Mirando 1985: 74).

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[1] The elaborate process of preparing Ola palm leaves, writing on them, etc., is described in de Silva 1938: xxi; Nell 1954: 38–40; Wickramaratne 1967: 16–21; Coomaraswamy 1979: 51–53; Godakumbura 1980: xlix–lii; Gunawardhana 1997: 33–40; Gunaratne 2006.

[2] At the Jetavanarama monastery complex in Anuradhapura a fragment of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* written on gold leaves was discovered in a buried pot; see von Hinüber 1983: 189–207.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* also mentions that manuscripts along with monasteries were destroyed by invaders, especially the Kāliṅgan invader Māgha in the early thirteenth century, and the Portuguese during the colonial period. After these acts of destruction and the chaos that followed, manuscripts were copied on a large scale to make up for the losses. King Vijayabāhu III (1232–1236), saddened by the loss of so many Dhamma books destroyed by the invader Māgha, gathered many lay scribes to copy the Tipiṭaka (*Cullavaṃsa* 81.40–45). In the 18th century, after the destruction caused by the Portuguese and Dutch, many manuscripts were copied in Kandy through the revivalist efforts of Saṅgharāja Saraṇaṅkara.

The copying of texts and their distribution and worship was regarded as a meritorious activity because it preserved the doctrine (Dhamma) of the Buddha. Giving the Dhamma to others is considered the highest gift in Buddhism.[3] The texts were also caused to be copied by kings to bolster their prestige, just as modern Thai kings still do. Royal manuscripts were written by monks and professional scribes. Manuscripts with covers made of silver or ivory studded with gems are found in monasteries in the Malwatte (a complex of about 30 semi-independent monasteries) and at the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. Gold-embossed manuscript covers are also said to exist (Joseph 1901: ix). Normally, however, the wooden covers of Sinhalese manuscripts are painted with arabesque-like designs or are just plain wood. Some manuscripts have no covers at all.[4]

Sometimes manuscripts were enshrined in stupas. In the 19th century a Tipiṭaka set (of which the Vinayapiṭaka, Abhidhammapiṭaka, Dīghanikāya, and some other books were written on silver plates and others on ola palm leaves), *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* and other *suttas* inscribed on thirty-seven plates of gold, a Jātaka commentary written on nine hundred copper plates, two book boards, silver and gold studded with gems, etc., were enshrined in the stupa of Hanguranketa Vihāra as part of a "meritorious act of enshrining books" (*poth-nidhāne-pinkama*); see Joseph 1901: xii-xiii. Ninety-one copper plates with the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* written on them, dating from the 8th/9th century, were found in the Indikatusäya Stupa at Mihintale; see *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. III: 199–212.

The main copyists of Pali texts in Sri Lanka were Buddhist monks. Like their Christian counterparts in medieval Europe, many monks spent a lot of time copying and studying texts. Before modern, printed books came into vogue in the late 19th century, all monasteries in Sri Lanka had libraries with Pali manuscripts (cf. Joseph 1901: x).

Small village monasteries (*pansala*) would have had small collections of texts especially suited to edifying the laity, while larger study monasteries (*piriveṇa*) had large collections of texts used for education. There would also have been monks who had their own collections of manuscripts for private study purposes. In the 19th century, and perhaps earlier,

[3] See A IV 364 (*etadaggaṃ, bhikkhave, dānānaṃ yadidaṃ dhammadānaṃ*) and Dhp 364 (*sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti*).

[4] There are no titles given on the wooden covers of manuscripts. This can make it difficult to find a specific text in a monastery library if there are no modern tags or labels with titles and reference-numbers and a reference list. (Sometimes there are modern reference numbers on the covers but the reference list has been lost.) In this case one has to go through all the manuscripts, which can be quite time-consuming as one has to untie and retie the neatly tied strings holding the cover and palm leaves together. Then, if one is familiar with the text one is searching for, one can recognise it from its start (no title page or heading with the title of the text is given at the start of Sinhala manuscripts), or one has to look at the conclusion of the text where its name is normally given. Sometimes several texts are contained in one manuscript, so the whole manuscript has to be checked.

Supposedly, the monks who used the manuscripts in the past would recognise which manuscript was which through familiarity with the different wooden covers (painted or plain) and the location of the manuscripts in the library. Although some manuscripts, especially ones with fancy covers made of ivory, etc., might have had a showcase function rather than a practical function (cf. Veidlinger 2007: 114–115), most manuscripts (e.g. ones with the *Pātimokkha* or other Vinaya texts) would have had a practical function and would have been used for study and reference.

monasteries were built which were (and are) called "pothgul vihāra" or "library monasteries." Here monks took a special interest in collecting and studying texts.

Many monasteries built before the 20th century still have original collections of manuscripts. The manuscripts are not read anymore because modern printed books are easier to read and handle, and they are solely kept for ornamental and historical value. Sometimes the manuscripts are shown in monastery display rooms, together with other valuable and unusual objects, sometimes the manuscripts are still in their original monastery libraries or in new libraries, and sometimes the manuscripts are kept hidden in cupboards out of fear of thieves or out of neglect.

1.2 Oldest manuscripts

The four oldest known Sinhalese Pali manuscripts date from the Dambadeniya kingdom period and are described in some detail by P. E. E. Fernando (1982). The oldest manuscript, the *Cullavagga* in the possession of the library of the Colombo National Museum, dates from the reign of King Parākramabāhu II (1236–1237). The manuscript is in a reasonably good condition given its age. The cryptic colophon, as translated and explained by Fernando, states that the book was copied by Sumedha Mahāthera on the instructions of the Medhaṅkara Mahāsāmi as part of a donation of giving one book to each monk in Sri Lanka with the patronage of King Parākramabāhu. The cover of the book is wood painted with depictions of deities, in a style similar to ones from the Polonnaruva period. Another old manuscript dating from this period is a manuscript of the *Paramatthamañjūsā,* the *Visuddhimagga* commentary. The fragile and decayed manuscript is stored in the basement of the Peradeniya University Library. A clumsy attempt to restore it was made by gluing the leaves between paper tissues, which are now covered with mould due to the high humidity in the basement.

Another old manuscript, of the *Sāratthadīpanī,* a sub-commentary (*ṭīkā*) on the *Samantapāsādikā* Vinaya commentary, is in the British Museum in London. It was discovered by the British engineer Henry Parker at the Ridi Vihāra in Kurunegala District, where there is still an interesting collection. According to Fernando, this manuscript and the abovementioned *Paramatthamañjūsā* were copied by the same monk. According to Wickramaratne (1967: 21) another 13th-century manuscript, containing the *Mahāvagga* of the Vinaya Piṭaka, is at the Vidyalankara Pirivena in Kelaniya. Another source ascribes it to the 15th century, along with a *Visuddhimagga* manuscript at the Arattana Vihāra at Hangurankete.[5] Another 15th-century manuscript of the *Sāratthadīpanī* is at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Custodians of manuscript collections often are puzzled why researchers are interested in Pali manuscripts, because most Pali texts have already been published in book form, as part of the Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka edition, etc. In the late 19th century and early 20th century there was a great enthusiasm to publish Pali texts in the then new printed book format and many editions were produced. In the last decades, however, few new editions of texts have been produced. One reason for this is that universities are underfunded, causing academics to leave the country to find better paid work abroad, resulting in a brain drain. The emphasis in monastic life has also changed: in the past learning, memorising and study of Pali texts were considered quite important, while nowadays many monks study secular sciences and work as school-teachers or politicians instead. Another reason why few new critical editions are made is that preparing critical editions of texts is a tedious and unprestigious task and because editions have already been made of most texts,

[5] Page 3, item 15, of an anonymous pamphlet called "Historical Manuscripts Commission, Exhibition, Art Gallery, Green Path, Colombo, 17th May 1952," which briefly describes the contents of a manuscript exhibition.

so scholars are not inclined to engage in this type of work. However, most of the editions of Pali texts produced earlier, even the Buddha Jayanti edition, are based on only a few manuscripts, often originating from the same monastic tradition that the editor(s) belonged to, and therefore cannot be considered as critical editions (cf. Liyanaratne 1989: 126.) For example, the Sinhala printed edition of the important *gaṇṭhi* (a kind of subcommentary) to the commentary on *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (*Paṭisambhidāmagga-gaṇṭhipadattha-vaṇṇanā*) was not reliably edited according to A. K. Warder.[6] There are still some unpublished sub-commentaries (*ṭīkās* and *gaṇṭhi*) and old *sannayas* (word-for-word Pali-Sinhala translations or glossaries, often containing valuable explanations of words, sometimes quoting from the extinct *Sīhala Aṭṭhakathā*,[7] e.g. the *Jātaka-ṭīkā* and *Suttanipāta-sannaya* (cf. Liyanaratne 1989: 123), and there might still be unknown texts or texts presumed extinct. Thus the value of manuscript research cannot be underestimated.

1.3 State of preservation

In general, the overall state of preservation of manuscripts in Sri Lanka leaves much to be desired. Although some monastery collections, especially the ones in special display rooms, are relatively well kept, there are also collections where the manuscripts are stored among tableware in cockroach-ridden cupboards or in badly kept libraries. In some collections manuscripts have disappeared. It regularly happens that although a manuscript is listed in a library's manuscript list, it is not there anymore. Perhaps the manuscript was lent to someone and was not returned, or it might have been sold to an antique dealer to raise funds for doing repairs to the monastery. Manuscripts are also used as gifts. Some years ago a monk from a major monastery in Kandy wanted to take manuscripts from the display room as a gift to Taiwan but was prevented from doing so by other monks. When recently a delegation of scholars from Thailand visited a Sri Lankan university, they were given a manuscript by one of the monks receiving them.

One sad example of a collection where manuscripts have disappeared or cannot be found is the library of the Colombo National Museum, also called Sri Lanka National Museum. This collection is, or perhaps rather was, the most important in Sri Lanka. It was started in 1870 at the instigation of the British Governor of Ceylon as the Government Oriental Library with the aim of "rescuing the ancient literature of Ceylon to be found in ola manuscripts" (Joseph 1901: x). The collection was carefully catalogued by W. A. De Silva and published in *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum, Volume I*, 1938).[8] This catalogue has an excellent introduction describing the history of the collection, Sinhalese writing, production of manuscripts, and much other valuable information.[9] The collection was gradually built up by researchers through acquisition as well as copying on palm leaf by capable scribes. Now, however, it appears that many manuscripts are not there anymore. Several Sinhalese Pali manuscripts and a Burmese-script *Pātimokkha* manuscript another researcher and I asked to see could not be found, despite a lengthy search by the assistant librarian and me. A museum employee confided in me that a previous librarian had stolen books. Whether this is true or not I cannot say, but it is a fact that the manuscripts were not where they should have been. The museum's artifacts are ill protected in general. In 2007 ancient murals were damaged when rainwater entered the building during a heavy rain shower while the roof was being

[6] *Path of Discrimination (Patisambhidāmagga)*, London, 1982: lvii. The preface of the Sinhala edition states that it is a transcript of a Burmese printed edition.

[7] See Carter and Palihawadana 1987: 4 & 442.

[8] The catalogue can be acquired from the National Museum in Colombo, or, more easily, from the Buddhist Publication Society in Kandy (www.bps.lk).

[9] Another good description is given in Godakumbura 1980: xlix–lii.

repaired. Water also leaked into the library. Recently (March 2012) several valuable artifacts from the Kandyan period were stolen by burglars.

The collection of the Colombo National Museum contains, or contained, many valuable manuscripts such as the oldest Pali manuscript in Sri Lanka, a 13th-century manuscript of the *Cullavagga*, the second book of the Vinaya Piṭaka, which will be discussed later. It also contains a copy of a *Saṃyuttanikāya* manuscript with a colophon stating that the original copy was copied in 1412 CE by Maṅgala Thera of Sunētra Dēvi Pirivena of Pepiliyana.

The Gangārāma Vihāra monastery in Colombo is an example of a monastery with an extensive collection of manuscripts that are now kept solely for ornamental purposes. Hundreds of manuscripts are sloppily stacked upon each other behind a row of Buddha images in a glass case, in front of which tourists walk. A similar fate befell the book library which contains many rare editions of Pali books, dating from the late 19th and early 20th century. The library room was converted into a museum room, and the library cupboards are all cramped inaccessibly into a corner behind display cupboards with bric-a-brac.

The large collection of the Peradeniya University is mostly stored on open book racks in the non-air-conditioned basement, together with old magazines and newspapers. One of the oldest manuscripts in Sri Lanka, a manuscript of the *Paramatthamañjūsā,* the *Visuddhimagga* commentary, dating from the 13th century, is also stored in this basement and has become mouldy. On the second floor there is also a cupboard with some books. There is only a card index with the titles of the manuscripts. No manuscript catalogue has yet been made.

In the 1980s the National Archives of Sri Lanka, sponsored by the Ford Foundation in the USA, organized the microfilming of Pali and other manuscripts. A project manager and camera team went to many monasteries to photograph manuscripts. The microfilms were all stored at the National Archives headquarters in Colombo, for which the Ford Foundation provided microfilm viewing machines and air-conditioning. The project stopped after a couple of years, although some districts had not been covered yet. Apparently, after some time the air-conditioning broke down and due to lack of funding and interest it was not repaired. The microfilm machines got dusty and were not cleaned properly causing microfilms to be scratched by dust particles. Now, many, if not most, of the microfilms are damaged due to humidity and dust scratches and cannot be viewed anymore. Judging from the printouts of a few manuscripts which could still be viewed a few years ago, some of the pictures of the manuscripts were not of high quality, i.e. not clear enough due to being too small. The project manager, Mr. Manaperi, told me in a personal conversation that he made a detailed catalogue and handed it over to the National Archives for it to be published. However, it was never published and when I asked to see it at the National Archives, it could not be traced. Mr. Manaperi has no copy of his work. According to the National Archives and the Ford Foundation, no copies were made of the microfilms. The only useful thing which remains is the card index to the microfilms which briefly describes which manuscripts were photographed in which places. It is located in the research room.

For a researcher, whether foreign or local, it can be difficult to get access to collections. One is often met with surprise, shame, greed and distrust. This is not a new phenomenon: already in the 19th century the Sinhalese scholar Mudaliyār de Zoysa, who had been asked by the British Governor to inspect the collections of monasteries and prepare a catalogue, was refused access to some monastery libraries: "Sir William Gregory (late Governor of Ceylon), in his address … of 1875–76 indicated as a reason why Maha Mudaliyār's work could not have been crowned with success, an obstruction which appears to have been met with repeatedly in the course of his inspection …. 'As the Government is solely animated by the desire of preserving from destruction all that remains of Sinhalese literature, and has never wished to deprive the temple libraries of their manuscripts, but has only sought to

get them copied, I regret that Mudaliyār de Zoysa was met by an unworthy and jealous feeling at some temples, especially in the Southern Province near Mātara, and refused access to the books preserved in them'" (Joseph 1901: x).

The monks probably were afraid that their books would not be returned, as apparently had happened before, or did not want to cooperate with the British government out of nationalistic motives. Nowadays, some monks are afraid that publicity given to their monastery collections will attract thieves, and with reason, as thieves do target monasteries which have antiques. It also happens that the owners of collections expect to get a reward, especially in the case of foreign scholars. A Sinhalese monk who made an edition of an Abhidhamma text told me that he had to go to one faraway monastery several times before he got permission to see the manuscript he needed. The usual excuse for not getting access to a collection is that the key of the cupboard is missing or that the monk who has the key is away. Some monasteries are also ashamed to show their collections because they are kept in poor conditions. In one monastery I visited in Kandy, the manuscripts were kept at the bottom of a cockroach-infested cupboard together with unused tableware and old newspapers. A large manuscript library in a pothgul vihāra (library monastery) near Kandy that I visited had apparently not been opened for years and the whole room was full of dust and cobwebs. My visit to another monastery library with a large collection was very timely because I noticed that termites had made their way into a cupboard from the floor and had started to devour a large Jātaka manuscript.

The government authority which takes care of manuscripts in Sri Lanka is the National Archives. On invitation, conservation experts visit monasteries to examine their collections and conserve them for free. According to the expert I talked to in Kandy, this frequently happens and he knew of many monasteries with manuscript collections. The main way of preservation is the traditional method of treating the leaves with the oily resin called *dummala* which is derived from the resin of a fossilized root of a tree (*Vateria capellifera*) dug up from wet places.

K. D. Somadasa did the most extensive survey of the manuscripts in Sri Lankan monasteries and libraries. The survey was done by means of writing inquiries and the results were published in 1959 and 1964 in the two volumes of *Laṅkāvē Puskoḷa Pot Nāmavaliya* ("List of Palm Leaf Books in Sri Lanka"). Despite the survey being carried out in the late nineteen fifties, this is still a valuable overview of texts, the names given to texts, contents of collections, etc. Many manuscripts might not be anymore in the places where they were (cf. Liyanaratne 2006: 48, n. 15), or might not have been there in the first place because apparently a few printed books were mistakenly listed by some of the informants.

Modern research of Pali manuscripts in Sri Lanka started in the early 19th century with the Dane Rasmus Rask who collected many Sinhala and Burmese Pali manuscripts which are now kept in the Copenhagen Museum (see Godakumbura 1980: xvii–xlv). Later in the 19th century the British civil servant and collector Hugh Nevill collected many manuscripts which are now in the British Museum. A seven-volume catalogue of this large collection comprising Pali, Sinhala, and Tamil manuscripts, with Nevill's valuable notes, was prepared by K. D. Somadasa (1987–1995). The British civil servant and archaeologist H. C. P. Bell also collected many manuscripts, which later were incorporated into the collection of the Colombo National Museum library. Among his valuable finds are the ancient *Cullavagga* manuscript and a copy of the old *Vinaya-ṭīkā* manuscript (see Bell and Bell 1993).

1.4 How to judge the age of a manuscript

Researchers are often interested in very old manuscripts, but there are very few pre-mid-eighteenth century manuscripts left. The actual age of the manuscript is not that important,

because an 18th-century manuscript can be an accurate copy of a 12th-century manuscript. For example the *Saṃyuttanikāya* manuscript in the Colombo National Museum Library has a colophon dating it to the Kelaniya period, the 15th century. The manuscript is not that old, 19th century, but the colophon indicates that it is a copy of an older manuscript. Moreover, an older manuscript can be a poorly copied, corrupt text, while a newer one can be of much better quality. The value of old Sinhalese manuscripts mainly lies in readings that got lost during the editing and standardizing that took place during councils and transmission in Burma and Thailand.

Criteria for judging the age of manuscripts are:

1. Appearance. Older manuscripts appear more brown, worn and old, but there are also newer manuscripts which look old due to neglect. So this is not an entirely reliable method.

2. Script. After the 15th century there has been no change to the Sinhala script (see de Silva 1938: xvii). The script of the 13th-century manuscripts is clearly different, more clumsy than modern Sinhala script, but these manuscripts, as mentioned above, are very rare. There would be intermediate script forms through which one could ascertain the age of later manuscripts. The best way of determining these interim script forms is to study copper plates with royal grants, called *sannasa,* or royal inscriptions on pillars or rocks. These inscriptions can be dated accurately due to the names of kings who gave the grants. There are Sinhala books with pictures of these *sannasa*. In any case, if a script clearly deviates from the modern Sinhala script then this is an indication that the manuscript is quite old, but it is unlikely that there are many such manuscripts.

3. Colophons. This is the most accurate and easiest way of dating a manuscript. The colophons of many manuscripts give the date when it was transcribed. Some include the colophons of the manuscripts they were copied from.

4. Location. If a monastery is quite old and has existed continuously for a long time there might be a higher chance that it has older manuscripts. There might be monasteries which have existed continuously since the 15th century or even longer and which survived the destruction by the Portuguese and other colonial forces. These are more likely to be in Kurunegala district, the Southwest, and parts of the highlands where the Portuguese did not reach. It appears from the index lists of monastery libraries that certain texts were more common in the Southwest than in the highlands and vice versa, so this regionality of texts could also be a factor in finding older texts.

5. Tradition/affiliation. The affiliation of a monastery can give an indication about its age, but this is uncertain because monasteries were/are sometimes taken over by monks from other traditions, and manuscripts were swapped between traditions. What is certain is that the Siyam Nikāya has many texts that are copies of manuscripts coming from Thailand, while the Amarapura Nikāya has many texts originating in Burma. I also noticed that in the libraries in Malwatta the *Pātimokkha* manuscripts are mostly identical. This is probably because they are all based on one manuscript brought over from Thailand which was accepted as authoritative and from which all copies were initially made.

1.5 The future of manuscript research in Sri Lanka

Given the widespread neglect of collections, the general lack of interest in the preservation of and research into palm-leaf manuscripts in Sri Lanka, and often the considerable difficulty in getting access to collections, it is important that an international project is undertaken to preserve manuscripts by way of digitally photographing or scanning. This should be done in cooperation with Sri Lankan institutes such as the National Archives, universities, and a well-known international institute such as UNESCO, which already

manages some important historical sites in Sri Lanka. The digital photographs should not be stored in just one institution, where they might be lost, as happened with the microfilms at the National Archives, but should be made freely available on the internet so that any scholar can access them. Also detailed information (description, history, photographs, list of manuscripts) should be given about the monasteries where the manuscripts were photographed. Giving prominence to the monasteries will facilitate access to their libraries and will be of value to researchers. In the case of large collections such as the one at the Colombo Museum or in the British Museum, etc., the exact provenance of the manuscripts is often not known, detracting from their scientific, historical and cultural value.

To get access to collections, the backing of the heads (*mahānāyaka*) of the local monastic communities (*nikāya*) is essential. The Sinhalese are very proud of their history and cultural heritage, and it will not be difficult to get backing from authorities if prominence is given to the preservers and custodians of the manuscripts. Emphasis would need to be put on the prestige that comes with making accessible the manuscript heritage of Sri Lanka rather than letting it rot away in locked cupboards. As the National Archives has experience in photographing and preserving manuscripts and is trusted by monastery abbots, who call on it for preserving their collections, the assistance of this institute in a manuscript digitization project would facilitate matters.

It would be best that all manuscripts of collections are photographed or digitally scanned. Scholars themselves can determine which ones are worthwhile for their work or not. The time that it takes to determine the value of a manuscript can be more than the time it takes to photograph it.[10] The manuscripts of a wide range of monasteries belonging to different traditions and located in different regions of the country should be photographed. It would also be important to carry out a manuscript survey again to find out which manuscripts are located where. The survey made by Somadasa in the 1950s and 1960s is not that reliable because it was done by mail rather than by visiting the libraries in person. Many manuscripts might have moved or disappeared in the meantime.

2. Mainland South-East Asian manuscripts in Sri Lanka

2.1 Introduction

The second part of this article deals with non-Sinhala script Pali manuscripts in Sri Lankan manuscript collections. Many Thai and Burmese manuscripts were imported into Sri Lanka in the 18th and 19th centuries. They are of considerable interest because they might contain texts that are rare or lost on the mainland, or might contain historically valuable colophons, or might contain texts with important variant readings that have not been preserved in other textual lineages. They also shed light on the history of transmission of Pali texts.

The scripts of the foreign Pali manuscripts in Sri Lanka are Burmese, Siamese Khom (also called Mūl script), and modern Thai. There are also two Cambodian MSS with the *Paññāsa-jātaka* in Khom script that were given by the Bibliothèque Royale de Phnom Penh to the National Library in Colombo. Possibly there are also a few MSS in other SE Asian scripts, such as the Mon script.

At the time of the revival of the Sinhalese Sangha in the 18th and 19th century many Pali texts were brought to Sri Lanka from Burma and Siam. The texts were imported because many Pali works, especially the commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*) and subcommentaries (*ṭīkā*), were no longer available in Sri Lanka due to being lost in the destruction caused by

[10] Of course, some very common texts found in manuscripts such as the *Dhammacakka-sutta* and *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* — of which there are 500 manuscripts in the library in the Octagon of the Temple of the Tooth — would not all need to be digitalized. The Octagon collection, however, is exceptional because the manuscripts were given to the temple for the sake of acquiring merit.

the Portuguese and the subsequent lack of royal support needed to copy and study Pali texts in the remaining monasteries. Newer Pali works composed in Burma and Siam in the preceding centuries were also not available due to the absence of relations with these countries after the Portuguese took control over ports and sea trade in Asia in the 16th century.

Works composed in Mainland SE Asia that are found in Burmese or Thai scripts in Sri Lanka are the *Yojanā-ṭīkā*, *Netti-ṭīkā*, *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana*, *Vinayaguḷhatthadīpanī*, *Vedavinicchaya*, and the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī.* Perhaps there are other texts that were lost on the mainland or are very rare.

Many of the manuscripts imported from Burma and Siam were used as the "masters" for transcribing the texts they contained into Sinhala script.[11] Quite a few, if not many, of the manuscripts brought during this period are still preserved in libraries in Sri Lanka. In order to find original Sinhalese texts, that is, texts not based on texts imported from South East Asia first it is to be ascertained which texts have been imported and which readings distinguish them from Sinhalese texts.

K.R. Norman (1983: 13–14) indicates the value of research into manuscript lineages:

> It is not inappropriate to talk of a Burmese or Siamese or Sinhalese tradition for the transmission of a particular text, and the differences which we find between the readings of the MSS belonging to the various traditions must go back to the councils which have been held from time to time in the different countries. The value of each tradition will depend upon the care with which evidence for variant readings was sifted, and the criteria which were adopted as the basis of the decisions which were made. We have, of course, no way of discovering this for the earlier councils. … The way in which the *upasampadā* was re-introduced from one Buddhist country into another, and books were brought by visiting monks, has led to a situation where the traditions of each country have become to some extent interwoven. It is sometimes possible to detect the effect which this has had. When, for example, variant readings in a Sinhalese MS depend upon the similarity in shape of two *akṣaras* which resemble each other in the Burmese script, but not in the Sinhalese syllabary, then we have a clear indication that at some time a Burmese MS has been transliterated into Sinhalese characters. … It is nevertheless possible that MSS are still extant in libraries in Ceylon, Burma, and Thailand which are based upon a tradition which pre-dates, and therefore perhaps preserves readings older than and rejected by, more recent councils and editions.

A list of texts which came to Sri Lanka with the second mission from Siam is given in von Hinüber 1988. The *Saṃyuttanikāya* and its commentary were not included in the list of books ordered from Siam and von Hinüber argues that this text was not needed as it was still found in Sri Lanka.[12] Consequently, there are quite marked differences between the readings found in the *Saṃyuttanikāya* texts copied in Sri Lanka and the ones copied in Southeast Asia, indicating a continuous Sri Lankan *Saṃyuttanikāya* manuscript tradition

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[11] For example, see the colophon of the Sinhala script *Paṭṭhāna* manuscript in the collection of the National Museum in Colombo (MS no. 670): "*Kālantarena laṅkādīpe abhāvappattaṃ maramma-dese manthala-nagare visuddhārāmādhipatino ti…*" "Having become extinct in the course of time in the Island of Laṅkā, of the abbot (*adhipati*) of the Visuddhārāma in the town of Manthala in the country of Myanmar …" Although the colophon is incomplete, presumably the abbot in Mandalay sent or, less likely, brought the *Paṭṭhāna* manuscript to Sri Lanka. (The division of Pali words and the English translation in de Silva 1938: 115 is incorrect. In the catalogue ellipses are provided after *ti,* indicating that the text broke off here. De Silva's translation: "The book in the course of time had been lost in Ceylon, and was brought back from the Visuddhārāma of Manthala Nagara in Burma," reading *adhipati noti,* instead of the genitive *adhipatino* + *ti.*)

[12] This is supported by the colophon of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* manuscript (MS No. 71) in the library of the National Museum in Colombo, which was copied in 1412 CE by Maṅgala Thera of Sunētra Dēvi Pirivena of Pepiliyana built by Parākrama Bāhu VI. See de Silva 1938: 20.

uninfluenced by Southeast Asian traditions. The same applies for the *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*.[13] On the other hand, texts such as the *Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā* originate from Southeast Asian text traditions. The colophon of the *Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā* manuscript of the Royal Library in Copenhagen states that it was copied in 1768 from a Siamese original. Von Hinüber, however, appears to have been unaware of a 15th- or 16th-century manuscript with this text predating the re-introduction of the *upasampadā.* It is located in the Nevill Collection; see below.

It also appears that some texts were only partly available. According to the colophon of the Sinhalese *Milindapañha* text in a manuscript in the collection of the Cambridge University Library (Add. MS. 1251), it is partly a copy of a text in a manuscript brought from Siam: *Siyamdesato ānitapotthako issatthassa pañhato paṭṭhāya pariyosānavacanāni gahetvā likhitan-ti jānitabbaṃ*.[14] The colophon of the Sinhalese *Milindapañha* manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF 359) states the same in different words: *Siyaṃ desena ānītaṃ gahetvā potthakeṇa ca paṭṭhāya issatthassa pañhato avasānāni vacanāni idaṃ sabbaṃ likhitan ti mataṃ tathā ti*. However, there is no *Milindapañha* MS in the list of texts send from Siam, only a *Milinda-ṭīkā*. There is also no mention of a Siamese *Milindapañha* MS in any of the indexes, etc., of manuscripts in Sri Lanka.

The manuscripts sent to Sri Lanka by the second mission were ordered by the King of Siam and it is therefore likely that they were of good quality. It is possible that some rare and important Siamese Khom-script texts have been preserved in Sri Lanka which have better readings than the ones preserved in Thailand, or perhaps they no longer even exist in Thailand. Many manuscripts, most importantly the Royal collection, were destroyed during the plundering and burning of Ayudhyā by the Burmese in 1768 — well after many Siamese manuscripts were sent to Sri Lanka in 1756 and the following years. Ayudhyā period manuscripts are therefore rare in Siam. So few manuscripts were left that the new Siamese king brought manuscripts back from his military campaigns against Nakhorn Sri Thammarat and Cambodia, etc. In 1788 a council was summoned by King Rāma I to purify the Tipiṭaka and produce a revised edition (called the "Edition of the Council"), since the existing edition, which had been made from unreliable texts after the more authentic texts had perished in Ayudhyā, was full of errors.[15]

The monastery in which a text is found usually gives an indication about its origin, e.g., if a *Pātimokkha* text is found in an Amarapura Nikāya monastery then it is based on the Burmese tradition (i.e., introduction, the chapter titles, readings, etc., of the *Pātimokkha* text is the same as the Burmese tradition), but if it is found in a Siyam Nikāya monastery it is based on the Siamese tradition. Occasionally one even finds typical Siamese readings like *ukāsa* instead of *okāsa*[16] in the introductions of *Pātimokkha* manuscripts found in Siyam Nikāya monasteries. The same affiliation principle applies for printed editions of Pali texts: if the monk who edited a Pali printed edition was ordained in the Amarapura Nikāya tradition then it is likely that he would have used manuscripts available within that tradition and it is likely that these texts are copies of Burmese manuscripts. Given the threat the new Burmese ordained lower-caste monks posed to the supremacy of the high-caste Siyam Nikāya, it is likely that no or few Pali texts were passed from the Siyam Nikāya to the Amarapura Nikāya. This would be the reason why many manuscripts were imported by Amarapura Nikāya monks from Burma.

There is a higher chance that there are older and more original Sinhalese textual lineage MSS found in Siyam Nikāya monasteries because they are the inheritors of an older

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[13] See von Hinüber 1983: 65–79.
[14] See Liyanaratne 1993: 139–40.
[15] See Saddhātissa 1993: 38.
[16] See Bizot 1988.

Sinhalese tradition. However, it is also possible that some older, Sinhalese textual tradition manuscripts are found in Amarapura Nikāya monasteries because the Amarapura Nikāya apparently took over some Siyam Nikāya as well as unaffiliated (i.e., with *ganninānsela* novices) monasteries, e.g., the Ambarukkhārāmaya near Balapiṭiya.

The fact that texts came to Sri Lanka with the Siamese missions does not necessarily mean that these texts were lost in Sri Lanka, rather, it could be that the texts were not available to the monks in Pupphārāma (Malvatta) in Kandy because they might have been in an unknown location such as monastery libraries in the distant Mātara district. They could also have been in monastery libraries whose owners were uncooperative as they were opposed to the re-establishment of the *upasampadā*.

For example, in the list of manuscripts which came from Siam the *Cullavagga* is mentioned, and yet in the National Museum in Colombo there is a 13th- or 14th-century *Cullavagga* manuscript (MS 2363).[17] There is an old (17th-century?) fragmentary *Majjhimanikāya* manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (BnF 906)[18] and an even older 15th- or 16th-century *Paramatthadīpanī-thera-therī-gāthā-aṭṭhakathā* manuscript in the Nevill Collection in the British Museum (Or.6601[80].) The latter two manuscripts are incomplete and damaged. Perhaps these were the only known manuscripts and therefore new manuscripts needed to be imported. It is also possible that the monks in Kandy, if they were aware of them, were not satisfied with the quality of the texts because they were damaged or contained many scribal errors, etc., and therefore preferred the new Thai manuscripts.

There appears to be a difference in the texts preserved in the southwestern coastal low country around Mātara and Gālle and the ones in the highlands of Kandy. Although monasteries had been destroyed by the Portuguese, Buddhism was more tolerated under Dutch rule. Some monasteries in the southwest, such as Mulgirigala, flourished in the Dutch period and manuscripts would have been copied there. Certain texts appear to have survived or been common in the low country which did not exist in the highlands (and vice versa).

Nevill mentions in his note on the *Siṃhala Bodhivaṃśaya* (Or.6606[1]) that: "In the reign of Narendrasinha, about 1710, this work seems to have been rare or unknown to the priests about the court, as we find Saraṇaṅkara translating the Pāḷi work into Sinhalese, apparently in ignorance of the existence of this ancient version." In his note on Or.6605(12) he mentions that many books found in the low country, such as the *Amāvatura*, are rare or little known in the Kandy area. The British archaeologist and manuscript collector Bell mentions that the palm-leaf manuscripts he got copied in 1895 for the National Museum Library in Colombo were very rare, if not unknown in the low country, and not often met in the Kandyan districts.[19] Thus, there is a possibility that there are textual traditions in the South West which predate the reintroduction of the Siamese *upasampadā*.

An interesting historical detail regarding the second mission from Thailand is that the request for manuscripts from Ayudhyā apparently was a pretext to obtain a Buddhist prince from Siam to replace the Kandyan king. King Srī Kīrti Rājasiṃha was a man of South Indian origin (*nāyakkar*) of Śaivite upbringing and was not considered supportive enough of Buddhism. A younger brother of the king of Siam came along with the mission as one of the monks and was to become the new king of Kandy. However, the sinister plot to kill the king in the Pupphārāma Vihāra monastery (Malvatta) failed and the Siamese prince and the other Siamese monks were banished.[20]

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[17] For more details on this manuscript see Fernando 1982: 146–157, and Gunawardhana 1997: 41–43.
[18] See Perera 1935: 53.
[19] See Bell and Bell 1993: 264.
[20] See Mirando 1985: 58–59 (n. 74) and 138–40. The story of the plot is narrated in the *Sāsanāvatīrṇa-*

2.2 *The list of texts in Somadasa's* Lankāve Puskoḷa Pot Nāmavaliya *and in Mudiyanse's "A Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts Written in Burmese, Cambodian and Siamese Script"*

The most comprehensive survey made so far of manuscripts in Sri Lanka was carried out by Somadasa in the 1950s and 1960s, and published in the first two volumes of *Lankāve Puskoḷa Pot Nāmavaliya* 20 (LPPN).[21] This survey was done by mail — not in person — and is therefore not always accurate. Some collections have deteriorated or disappeared (i.e., sold to antique shops, stolen, or taken to other monasteries) since the survey was made. Another survey, by Nandasena Mudiyanse (1972–1974), was done in person and is much more accurate and detailed, but it only covers a limited number of monasteries. It appears that there are many more texts in libraries which could not be accessed, etc., and which are therefore not given in Somadasa's and Mudiyanse's surveys. Both surveys do not provide any details about the affiliations and history of the monasteries where the manuscripts are found.

When comparing the list of Somadasa with the list of Mudiyanse, it appears that almost all of the Siam (Si) script manuscripts listed in LPPN are actually Khom-script manuscripts, e.g., one Khom-script manuscript mistakenly being listed as a Siam-script manuscript in LPPN is the *Saddasāratthajālinī* manuscript of Sunandārāmaya in Uṇavatuna. In LPPN the Siamese Khom script is mistakenly called *Kāmboja*, i.e., "Cambodian," and also Mudiyanse mistakenly calls it "Cambodian script." There are also quite a few manuscripts identified by Mudiyanse that are not listed in LPPN although sometimes other manuscripts of the same monasteries are listed in LPPN; probably this is because the monks providing the indexes to Somadasa did not know the scripts. A comparison of a part of the library index of the Ambarukkhārāma with LPPN shows that the library contains several manuscripts that are not listed in LPPN or are not attributed as foreign script manuscripts in LPPN; see 2.13 below. There are also monasteries with Mainland Southeast Asian manuscripts — such as the Subhūti Vihāra in Waskaduwa — that are not listed in LPPN, probably because they did not send the requested data to Somadasa (perhaps out of non-cooperation, fear of thieves, etc.).

As can be easily noticed, by far the majority of manuscripts are in the Burmese script. These manuscripts came from Burma to Sri Lanka in the 19th century during the formation of the Amarapura Nikāya. Many Sinhalese monks went — and some still do go — to study Abhidhamma and Pali at the large monastic universities in Burma and they naturally would have brought the manuscripts back to Sri Lanka. Burmese monks also came to Sri Lanka to teach and visit and would have brought manuscripts as gifts and study material.[22] Burmese or Thai lay pilgrims could also have donated manuscripts to monasteries and temples, such as the Temple of the Tooth, where a few Khom-script manuscripts are found.

The Khom-script manuscripts came to Sri Lanka in the last half of the 18th and in the first half of the 19th century during the formation of the Siyam Nikāya. Some of the manuscripts would have come with the abovementioned official missions, and some with Sinhalese monks returning from visits to Siam or with Siamese monks visiting Sri Lanka.

Most of the Khom-script manuscripts are found in Rājamahāvihāras ("great royal monasteries"), especially in and around Kandy, the founding place and headquarters of the Siyam Nikāya, which has a Siamese *upasampadā* lineage. Most of the Burmese manuscripts are found in Amarapura Nikāya monasteries in the cinnamon plantation areas along the Southwestern coastal road and railway line, e.g., the Ambarukkhārāmaya near Balapi-

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varṇanāvā (Nevill Collection: Or.6606[12]) and the *Hārispattu-rājāvaliya*. A more detailed description is given by Vachissara 1961: 322–327.

[21] The third volume deals only with Sinhalese manuscripts in the British Museum.

[22] There are still Burmese vihāras in Colombo, Galle, and Kandy with resident Burmese monks.

ṭiya. The Amarapura Nikāya — which is divided into more than twenty subsects of different Burmese *upasampadā* lineages — was initially founded and supported by members of the cinnamon peelers caste (*chaliya*) of the Southwestern coastal area, who could not be ordained in the Siyam Nikāya which was (and is) exclusive to members of the highest Goviyo caste.

Occasionally one or two Burmese manuscripts are found in "Siamese tradition" monasteries[23] and sometimes Siamese manuscripts are found in "Burmese tradition" monasteries.[24] As Blackburn (2002: 29, n. 138) suggests,[25] there is a possibility that these Burmese manuscripts in Siamese tradition monasteries were brought from Arakan in the 17th century; however, this possibility is rather remote and it is more likely that they came with Siyam Nikāya monks visiting or studying in Burma or with Burmese monks visiting Sri Lanka.

2.2.1.1 Texts in Lankāve Puskoḷa Pot Nāmavaliya I[26]

Aṅguttaranikāya: 305 3 Bu, 349 Bu* (part), 357 Bu, 359 Bu, 364 Si, 630 Bu & 3 part Bu, 636 Bu

Aṅguttaranikāya-aṭṭhakathā: 305 Bu, 630 2 Bu

Apadāna Pāḷi: 402 Bu, 630 Bu

Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā: 58 Bu (= 586?), 305 2 Bu

Apheggusāradīpanī Buruma Sannaya[27]: 587 2 Bu

Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-vaṇṇanā, Anuṭīkā-saṅgaha, Anusaṅgaha-ṭīkā, Paramatthasāramañjūsā, (Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha dutiya mahā-ṭīkāya dutiya anuṭīkā): 239 2 (or 3) Kh, 665 Si*

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, Abhidhamma-saṅgaha: 283 Bu, 305 Kh & Bu, 314 Bu, 359 Bu, 398 Bu*, 519 2 Bu, 622 Bu*, 630 Bu, 665 Si*

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-anuṭīkā: 630 Bu

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-tatiya-ṭīkā, Saṅkhepa-vaṇṇanā, Culla-ṭīkā: 235 Bu*, 305 Bu, 357 Bu, 398 Bu

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-dīpanī: 355 Bu

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha dutiya mahā-ṭīkā, Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī, Vibhāvinī-ṭīkā, Ṭīkā Jo: 235 Bu*, 305 2 Bu, 398 Bu*, 437 Kh, 519 Bu

(Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha dutiya mahā-ṭīkāya anuṭīkā,) Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-anuṭīkā, Maṇisāra-mañjūsā: 630 Bu

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-nissaya (Buruma Sannaya[28]): 369

Abhidhammapiṭaka, Vijam-piṭaka, Satta-ppakaraṇa: 239 Kh

Abhidhammapiṭaka-ṭīkā, Abhidhamma-mūlaṭīkā, Mūla-ṭīkā, Satta-ppakaraṇa-ṭīkā, Paramattha-ppakāsinī: 349 Bu*, 630 Bu

Abhidhammamātikā-aṭṭhakathā, Mohavicchedanī: 665 Si*

Abhidhammāvatāra: 630 Bu

Abhidhammāvatāra-nava-ṭīkā, Abhidhammattha-vikāsinī: 305 Bu

Abhidhammāvatāra-purāṇa-ṭīkā: 601 Bu

Abhidhānappadīpikā, Pāḷinighaṇḍu: 239 Bu, 355 Bu, 357 Bu

Abhidhānappadīpikā-ṭīkā: 305 Bu

Āvāsa-dānānisaṃsa, Pasādajananī: 817 Kh

Itivuttaka: 326 2 Bu, 359 Bu, 519 Bu

Udāna: 359 Bu, 519 Bu

Uposatha-vinicchaya: 305 Bu

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[23] E.g., one in the Vijayasundara Rājamahāvihāra in Asgiriya, Kandy; see Filliozat 1995: 135–191.

[24] E.g., several at the Ambarukkhārāmaya at Ambagahapiṭiya near Balapiṭiya.

[25] The 40 *Buruma Tunpiṭaka pot* in the Saṅgharāja Museum in Malvatta that Blackburn refers to are printed books (*pot*), not MSS.

[26] Works also listed by Mudiyanse are marked with an asterisk (*).

[27] *Buruma sannaya* presumably means a Burmese *nissaya*.

[28] Probably a Burmese *nissaya*.

Kaccāyana, Sandhikappa: 305 Bu part, 335 Bu, 359 Bu part, 398 2 Bu, 630 Bu
Kaccāyana-ṭīkā (tatiya), Kaccāyana suttaniddesa: 305 Bu
Kaccāyana-ṭīkā (dutiya), Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā: 305 Bu, 630 Bu
Kaccāyana-ṭīkā (purāṇa), Mukhamatta-dīpanī, Nyāsa: 630 2 Bu
Kaccāyana-ṭīkā (purāṇa), Dutiya Mahā Anuṭīkā, Nirutti-sāra-mañjūsā: 305 2 Bu, 369 Bu
Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā, Kaccāyana-ṭīkā (dutiya): 305 Bu, 630 Bu
Kaccāyana-sāra: 630 Bu
Kammavācā: 84 Kh, 235 Bu*, 249 Bu, 305 Bu, 331 Bu, 331 Bu & Si, 332 Bu, 335 2 Bu, 357 Bu, 368 Kh, 375 Bu, 392 Bu, 396 Bu, 398 Bu, 437 Kh, 472 Bu, 511 Si, 518 Bu, 595 Bu, 630 3 Kh, 807 Kh, 813 Bu, 858 Bu
Kāraka Vistaraya: 305 Bu
Khuddaka-pāṭha: 305 Bu, 359 Bu, 522 Bu, 630 Bu
Khuddasikkhā: 305 Bu, 357 Bu, 386 Bu, 437 Kh, 518 Bu
Khuddasikkhā-nissaya (Buruma Sannaya[29]): 348 (? Bu), 586 Bu
Gandhāharaṇa, Nipātatthavibhāvinī: 396 Bu
Cakka-pūjanālaṅkāraya: 437 Kh
Cariyāpiṭaka: 305 Bu
Cullavagga-pāḷi: 305 Bu, 335 Bu, 359 Bu, 398 2 Bu*, 402 Kh*
Cullavagga-aṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā part): 239 Kh
Cullasuddhanta[30]: 621 Bu
Chakesa-dhātuvaṃsa: 305 Bu
Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, Paramattha-jotikā: 239 Kh, 305 2 Bu & 2 part Bu, 513 2 Kh part
Jātaka kathā (kīpayak)[31]: 305 Kh
Tun Sūtraya, Pirit Tun Sūtraya[32]: 703 Bu
Terasa-khaṇḍa-ṭīkā: 630 Bu
Thera-gāthā: 630 Bu
Dasa-dānavatthu-ppakaraṇa: 335 Bu
Dīghanikāya: 151 2 Bu part, 305 2 Bu and 2 Bu part, 359 Bu, 398 2 Bu, 630 Bu
Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā: 326 Bu, 472 Kh*
Dīpālaṅkāra-sandeśa: 437 Kh
Dhammapada: 305 Bu
Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā: 235 Kh, 392 Kh, 629 Bu
Dhammasaṅgani-ppakaraṇa: 154 Bu*, 305 4 Bu, 374 Bu, 522 Bu, 630 Bu
Dhammasaṅgani-ppakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā: 305 Bu, 601 Bu, 630 Bu
Dhammasaṅgani-ppakaraṇa-saṅkhepa-ṭīkā: 349 Bu*
Dharma-pustakaya (Saṅgraha-baṇa-potada, Banadaham Potada): 335 Bu
Dhātukathā-ppakaraṇa: 151 Bu, 305 3 Bu, 359 Bu, 398 Bu, 522 Bu, 630 Bu
Dhātukathā-ppakaraṇa-gaṇṭhi: 349 Bu*
Dhātukathā-ppakaraṇa-ṭīkā: 305 Bu
Nāmarūpa-paricchedaya: 437 Kh
Niddesa-pāḷi[33]: 359 Bu
Nirutti-vibhāvanī-ṭīkā: 586 Bu
Netti-ṭīkā, Netti-vibhāvanī: 364 Si
Pañca-ppakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā, Paramattha-dīpanī: 305 Bu, 630 Bu
Paṭicca-samuppāda: 425 Bu, 519 Bu
Paṭisanthāra-kathā: 402 Bu
Paṭisambhidā-magga: 374 Bu

[29] Probably a Burmese *nissaya*.
[30] A *Saṅghādisesa* procedure.
[31] Some *Jātaka* stories.
[32] Three *Paritta* Suttas.
[33] Uncertain whether *Culla-* or *Mahā-niddesa*.

Paṭṭhāna-pāḷi, Paṭṭhāna-ppakaraṇa: 151 Bu & 4 part Bu, 305 4 Bu & 4 part Bu, 359 Bu, 630 part Bu
Paramattha-mañjūsā Buruma Sannaya[34]: 305 Bu
Parivāra-pāḷi: 335 Bu, 398 Bu
Parivāra-aṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā part): 437 Kh
Parivāsa-kammavācā[35]: 305 Bu
Pācittiya-pāḷi: 26 Bu*, 151 Bu, 239 Kh, 305 6 Bu, 398 Bu
Pācittiya-pāḷi-aṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā part): 601 Bu, 630 Bu
Pāṭika-sutta: 305 Bu
Pātimokkha, Ubhaya-mātikā: 305 Kh & 2 Bu, 369 Bu, 437 Kh, 517 Bu, 518 Bu, 519 Bu, 807 Bu
Pātimokkha-aṭṭhakathā, Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī, Mātikā-aṭṭhakathā: 146 Bu, 155 B, 305 3 Bu, 516 Bu, 519 Bu, 630 Bu
Pātimokkha-ṭīkā[36]: 630 2 Bu
Pātimokkha-nissaya: (348 Bu?) 586 Bu
Pātimokkha-padārtha-varṇanā[37]: 237 Bu
Pārājikā-pāḷi, Pārājikā-khaṇḍha: 151 Bu, 232 Kh, 235 Kh, 392 part Kh, 398 Bu, 437 Kh, 630 Bu
Pārājikā-pāḷi-aṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā part): 357 Bu, 359 Bu
Pāḷimuttaka-vinayavinicchaya-saṅgaha, Mahāvinaya-saṅgaha, Vinaya-saṅgaha: 305 Bu, 392 Kh
Pāḷimuttaka-vinayavinicchaya-saṅgaha-nava-mahāṭīkā, Vinayālaṅkāra-ṭīkā: 305 Bu & part Bu, 335 Bu, 357 Bu, 592 Bu
Puggalapaññatti: 305 Bu
Petavatthu: 359 Bu
Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā, Paramattha-dīpanī: 396 Si
Bālāvatāra-liyana-sannaya, Okandapola-sannaya: 326 Bu[38]
Buddhavaṃsa: 359 Bu
Bodhivaṃsa-ṭīkā: 630 Bu
Bhikkhunī-pātimokkha: 235 Kh*
Bhikkhu-pātimokkha: 305 Kh, 368 Bu, 398 Bu, 437 2 Kh, 630 Bu
Bhedacittā-dīpanī: 586 Bu
Majjhimanikāya: 351 Bu, 630 3 part Bu
Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā: 630 2 part Bu
Majjhimanikāya-nava-ṭīkā, Dutiya-līnatthappakāsinī, Līnatthappakāsinī, Līnatthavaṇṇanā: 326 Bu
Mantra-potak: 211 (Sinhala-Burmese, incomplete)
Mahāniddesa-aṭṭhakathā, Saddhamma-ppajotikā: 630 Bu
Mahāpadāna-sutta-aṭṭhakathā: 335 Bu
Mahāvaṃsa: 630 Bu
Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā, Pajjapadoruvaṃsa vaṇṇanā, Vaṃsatthapakāsinī: 305 Bu
Mahāvagga-pāḷi: 151 2 Bu, 239 Kh, 305 4 Bu & 2 part Bu, 359 Bu, 398 2 Bu*, 630 Bu, 807 Bu
Mahāvagga-saṃyuttaya[39]: 665 Si
Mahā-suddhanta[40] (sampūrṇa kālayama vatpirīma): 621
Mātikā-dīpanī: 398 Si*
Mārammaka[41] Sīhala Sandeśa: 437 Bu
Milindapañha[42]: 402 Bu
Mūlakaccāyanaya: 239 Kh

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[34] Probably a Burmese *nissaya*.
[35] A *saṅghādisesa* procedure.
[36] Somadasa notes that it is uncertain whether this is the *purāṇa*- or *nava-ṭīkā*.
[37] Perhaps a Burmese *Nissaya* or perhaps the *Pātimokkha-gaṇṭhidīpanī* by Ñāṇakitti.
[38] This seems to be a mistake, as this is a Sinhalese *sannaya*.
[39] Presumably the last book of the *Saṃyuttanikāya*.
[40] A *saṅghādisesa* procedure.
[41] *Māramma* = Myanmar/Burma.
[42] Uncertain, as it is listed under the heading of the Sinhala *Milindapraśnaya*.

Mūlasikkhā: 305 2 Bu, 357 2 Bu, 437 2 Kh, 610 Bu
Maitrī-varṇanāva: 666 Bu
Moggalāyana, Moggalānayana-vutti: 402 Bu
Yamaka-ppakaraṇa: 151 3 part Bu, 305 2 Bu & 2 part Bu, 359 Bu, 398 Bu
Yojana-ṭīkā: 239 Kh [cf. note 56]
Rāja-mārtaṇadhaya (-pāḷi): 305 Bu
Vaṃsālaṅkāra-dīpanī: 359 Bu
Vattakkhandhaya[43]: 305 Bu
Vācakopadesa-ṭīkā[44]: 586 Bu
Vāccavācaka-ṭīkā, Vāccavācaka-vaṇṇanā: 359 Bu, 586 Bu
Vidagdha-mukhamaṇḍanaya (pāḷi): 665 Si*
Vinaya-guḷhatthadīpanī: 357 Bu
Vinayamañjūsā: 305 Bu
Vinayavinicchaya, Vanavinisa: 437 Kh, 513 Kh
Vinayavinicchaya-navaṭīkā: 437 Kh
Vibhaṅgappakaraṇa: 151 Bu, 305 Bu & part Bu, 335 Bu, 398 Bu*, 630 Bu, 665 Si
Vibhaṅgappakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā, Sammohavinodanī: 305 Bu, 335 Bu, 378 Bu, 398 Bu, 630 3 Bu
Vibhattibheda: 239 Kh
Vibhatyatthappakaraṇa (-gāthā): 586 Kh
Vimānavatthu-ppakaraṇa: 359 Bu
Visuddhimagga: 305 2 Bu & part Bu, 398 Bu, 519 Bu
Visuddhimagga-gaṇṭhipadaya: 369 Bu
Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā[45]: 392 Bu & 2 Kh, 630 2 Bu, 665 Si*
Vuttodaya: 305 Bu (also at Island Hermitage)
Vuttodaya-ṭīkā[46]: 630 Bu
Vessantara-jātakaya-pāḷi: 335 Bu
Veda-vinicchaya (Naekaet[47]): 335 Bu
Saṃyuttanikāya: 305 Bu, 359 Bu, 630 3 Bu
Saṃyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā, Sāratthappakāsinī: 305 4 Bu, 335 Bu, 398 Bu
Saṃyuttanikāya-ṭīkā[48]: 305 Bu
Saṃyuttanikāya-nidāna: 305 Bu
Sacca-saṅkhepa-ṭīkā: 437 Kh
Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta, Mahā-satipaṭṭhāna-sutta: 622 Bu
Sattasuriyuggamana-sutta: 326 Bu
Saddatthabhedacintā: 305 Bu, 586 Bu
Saddatthabhedacintā-ṭīkā: 586 Bu
Saddanīti: 235 Kh, 305 Bu, 630 Bu
Saddavutti, Saddavuttippakāsaka: 302[49] Bu, 630 Bu
Saddavutti-ṭīkā: 305 Bu
Sandeśa (pāḷi): 630 7 Bu
Samantapāsādikā: 239 Kh, 305 2 Bu & 4 part Bu, 310 Bu, 335 Bu, 630 Bu & part Bu,
Samantapāsādikā-atthayojanā: 665 part Si

[43] The part of the *Khandhakas*/*Mahāvagga* dealing with *vatta*?
[44] Sinhalese MSS of the *Vācakopadesa* (part of the *Peṭakopadesa* or a synonym for it?) are listed in the preceding entry in LPPN.
[45] Somadasa notes that there might be a mix-up here of different *ṭīkās*.
[46] Somadasa notes that there might be a mix-up here of different *ṭīkās*.
[47] *Naekaet* = astrology.
[48] Somadasa notes that these might be *purāṇa*- or *nava-ṭīkās*.
[49] This probably is a mistake for 305 as there is a Burmese *Saddavutti* MS found in 305 according to the current index.

Dutiya-vinaya-ṭīkā, Sāratthadīpanī (Samantapāsādikā-dutiya-ṭīkā): 305 3 Bu, 357 part Bu, 521 Bu, 630 Bu, 817 part Bu
Samantapāsādikā-navaṭīkā, Tatiya-vinaya-ṭīkā, Vimativinodanī: 305 Bu, 357 part Bu, 630 Bu, 665 Si*
Samantapāsādikā-purāṇa-ṭīkā, Paṭhama Vinaya-ṭīkā, Vajirabuddhi-ṭīkā: 7 Bu, 326 Bu, 630 Bu, 665 Si*
Sampiṇḍita-mahā-nidāna: 239 Kh
Sambandha-cintā: 305 Bu, 630 Bu
Sādhujana-pabodhinī: 437 Kh
Sārasaṅgaha: 239 Kh, 305 Si, 335 Bu
Sāsanavaṃsa: 357 Bu
Sitaṭṭhavatthu: 359 Bu
Sīmāvisodhanī: 305 Bu
Sīlakkhandavagga-aṭṭhakathā: 335 Bu, 630 Bu
Sīhalavatthu-ppakaraṇa: 305 Bu
Sīhalasandesa-kathā: 586 Bu
Sugatavidatthi: 437 Kh
Sucittālaṅkāra: 437 Kh
Suttanipāta: 359 Bu, 630 2 Bu
Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā, Paramatthajotikā: 630 2 Bu
Suttasaṅgaha: 630 Bu
Subodhālaṅkāra: 305 Bu
Sūtra sanna (or satta?): 639 Bu

2.2.1.2 Manuscripts which might be in Khom script or are connected to Siyam

Kāmboja hodiya[50]: 692 (=)
Siyam akurupota: 59, 61 (4), 342, 374, 407, 437, 688, 756
Siyam upasampadāva gaena vistarayak hā vinya karunu: 650
Siyam deśīya varunaegilla[51]: 31
Siyam nikāya Pilibanda vāda lipiyak: 598
Siyam nikāye upasampadā karmaya (Siṃhala): 663
Siyam Buruma ādi sandeśa: 365
Siyam Mahanikāye Malvatu pārśvase katikāvattak hā sandeśayak (Siṃhala): 650
Siyam rajuge sandeśa piṭapat (Pāḷi): 305
Siyam raṭin upasampadāva gena ime puvata: 513
Siyam sandeśa, Śyāma sandeśa: 310, 407, 437, 620, 692 (3)

2.2.1.3 Texts which might be in Burmese script or are connected to Burma

Burumayaṭa yuvū Sandeśaya (Pāḷi): 429
Burumayaṭa yuvū Sīmāvāda sandeśaya (Vimalasāratissa Mahānāyaka): 305
Buruma Śāsanavaṃsa, Sāsanavaṃsa-dīpikā: 305, 310, 311, 338, 369, 398, 433, 519, 577, 621, 638
Buruma Sandeśa: 357(11), 437 Bu, 586, 692
Buruma Siyam Sandeśa: 437
Buruma Hodhiya[52]: 476 Bu, 692 Bu

2.2.1.4 Libraries in which the above texts are found according to LPPN I

26: Jayasekarārāmaya, Kinigama, Butpiṭiya (Colombo Dist.)
31: Yaṭavatte Rājamahāvihāra, Kosvinna, Gaṇemulla (Colombo Dist.)
58: Karuṇātilakārāmaya, Koṭahena (Colombo Dist.)

[50] A Khom script syllabary.
[51] A Siamese dictionary.
[52] A Burmese script syllabary.

59: Kolonnāve Vihāraya, Colombo
61: Gaṅgārāma Vihāraya, Hunupiṭiya, Colombo
146: Pūjārāmaya, Totupiṭiya, Vāduva (Kālutara Dist.)
151: Vālakārāma Mahā-vihārasthānaya, Potupiṭiya, Vāduva (Kālutara Dist.)
154: Saddharmārāma Vihāraya, Nallūruva, Pāṇadura (Kālutara Dist.)
211: Aśvattārāmaya, Gomagodha, Kengalla (Mahānuvara Dist.)
232: Asgiri Vihāraye Vaelluva Pansala, Asgiri Vihāraya, Mahānuvara
235: Sri Daḷada Māligāva Puskolapot Pustakālaya Sri Daḷada Māligāva, Mahānuvara
237: Suduhumpola RMV, Mahānuvara
239: Bhayagiri Vijayasundarāma Purāṇavihāraya, Asgiriya, Mahānuvara
302: Abhinavārāmaya, Hiddaruva, Kosgoda (Gālle Dist.)
305: Mahāmūlavihāra/Ambarukkhārāmaya, Ambagahapiṭiya, Waelitoṭa, Balapiṭiya (Gālle Dist.)
310: Gaṇegodaella RMV, Kosgoda (Gālle Dist.)
326: Vanavāsa RMV, Paṇḍitaratna Yātrāmulla, Bentara, Bentoṭa Pirivena (Gālle Dist.)
335: Sirivijaya Bodhirāmārāmaya, Boggopiṭiya, Galvehera, Ahunugalla (Gālle Dist.)
342: Sunandārāmaya, Mullegodha, Induruva (Bentota Area)
348: Tapodhanārāma Purāṇa Mahāvihāraya, Kaetapalagodha, Karandeṇiya, Vatugedara, Ambalangoda
349: Tāpasārāmaya, Dodanduva (Gālle Dist.) (= The Polgasduva Island Hermitage)
351: Nigrodhārāmaya, Randombe, Ambalangoda
357: Puṣpārāmaya, Godagena, Ambalangoda
359: Mahākappiṇa Mudalindārāmaya, Rajpakṣa Vaelitara, Balapiṭiya Pirivena, Balapiṭiya
364: Śikṣālaṅkāra Pirivena, Randombe, Ambalangoda
365: Śailābimbārāmaya, Dodanduva (Gālle Dist.)
368: Siri Sohanārāmaya, Kahava, Telvatta (Gālu Dist. Waellabadha Pattuva)
369: Sudarśanārāmaya, Bussa, Waellabadha, Gintoṭa (Gālle Dist.)
374: Subhaddarāma Mahāvihāraya, Baṭapoḷa (Gālu Dist. Waellabadha Pattuva)
378: Ānandārāmaya / Ānanda Pirivena, Kitulampiṭiya, Gālla
386: Jayavardhanārāmaya, Piṭivaella, Bussa, Gintoṭa (Gālle Dist.)
392: Paramānanda Mahāvihāraya, Miṇvatgoda, Gālla
396 Vālakārāma Purāṇa Vihāraya, Daḍalla, Gintoṭa (Gālle Dist.)
398: Vijayānanda Vihāraya, Waelivatta, Gālla (in Mudiyanse: Vijayānanda Pirivena, Galle)
402: Śvetabimbārāmaya, Bope, Gālla (Mudiyanse gives it as Kalegana, Galle)
407: Sudharmārāma Mahāvihāraya, Devāture, Māgālla, Gālla
425: Ganegoda Purāṇa Vihāra Kodāgodha, Imaduva (Gālle Dist. Talpe Pattuva)
437: Ranvaelle Vihāraya, Kataluva, Ahaṃgama (Gālu Dist. Talpe Pattuva)
472: Kaebiliyapola Purāṇa Mahāvihāraya, Hakmana
476: Ganegodha Purāṇa Vihāraya, Mūlaṭiyana (Mātara Dist. Kandbadha Pattuva)
511: Vidyāniketa Pirivena, Sapugodha, Kamburupiṭiya (Mātara Dist. Gangabadha Pattuva)
513: Śrī Nivāsārāmaya, Aturaliya (Mātara Dist. Gangabadha Pattuva)
516: Siri Pavaranivesārāmaya, Karapuṭugala (Mātara Dist. Gangabadha Pattuva)
517: Sujanakanta Vihāraya, Karagodha, Uyangodha (Mātara Dist. Gangabadha Pattuva)
518: Sudarśana Mahāvihāraya, Indakkaetiya, Akuraessa (Mātara Dist.)
519: Sudarśanārāmaya (Siri Sudassanārāmaya), Godapitiya, Akuressa
521: Sudharmārāma Purāṇa Pirivena Potgul, Nāndugala, Mātara
522: Sudharmārāmaya, Petangahavatta, Nihagoda (Mātara Dist. Gangabadha Pattuva)
586: Ariyārāmaya, Kapugama, Devundara (Mātara Dist. Waellabadha Pattuva)
592: Galgaṇe Vihāraya, Uturudevutdara, Devutdara (Mātara Dist. Waellabadha Pattuva)
601: Jayavardhārāmaya, Yaṭayana, Mātara
610: Padumārāmaya (Padmārāmaya), Mātara Pīkvaella, Mātara (in Mudiyanse the address is Dhammaratana Mawatha, Polhena, Mātara)

620: Bombure Purāṇa Pirivena, Kapugama, Devundara
621: Mahamantinda Pirivena, Waelliveriya, Mātara
622: Māligātaenne RMV, Dodampagala, Kemagodha, Dikvaella (Mātara Dist.)
629: Vaevarukkannala Mahā Vihāraya, Dikvaella (Mātara Dist.)
630: Vijayabimbārāmaya (Sirivijayapustakālaya), Piliduva, Mātara
639: Siripavara-vijayārāmaya, Ihalawela, Kukanadure (Mātara Dist.)
665: Jayatilakārāmaya, Vaellavatta, Nakulagamuva (Hambantota Dist. Baṭahira Giruvā Pattuva)
688: Mūlgiri-rājamahā vihāraya, Mūlgirigala, Vīrakaetiya (Hambantota Dist. Baṭahira Giruvā Pattuva)
666: Jayamahāvihāraya, Rukava, Teṭolpiṭiya (Hambantota Dist. Baṭahira Giruvā Pattuva)
692: Vanavāsakudhā Vihāraya (Śrī Dhammadinna Pustakālaya), Polonnāruva, Tangalla
703: Saddharmakośakārāmāya, Galahiṭiya, Valasmulla (Hambantota Dist.)
756: Naeluva Potgul Vihāraya, Periyakadu, Naeluva (Kurunaegala Dist.)
807: Jinajotikārāmaya, Maedavala, Udukinda, Fort Maekdonalds (Badulla Dist.)
817: Sumaṅgalārāmaya (Ratanajoti Pustakālaya), Vidurupola, Kaepitipola (Badulla Dist..)

2.2.2.1 Texts in Lankāve Puskoḷa Pot Nāmavaliya II

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha: 41 Bu*, 118 Si, 506 Bu, 516 2 Bu
Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-tatiya-ṭīkā, °-mūla-ṭīkā: 665 Bu
Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-dīpanī: 506 Bu
Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-majjhima-ṭīkā, Paṭhamānuṭīkā: 424 Bu 2
Abhidhammāvatāra: 424 Bu, 516 Si
Aenuvam-pirita, Nava-sutta-paritta: 338 Bu
Uttarivinicchaya: 506 Bu
Kaccāyana-ṭīkā Paṭhama, Kaccāyana-vutti-vaṇṇanā, Nyāsa: 424 Bu* 2
Kaccāyana-ṭīkā Dutiya: 424 Bu*, 506 Bu
Kaccāyana-ṭīkā Tatiya: 424 Bu*
Kaccāyana-ṭīkā Paṭhama, Dutiya-mahā-anuṭīkā, Niruttisāramañjūsā: 506 Bu
Kaccāyana-bheda: 75 Bu*
Kaccāyana-bheda-purāṇa-ṭīkā: 47 Bu*
Kaccāyana-sāra-nava-ṭīkā: 506 Bu
Kammavācā: 37 Bu, 47 Bu, 100 Bu, 325 Kh, 356 Bu, 424 5 Bu*, 440 Si*, 474 Bu
Khandha-vibhaṅga: 506 Bu
Khuddasikkhā: 536 Bu*, 665 Bu
Khuddasikkhā-navaṭīkā: 665 Bu
Cullavagga: 670 Kh
Temiya-jātaka: 506 Bu
Dhammasaṅganī: 424 Bu, 506 Bu
Dhammasaṅganī-aṭṭhakathā: 424 Bu 670 Kh
Dhātukathā: 424 Bu
Nāmacāradīpanī: 506 Bu
Paccayarasikathā: 506 Bu
Paṭṭhāna: 424 2 Bu* incompl
Pañcappakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā: 424 Bu
Paramatthavinicchaya-ṭīkā?: 41 Bu
Parivāra: 512 Bu
Parivāra-ṭīkā: 670 Kh
Pācittiya-pāḷi: 424 Si 506 Bu 670 Kh
Pātimokkha, Ubhaya-pātimokkha: 656 Si
Pārājika-pāḷi: 41, 424 Bu
Pāḷimuttaka-vinaya-vinicchaya: 669 Bu

Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā: 512 Bu
Bhikkhunī-pātimokkha: 665 Bu
Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā: 512 Bu 3
Mahāvaṃsa: 424 Bu
Mahāvagga: 670 Kh
Mūlasikkhā-ṭīkā?: 506, 665 Bu
Mūlasikkhā-nava-ṭīkā, Vinaya-vimaticchedanī: 506 Bu
Yamaka: 424 Bu*
Rūpasiddhi, Pada-rūpasiddhi: 506 Bu
Vinayattha-dīpanī?: 506 Bu
Vinayavinicchaya: 506 Bu
Vibhaṅga: 424 Bu*
Sammohavinodanī, Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā: 424[53] Bu*
Vimānavatthu: 440 Si
Visuddhimagga: 424 Bu*, 516 Si*
Saṅkhyāpakāsaka-ṭīkā: 506 Bu
Saddatthabhedacintā: 506 Bu
Saddanīti: 506 Bu
Saddasāratthajālinī: 22 Si* [54]
Samantapāsādikā: 516 Si*
Samantapāsādikā-bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga-vaṇṇanā: 665 Bu
Samantapāsādikā-majjhima-ṭīkā: 506 Bu
Sambandhacintā-navaṭīkā: 47 Bu*
Sādhu-janappamodanī: 506 Bu
Sucittālaṅkāra: 506, 665 Bu
Sutta-saṅgaha: 424 Bu

2.2.2.2 Manuscripts in LPPN II which might be in Khom script or are connected to Siam

Kāmboja pot?: 522, 633, 634, 647, 649, 669 (2)
Kāmboja hodiya[55]: 522
Siyam Akurupot: 424
Siyamtānāpati vistaraya: 522 (No: 277350)
Siyamdeśayen laṃkāvaṭa upasampadāva genāvistaraya: 389
Siyamnikāya samaṅga vādaliyumak: 506
Siyamrajuge pinpota: 304
Siyamrajuge puṇyānumodanāva: 670
Siyamraṭena evuṇu liyumak: 670
Siyamratnamālaya (Sinhala, Kavi, Kaṭupiṭiye Maetindu): 632
Siyam Liyum: 517
Siyam vinaya pot[56]: 522
Siyam sandeśaya: 424, 672
Siyāmdesa gamaṇam prakaraṇaya: 512
Siyāme Dhārmika Rajatumāge Puṇyakaraṇa pravrutti: 670
Siyāme Dhārmika Raju Kīrti Srī rājasiṃha rajuṭa Pin anumodankoṭa evanalada sandeśaya: 670.

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[53] In the *Nāmavaliya* it is under 405, but the editor must have mixed it up, as 424 immediately follows 405 and a Burmese script *Sammohavinodanī* is found in the current library index of 424.
[54] According to Mudiyanse this manuscript is in Khom script.
[55] Khom script syllabary.
[56] This not a Vinaya work, but rather the *Yojana-ṭīkā-saṅgaha*. It is no. 277258 in the manuscript card-index of the Perādeniya University Library.

2.2.2.3 Manuscripts in LPPN II which might be in Burmese script or are connected to Burma

Buruma-pota?: 331, 534, 665, 668, 670, 671, 672.
Buruma-sāsanāvasa jātaka: 669.

2.2.2.4 Places where the LPPN II manuscripts are found

[B = *Basnāhira* (West); D = *Dakuṇu* (South); M = *Maeda* (Central); S = *Saparangamu* (Southwest-central); U = *Uttara* (North); V = *Vayamba* (Northwest-central); P = *palāta* (province)]

22: Sunandārāma Vihāraya, Mutaramba, Unavatuna, Gālle Dist. (D.P.)
37: Sirinivesārāmaya, Mīgahagodha, Ahaṅgama (D.P.)
41: Siri Vijayārāmaya, Ahungalla (D.P.)
47: Sunandārāmaya, Paragahatoṭa, Vatugedara (D.P.)
75: Vijita-mahā-vihāraya: Koṇakaḷagala, Alavatugodha (M.P.)
100: Sandagirilena Vihāraya, Sandagirilena, Maedamahānuvara (M.P.)
118: Rāmavihāraya, Udavatte, Mahānuvara (the fairly large collection of this monastery is now at Sagama Rājamahāvihāra, Sagama, Talatuoya, 10 km southeast of Kandy) (M.P.)
304: Sudharmārāmaya, Narandeṇiya, Gaṇetaenna, Kamburupiṭiya (D.P.)
325: Rājārāma Vihāraya, Rajgama, Dodanduva (D.P.)
331: Śāstrālaṅkāra Pirivena, Haeramiṭigala, Arambagama, Piḷimatalāva (M.P.)
338: Suddassanārāmaya, Murutava, Ibbāgamuva (V.P.)
356: Ratanajotyārāmaya, Raddalāna, Kuṇumadhe, Velpalla (V.P.)
389: Purāṇa Dharmaśālā Vihāraya, Bhūṭāvatta, Talātuoya (M.P.)
424: Vidyodaya Pirivena, Māligākanda pāra, Koḷombo 10 (B.P.)
440: Sunandārāmaya, Sandalaṅkāva (V.P.) (Mudiyanse: Sastrodaya Pirivena)
474: Gangārāmaya, Morakoḷa, Dodanduva (D.P.)
506: Mūlamahāvihāraya/Dharmagupta-pirivena, Payiyāgala, Dakuṇu Payiyāgala (B.P.)
512: Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena, Kaelaṇiya (B.P.)
516: Daramitipola Pansala, Malwatta, Mahānuvara (M.P.)
517: Maeda Pansala, Moraṭota-nāyaka-pansala: Malvatte, Mahanuvara (M.P.)
522: Śri Lankā Viśva Vidyāliye Pustakālaya, Perādeṇiya (M.P.)
534: Jayavardhanārāmaya, Kandadaevala, Pāṇaduraya (B.P.)
536: Cakkindārāmaya, Ratmalāna, Galkissa (B.P.)
632: Siridevamitta Pustakālaya, Malwatte, Mahanuvara (M.P.)
633: Liyanagastenne purāṇavihāra. Guhāgoda, Kaṭugastoṭa (M.P.)
634: Koṇḍadeniye Rājamahāvihāraya I. Kaṭugastoṭa (M.P.)
647: Attaragama Rājamahāvihāraya Potgul Maligaya, Maedavala (M.P.)
649: Hapugodha Rājamahāvihāraya, Kaṭugasṭota (M.P.)
656: Issurumuni Rājamahāvihāraya, Pūjanīya Padesa, Anurādhapuraya (U.P.)
665: Sri Saddharmagupta Pirivena, Pedhipoḷa-Kospillaeva, Udugampola (B.P.)
668: Mīgahagoda Purāṇavihāraya, Paelmadulla (S.P.)
669: Śāstrodaya Pirivena, Mārapana (S.P.)
670: Paelmadulla Purāṇa Vihāraya, Paelmadulla (S.P.)
671: Sri Lankā Vidyālaya, Maradāna (B.P.)
672: Taraeṇa Bauddha Samitiya, Bolāna, Payāla (B.P.)

2.2.3 Manuscripts listed in A Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts Written in Burmese, Cambodian and Siamese Script *by Nandasena Mudiyanse*

This alphabetical catalogue was compiled by Dr. Nandasena Mudiyanse and published in three articles in the journal *The Buddhist*. The data given in this catalogue is not compre-

hensive, as Mudiyanse visited only a limited number of places; however, it lists some works and places not given in LPPN and gives details about the MSS.

Works also listed in LPPN are marked with an asterisk (*) here, as in the LPPN list above. The works are in English alphabetical order, starting over again with each article. When the addresses of monasteries are given in LPPN they are not given in full, but a reference to LPPN is given.

Article 1

1. Bhikkhu-pātimokkha in Burmese script at Vanavasa-vihāra, Vanavasala, Kelaniya
2. Chanda-nissaya[57] in Burmese script at Vanavasa-vihāra, Vanavasala, Kelaniya
3. Kaccāyana-bheda-pāḷi* in Burmese script at Śrī Vijita-mahāvihāra, Konatalagala, Alawatu-goda: LPPN II no. 75
4. (Upasampadā-)Kammavācā in Burmese script at Jayasumanārāmaya, Yalegama, Induruwa
5. Kibbidhanakappa[58] in Burmese script at Vanavasa-vihāra, Vanavasala, Kelaniya
6. Mūlasikkhā* in Burmese script at Padumārāmaya, Mātara: LPPN I no. 610.
7. Pārājikā-pāḷi incomplete (29 folios) in Khom script at the Jayatilaka Memorial Library, YMBA, Borella, Colombo 8 (Ms. no. 072–2888.)
8. Saddasāratthajālinī* in Khom script at Sunandārāma, Unavatuna: LPPN II no. 22 (9 chapters; complete?)
9. Samakki-kathā[59] in Siamese (Thai) script at the Dīpaduttārāmaya in Kotahena, Colombo 13.[60] Bound along with no. 11 below.

Article 2

10. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* in Burmese script at Siri Vijayārāmaya, Ahungalla: LPPN II no. 41
11. Ānisam-savana-kit in Siamese (Thai) script, bound along with no. 9 Samakki-kathā above
12. Bhikkhuni-pātimokkha-vaṇṇanā in Burmese script at Cullālaṅkāra vihāraya, Paramulla, Mātara
13. Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā* in Khom script at Kaebiliyapola vihāraya, Hakmana: LPPN I no. 472
14. Kaccāyana-bheda-ṭīkā* in Burmese script at Sunandārāmaya, Vatugedara: LPPN II no. 47
15. (Upasampadā-)Kammavācā in Burmese script at Wehellaka Mudalindārāmaya, Makandura, Atakalanpanna
16. (Upasampadā-)Kammavācā in Burmese script at Vanavasa vihāraya, Hapugaspitiya, Kadugan-nava Road, Gampola
17. (Upasampadā-)Kammavācā in Burmese script at Subhadrārāmaya, Totagamuva, Hikkaduva
18. (Upasampadā-)Kammavācā* in Khom script at Śāstrodaya Viśva Vidyāliye Pirivena Saṅdalankāva: LPPN II no. 440
19. Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī in Burmese script at Siri Nivāsārāmaya, Wattalpola, Pāṇadura
20. Khuddasikkhā* in Burmese script at Cakkindārāmaya, Ratmalāna: LPPN II no. 536
21. Muttaka-vinaya-vinicchaya-saṅgaha (= Pāḷi-muttaka-vinaya-vinicchaya) in Khom script at Poyage Library,[61] Malvatte, Kandy
22. Paramatthabhidhammattha-saṅkhepa-kathā in Khom script bound along with no. 8 Sadda-sāratthajālini

[57] A *nissaya* on a work on prosody. Probably it is the *nissaya* on the *Vuttodaya* by Cakkindābhisāri.
[58] A grammatical work related to the *Kaccāyana-sandhi-kappa*.
[59] Presumably *Sāmaggī-kathā*.
[60] The Thai prince Prisdang Jumsai, who became a bhikkhu called Jinavaravaṃsa in Sri Lanka in 1890, was the abbot of Dīpaduttārāmaya from 1905 to 1910. See Nyanatusita and Hecker 2008: 200–201, 207.
[61] This is the cupboard in the Uposatha Hall of which the Nāyaka thera is in charge.

23. Paramatthadīpanī-aṭṭhakathā (large ms. on Abhidhamma) in Khom script at Saṅgharājārāmaya (Vaelivita Pansala), Malwatte, Kandy
24. Petavatthu in Khom script at Saṅgharājārāmaya (Vaelivita Pansala), Malwatte, Kandy
25. Samantapāsādikā* (Prayojana-paṭhama-samantapāsādikā) in Khom script at Daramitipola Pansala, Malwatta: LPPN II no. 516
26. Sambandha-cintā-ṭīkā* in Burmese script at LPPN II 47 bound along with no. 14 above
27. Vimānavatthu* in Khom script at Śāstrodaya Pirivena: LPPN II no. 440
28. Visuddhimagga* in Khom script at Daramitipola Pansala, Malwatta: LPPN II no. 516

Article 3

29. Abhidhammāvatāra-ṭīkā in Burmese script at Śrī Subhūti Vihāraya, Waskaduwa. Reg. no. 228
30. Abhidhammattha-līnattha-vaṇṇanā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29. Reg. no. 254
31. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (incomplete) in Burmese script at Vijayānanda Pirivena, Waelivatta, Galle: LPPN I no. 398
32. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (incomplete) in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya, Nakulagamuva: LPPN I no. 665
33. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (incomplete) in Burmese script at Māligātaenne RMV, Kemgoda, Dikvaella: LPPN I no. 622
34. Aṅguttaranikāya Catuttha-nipāta-vasana in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29. Reg. no. 178
35. Aṅguttara-ṭīkā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29 (Mudiyanse mistakenly put it as no. 22); reg. no. 223
36. Aṅguttaranikāya in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 226
37. Anusaṅgaha-ṭīkā* in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya, Nakulagamuva: LPPN I no. 665 (same as the Abhidhammattha-vibhāvini-vaṇṇanā)
38. Apadāna in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 232
39. Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga* in Burmese script at Jayasekarārāmaya, Butpiṭiya: LPPN I no. 26 (given there as Pācittiya-pāḷi.)
40. Cullavagga* (part I) in Burmese script at Vijayānanda V., Waelivatta: LPPN I no. 398
41. Cullavagga* (part II) in Burmese script at Vijayānanda V., Waelivatta: LPPN I no. 398
42. Cullavagga* in Khom script at Śvetabimbārāmaya, Kalegana, Galle: LPPN I no. 402
43. Cullavagga in Khom script at Jayasumanārāmaya, Yalegama, Induruwa
44. Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 238
45. Dhammasaṅgaṇi-ppakaraṇa* in Burmese script at Saddharmārāma V., Pāṇadura: LPPN I no. 154
46. Dhammasaṅgaṇi-ppakaraṇa in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 239
47. Dhātukathā-puggala-pakkaraṇa in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 259
48. Dhātukathā-yamaka in Burmese script at Vijayānanda V., Waelivatta: LPPN I no. 398
49. Dīghanikāya in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya, Nakulagamuva: LPPN I no. 665
50. Dīghanikāya (Sīlakkhandhavagga & Aṭṭhakathā) in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 218
51. Dīghanikāya-ṭīkā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 198
52. Dīghanikāya-ṭīkā (Sāratthadīpanī)[62] in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 219
53. Ekakkhara-kosa-ṭīkā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 181

54–55. Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā part 1 and 2 in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 224–5

56. Līnattha-jātakaṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 240
57. Jātaka-pāḷi in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 221
58. Jātaka-pāḷi* in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya: LPPN I no. 665

[62] The *Sāratthadīpanī* is the subcommentary on the *Samantapāsādikā*. Perhaps the confusion is because both the *Dīghanikāya* and Vinaya Piṭaka contain a book called Mahāvagga.

59. Kaccāyana in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 183
60. Kaccāyana-bheda-ṭīkā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 185
61. Kaccāyana-ṭīkā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 250
62. Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya, Nakulagamuva: LPPN I no. 665
63. Kathāvatthu-ppakaraṇa in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 233
64. Khuddakanikāya-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 182
65. Khuddasikkhā-ṭīkā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 195
66. Madhusārattha-dīpanī-ṭīkā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 211
67–68. Mahākkhandhaka* parts 1 and 2 in Burmese script at Vijayānanda V., Waelivatta: LPPN I no. 398 (= Mahāvagga and [Cullavagga?])
69. Mahāniddesa-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 212
70. Mahāniddesa-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 270
71. Mahāvagga* in Burmese script at Vijayānanda V., Waelivatta: LPPN I no. 398
72. Majjhimanikāya Mūla-paṇṇāsaka in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 196
73. Manorathapūraṇī in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 213
74. Mātikādīpanī* in Khom script at Vijayānanda V., Waelivatta: LPPN I no. 398. Incomplete MS[63]
75. Moggalāyana-sutta-niddesa in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 229
76. Mohacchedani-aṭṭhakathā* in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya: LPPN I no. 665
77. Muttaka-vinaya (= Pāḷi-muttaka-vinicchaya) in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 210
78. Niddesa in Burmese script at Śvetabimbārāmaya, Kalegana, Galle: LPPN I no. 402
79. Ovādapātimokkha in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 256
80. Pācittiya-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 194
81. Pācittiya-pāḷi in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya: LPPN I no. 665
82. Padasādhanī in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 184 (half of first leaf missing)
83. Papañcasūdanī-līnattha-vaṇṇanā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 230
84. Papañcasūdanī-līnattha-ppakāsinī in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 197
85. Pārājika-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 220
86. Paṭhama-sambodhi-vitthāra-kathā* in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya: LPPN I no. 665
87. Paṭṭhāna-ppakaraṇa in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29[64]; reg. no. 264
88. Pātimokkha-ṭīkā in Burmese script at Pūjārāmaya, Potupiṭiya, Wadduwa
89. Paṭisambhidamagga in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 268
90. Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya, Nakulagamuva: LPPN I no. 665
91. Puggalappaññatti-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 255
92. Rūpasiddhi in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 234
93. Samantapāsādikā-aṭṭhakathā* (Catuttho Bhāgo) in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya: LPPN I no. 665
94. Samantapāsādikā-vinayaṭṭhakathā* in Burmese script at Vijayānanda V.: LPPN I no. 398
95. Samantapāsādikā* in Khom script at Śvetabimbārāmaya, Kalegana, Galle: LPPN I no. 402
96. Saṃyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 200
97. Saṃyuttanikāya-ṭīkā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 199
98. Saṃyuttanikāya in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 214
99. Saṃyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 261

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[63] On Abhidhamma by Chapaṭa of Arimaddana. According to von Hinüber (1988: 177) the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* is listed twice in the inventory of books sent from Siam to Ceylon in the 18th century, i.e., no. 42 and 36. The latter, however, is called *aṭṭhakathā-mātikā-ppakaraṇa* and might rather refer to the *Mātikādīpanī* by Saddhammajotipāla or to the *Abhidhamma-mātikā-aṭṭhakathā,* also called the *Mohavicchedanī,* by Kassapa, which is found in a Khom manuscript at Jayatilakārāmaya (No. 665 of LPPN I, see above). There are also other Siamese commentaries on the *mātikā*, i.e., *Mātikā-sarūpa-vibhāvinī, Sahassanaya-gaṇḍa, Chāyārāma-pakaraṇa, Ṭīkā-lvaṅ*.

[64] Mistakenly given as 9 in Mudiyanse.

100. Sāratthadīpanī-mahāvagga-ṭīkā* in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya: LPPN I no. 665
101. Sāratthadīpanī-vinaya-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 201
102. Sīmālaṅkāra in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 231
103. Subodhālaṅkāra in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 186
104. Suttanipāta-pāḷi and Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 179
105. Suttanipāta-jotikā in Khom script at Śrī Siddhatthārāmaya, Nawala, Rājagiriya (Colombo)
106. Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 212. Bound along with Mahā-niddesa, no. 69
107. Theragāthā-pāḷi and Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 217
108. Udāna-pāḷi and Udāna-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 216
109. Vajirabuddhi-ṭīkā* in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya, Nakulagamuva: LPPN I no. 665
110. Vibhaṅga-pāḷi* in Burmese script at Vijayānanda V., Waelivatta: LPPN I no. 398
111. Vibhāvinī-ṭīkā* in Burmese script at Vijayānanda V., Waelivatta: LPPN I no. 398
112. Vibhāvinī-ṭīkā* in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya: LPPN I no. 665 (identical with no. 37)
113. Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍanaya (-atthayojana)* in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya: LPPN I no. 665
114. Vimānavatthu-pāḷi and Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 193
115. Vimativinodanī in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 227
116. Vimativinodanī* in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya, Nakulagamuva: LPPN I no. 665
117. Vinayaṭṭhakathā-pada-yojana in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 263
118. Vinaya-saṅkhepa in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 267
119. Vinayavinicchaya-ṭīkā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 269
120. Visuddhimagga in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 192
121–24. Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā* parts I—IV in Khom script at LPPN I no. 665
125. Vuttodaya-ṭīkā in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 256 (bound along with no. 79)
126. Yamakappakaraṇa-yojana* in Khom script at Jayatilakārāmaya: LPPN I no. 665
127. Yamakappakaraṇa in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 200 (bound along with no. 96)
128. Yamakappakaraṇa in Burmese script at Subhūti V., see no. 29; reg. no. 41

2.3 Khom-script manuscripts from Sri Lanka in the Hugh Nevill Collection at the British Museum, London, UK

In the late 19th century Hugh Nevill collected a large number of Sinhala-script manuscripts which were acquired by the British Museum after his death. The collection also contains manuscripts in Khom script which Nevill would have acquired along with Sinhala-script manuscripts.[65] Nevill mistakenly calls them 'Cambodian manuscripts'. The following data are from the *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection*, volume I (see Somadasa 1987).

1. Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta: Or.6599(9)
2. Aṅguttaranikāya (Duka-nipāta): Or.6599(32)
3. Samantapāsādikā (Pañcama-nipāta): Or.6599(32)
4. Samantapāsādikā (Tatiya-nipāta): Or.6601(104)

[65] According to Dr. Jacqueline Filliozat (personal correspondence, 16 March 2005) there are many more Khom-script manuscripts acquired by Nevill. Perhaps she is referring to the ones given in LPPN III. But are all these texts from Sri Lanka?

2.4 A Khom-script manuscript from Sri Lanka in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, England

In the Bodleian Library there is one illustrated Khom-script folding paper book manuscript acquired in Kandy, Sri Lanka, in 1819. See Filliozat 1998: 38.
It has the catalogue number BODL. MS. Pali a. 27(R) and it contains the following texts:

1. Suttavibhaṅga and Parivāra extract
2. Brahmajālasutta (Dīghanikāya) extract
3. Abhidhamma-mātikā: Dhammasaṅgaṇī, Vibhaṅga, Dhātukathā, Puggalapaññatti, Kathāvatthu, Yamaka, Mahāpaṭṭhāna
4. Sahassaneyya
5. Mahābuddhaguṇā
6. Mahābuddhaguṇā-vaṇṇanā
7. Uṇhisavijaya

2.5 Burmese manuscripts from Sri Lanka in the Royal Library of Copenhagen

Godakumbura (1980: xliii–xliv) mentions that Rasmus Rask bought a Burmese manuscript from a Sinhalese ex-Buddhist monk who had converted to Christianity: "In Colombo he (i.e. Rask) began the study of Pali with Modelliear George Nadoris de Silva who had been a Buddhist monk at Daḍalla-vihāra under the name of Rājaguru Dhammakkhandha and who had gone to Burma and brought many Pali books to his temple. While in Burma he had received the title Rājaguru from the Burmese king Mahādharmarāja. … Rask describes two Buddhist temple libraries in the South. … The other is at Daḍalla, the temple where George Nadoris de Silva was a monk. There were about 500 books there and among them were many Pali books in Burmese script brought from Ava by George Nadoris de Silva."[66]

The presence of Burmese manuscripts at Daḍalla is confirmed by Somadasa's lists, in which a few Burmese manuscripts are said to be at Vālakārāma Purāṇa Vihāraya, Daḍalla, Gintoṭa, in Gālle District (no. 396 of the list; see above).

2.6 A Khom-Sinhala syllabary in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France

There is an 18th-century manuscript with a syllabary in which Sinhala and Khom characters are placed next to each other: BNF Pali 541 in the collection as given in *Catalogue des manuscrits Pālis des collections françaises* by Jacqueline Filliozat, Jinadasa Liyanaratne, William Pruitt.[67] In brackets is added Tolfrey no. 10.[68]

2.7 Burmese-script and Khom-script manuscripts in the National Library in Colombo

There are some Burmese-script manuscripts in the Library of the National Museum in Colombo.[69] In the descriptions of the sixty manuscripts in the *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Colombo Museum* (pp. 267–271), de Silva only mentions that these manuscripts (MSS 1744–56, 1759–76, 1779–82, 1784–85, 1788–1803, 1851, 1909, 1914, 2146) were given by the King of Burma. Hugh Nevill mentions that the *Peṭakopadesa* manuscript he had (Or.6601(38)) was a copy of the Burmese script manuscript given by the father of Thebaw, the last king of Burma, to the Colombo Museum. Supposedly the other Burmese manuscripts in the collection were also given by Thebaw.

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[66] A footnote to Godakumbura's text reads "Rask bought the Majjhimanikāya-ṭīkā (Cod. Pal. VIII–X) from Nadoris on 1st May 1822. Other Pali books in Burmese script in Rask's collection also may have come from the same source."

[67] In the EFEO database. Also in the outdated *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits Sanscrits et Pālis II*, A. Cabaton ed., Paris, 1908.

[68] W. Tolfrey (1778?–1817) was the translator-in-chief for the Resident in Kandy in 1816.

[69] Previously called the Colombo Museum.

The sixty manuscripts given by the king mostly contain the texts of the Tipiṭaka. Non-canonical texts in the manuscripts are: Ms 1851 *Dīpavaṃsa,* MS 1909 *Mahāvaṃsa*, MS 1914 *Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā*, and MS 2146 *Saddanīti*.

Besides the manuscripts given by the father of Thebaw, there are also a few other Burmese script manuscripts in this collection: two *Kammavācā* manuscripts (MS 1757–8), a *Suttasaṅgaha* manuscript (MS 1787) of unknown origin, and a *Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā* (MS 1783) given by Bulatgama Siri Sumanatissa Terunnanse of Paramānanda Vihāra in Gālle (= LPPN I no. 392. More Burmese MSS are found in this monastery; see above).

There is only one Khom-script manuscript (MS 1786) in this collection. Two chapters of it are in Sinhala script. It is the *Maṅgaladīpanī-aṭṭhakathā* and its origin is unknown.

The two Khmer-script manuscripts containing the *Paññāsa-jātaka* (MS 1777–78) come from Cambodia and were given by the Bibliothèque Royale de Phnom Penh in the first half of the 20th century.

2.8 Burmese manuscripts at the Polgasduva Island Hermitage, Dodanduva, Gālle District

This monastery was founded by the German monk Ñāṇatiloka Bhikkhu in 1911. The manuscripts in this collection were probably brought from Burma by Ñāṇatiloka, who was ordained in Burma in 1903 and who visited Burma several times in the first half of the 20th century. He also visited Burma in 1951–52 and 1954 in connection with the *Chaṭṭha-saṅgāyana* (Sixth Council); see Nyanatusita and Hecker 2008. The manuscripts and the covering cloths look fairly new. The entry no. 349 in LPPN I: *Tapasārāma, Dodanduva*, corresponds to Polgasduva because MSS 1, 3, 7a, and 8 at Polgasduva are listed in LPPN as Burmese MSS.

1. Aṅguttaranikāya pañcaka-nipāta* (in crimson velvet cloth)
2. Pārājika-pāḷi-aṭṭhakathā (in pink cloth with white spots)
3. Atthasālinī-saṅkhepa-vaṇṇanā-ṭīkā* (in red silk with green flowers)
4. Visuddhimagga-aṭṭhakathā (in yellow flowered cloth)
5. Unidentified ṭīkā (in red cloth with wavy lines)
6. Parivāra (in violet velvet)
7. a. Dhātukathā* (in mottled blanket); b. Vuttodaya; c. Abhidhānappadīpikā; d. Sammoha-vinodanī
8. Mūla-ṭīkā* (i.e., Abhidhamma-mūla-ṭīkā; in pink cloth with yellow stripes)
9. Sammohavinodanī (in white cloth with pink stripes)
10. Kammavācā (in green velvet)
11. Kammavācā, Vākhya (made of gilt and lac; in green velvet)

2.9 Khom-script manuscripts in the library of the Chandananda Nāyakathera Vihāra at Asgiriya, Kandy

1. Majjhimanikāya, dated 1719 CE (*Buddhasakarāja* 2262, *Cullasakarāja* 1091) The manuscript is in very good condition. It is not certain whether the manuscript is the complete Majjhima-nikāya, but it includes the *Brāhmaṇa-vagga*.
2. Pācittiya-pāḷi, less than good condition.
3. Bundle with some badly deteriorated folios with fragments of different unidentified texts.

2.10 Khom-script manuscripts in the library of the Vijayasundara Purāṇavihāra at Asgiriya, Kandy

At least twelve Khom-script manuscripts containing several texts and one Burmese manuscript are found in this monastery library. See Filliozat 1995: 135–191.

The manuscripts are well preserved. Dr. Filliozat neatly wrapped the Mainland South-east Asian MSS she found in cloth covers. All manuscripts except one are undated. The MS that has been catalogued by Dr. Filliozat as Asgiriya Siamese (AS) 9 is dated 1835 CE and this implies that at least some of the MSS came to this *vihāra* in or after 1835.

A manuscript Filliozat did not describe is the Khom-script *Bālāvatāra* manuscript without cover that I noticed on a corner shelf where some loose leaves and other odds and ends were kept. The MS is probably incomplete. It has for the time being been put with the *Pātimokkha* MS, Asgiriya Siamese 9. There are probably more manuscripts Filliozat did not see because of restricted access due to communication problems. In LPPN I several Siamese MSS are listed which are not in the catalogue of Filliozat. The vihāra is location 239 in LPPN I. AS stands for Asgiriya Siamese, while AB stands for Asgiriya Burmese.

1. Atthasālinī-Dhammasaṅgaṇī-aṭṭhakathā: AS 3, 12
2. Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī-ṭīkā: AS 11
3. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha: AS 11
4. Abhidhānappadīpikā-pāḷinighaṇṭu: AS B 1
5. Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā: AS 3, 12
6. Jātakas: Paññāsa-j. part, Candakumāra-j. part, Nimi-j., Temiya-j. part, Bhūridatta-j., Ummagga-j., Mahājanaka-j., Mahānārada-j., Vidhura-j. part, Suvaṇṇasāma-j.: AS 4
7. Jātaka fragments: (Ummagga-j?), Nandivisāla-j., Tittira-j.: AS 2
8. Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā: AS 7
9. Dhātukathā-aṭṭhakathā: AS 3, 12
10. Paritta: Aṭavisi-p., Aṅgulimāla-p., Abhaya-p., Ariyadhana-gāthā, Āṭānāṭiya-sutta, Jaya-p., Devatārādhanā, Dvādasa-p., Nakkhatta-yakkha-bhūtānaṃ, Buddha-jayamaṅgala, Bojjhaṅga-p., Maṅgala-cakkavāḷa, Satta-p., Sabbītiyo.: AS 1
11. Pācittiya-pāḷi: AS 8
12. Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā: AS 3, 12
13. Bālāvatāra part: AS 13[70]
14. Buddhavaṃsa-pātha: AS 6
15. Bhikkhu-pātimokkha: AS 9
16. Madhuratthavilāsinī-Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā: AS 6
17. Mahāpaṭṭhānaṭṭhakathā: AS 3, 12
18. Mūlakaccāyana: AS 10
19. Yamakaṭṭhakathā: AS 3, 12
20. Sammohavinodanī-Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā: AS 3, 12
21. Sārasaṅgaha: AS 5

Mainland South-East Asian MSS in Vijayasundara according to LPPN I

1. (Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha dutiya mahā-ṭīkāya dutiya anuṭīkā) *: 2 (or 3) Kh
2. Abhidhamma-piṭaka: Kh
3. Abhidhānappadīpikā*: Bu
4. Cullavagga-aṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā part): Kh
5. Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*: Kh
6. Pācittiya-pāḷi*: Kh
7. Mahāvagga-pāḷi: Kh
8. Mūla-kaccāyanaya*: Kh
9. Yojana-ṭīkā: Kh
10. Vibhatti-bheda[71]: Kh
11. Samantapāsādikā: Kh

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[70] This item is not in the catalogue of Filliozat.
[71] = *Vibhatti-pabheda-vivaraṇa* listed at PLCS 4.113?

12. Sampiṇḍita-mahā-nidāna: Kh
13. Sāra-saṅgaha*: Kh

2.11 Burmese- and Khom-script manuscripts in the Library of the Temple of the Tooth: Sri Daḷadā Māligāva Puskolapot Pustakālaya

The manuscript catalogues (one of the Kandy National Archives and the other and older one in chapter 31 of Gunawardhana 1997) of this library — or rather two libraries as it is divided in two — list the following manuscripts:

1. Abhidharma-saṅgraha-ṭīkā* (MS no. 582) (Burmese script)
2. Karmavākyaya* (MS nos. 404, 406) (Burmese script)
3. Janasoma-sūtraya (Jānussoni-s?) (Only in G [G 523] Burmese script)
4. Dhammachakkaya (G notes: Tibet Aksara Valin [G 311])
5. Buruma Potak (MS no. 556) = Pācittiya Pāḷi[72]
6. Bhikkhunī-pātimokkha* (MS no. 1460) (Khom script)[73]

According to Somadasa's LPPN I (see above) the following non-Sinhala script manuscripts are supposed to be in the Sri Daḷadā Library[74] (Temple no. 235)

1. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-tatiya-ṭīkā, Saṅkhepa-vaṇṇanā, Culla-ṭīkā: Burmese script
2. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-dutiya-mahā-ṭīkā, Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī: Burmese script
3. Kammavācā: Burmese script
4. Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā: Khom script
5. Pārājikā-pāḷi: Khom script
6. Bhikkhunī-pātimokkha: Khom script
7. Saddanīti: Khom script

2.12 Unidentified Khom-script manuscripts in other monasteries

There are unidentified Siamese manuscripts in the following monasteries:

Śrī Narendrasiṅha Rājamahāvihāra, Kundasāla, Teldeniya, Kandy. A few large Siamese manuscripts can be seen in the glass cupboards in the library-cum-museum. They appear to be well preserved. A large gilded and painted Siamese manuscript box can also be seen in one of the cupboards. This vihāra was an important royal monastery in the 18th century and was the vihāra of the late nāyaka thera of the Malvatta chapter of the Siam Nikāya who passed away in 2004.

Pādeniya Rājamahāvihāra, Pādeniya, Kurunegala District. There is at least one unidentified Khom-script manuscript according to the index given by Blackburn (2002: 41), but possibly more according to information provided in the accompanying introduction (p. 33).

Hanguranketa Rajamahāvihāraya, Hanguranketa, Kandy District. At least eight Khom-script manuscripts[75] and a Burmese manuscript according to the survey done by Blackburn (2002: 45, 50, 51, 54).

According to LPPN I, see above, there are also unidentified *Siyam* character (i.e., most probably Khom script) MSS at:

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[72] The author personally checked this MS and it is the Pācittiya-pāḷi part of the *Suttavibhaṅga* in Khom script.

[73] The author checked this MS and it seems to be in the same handwriting style as the preceding one and the Khom-script *Bālāvatāra* MS in the Asgiriya Vijayasundara Vihāraya.

[74] The permission of the Director of the National Archives in Kandy used to be required to get access to this well maintained library. But now access can be gotten through the management of the temple itself.

[75] One Khom-script MS in first glass cabinet; one MS in second glass cabinet; five Khom-script MSS and a Burmese-script MS in second cabinet with wooden drawers; one Khom-script in fourth cabinet. For more information about this important collection, see Bowden 2004: 227.

59: Kolonnāve Vihāraya, Colombo
61: Gaṅgārāma Vihāraya, Hunupiṭiya, Colombo[76]
342: Sunandārāmaya, Mullegodha, Induruva (Bentota Area)
374: Subhaddarāma Mahā Vihāraya, Baṭapoḷa (Gālla Dist. Waellabadha Pattuva)
407: Sudharmārāma Mahāvihāraya, Devāture, Māgālla, Gālla
688: Mūlgiri-rājamahā vihāraya, Mūlgirigala, Vīrakaetiya (Hambantota Dist.)
756: Naeluva Potgul Vihāraya, Periyakadu, Naeluva (Kurunaegala Dist.)

According to LPPN II, see above, there are also unidentified *Kāmboja* (i.e., Khom-script) MSS at:

474: Gaṅgārāmaya, Morakoḷa, Dodanduva (D.P.)
633: Liyanagastenne purāṇavihāra. Guhāgoda, Kaṭugastoṭa (M.P.)
634: Koṇdadeniye Rajamahāvihāraya I, Kaṭugastoṭa (M.P.)
647: Attaragama Rajamahāvihāraya Potgul Maligaya, Maedavala (M.P.)
649: Hapugodha Rajamahāvihāraya, Kaṭugasṭota (M.P.)
669: Śāstrodaya Pirivena, Mārapana (S.P.)

2.13 Sugata Sāsanodaya Library, Ambarukkhārāma, Ambagahapiṭiya, Ahungala, Balapiṭiya

This large and important collection of 568 manuscripts — of which 148 are of Mainland Southeast Asian origin — is kept in the library of an old *pirivena* monastery called Ambarukkhārāma (called Mahāmūlavihāra in LPPN).

At this monastery the founder of the Amarapura nikāya, Venerable Ambagahapiṭiyē Ñāṇavimala, started his mission. Not being able to obtain *upasampadā* in the high-caste Siyam Nikāya, Ñāṇavimala and five other novices went to Burma in 1799 to receive *upasampadā*. In 1802 he and his companions returned to Sri Lanka with several Burmese *theras* from Amarapura, Northern Burma, to found the original Amarapura Nikāya (*Mahāmūla Amarapura Nikāya*). Later on the Amarapura Nikāya divided and grew into about thirty subsects, and the branch founded by Ñāṇavimala thera is now called Mūlavaṃsika Amarapura Nikāya (see Arunatilaka 1998: 308–312; K. D. de Silva 2009; Malalgoda 1976: 134–161). The library might contain the manuscript collection of a lay priest[77] who earlier managed it, and perhaps there are some original or older Sinhalese text lineage manuscripts found in the collection.[78] The monastery was a famous centre of learning in the past, but now has lost its former glory.

There are 139 *Buruma,* 4 *Kāmboja*, and 5 *Siyam* manuscripts. The exact number of texts in the 148 Mainland Southeast Asian manuscripts still needs to be determined.

I could not see the library, although I visited the monastery twice (the reason given was that the key was not there). Fortunately, I was provided with the index list from which the data below has been taken. The collection is divided into the three sections of the Tipiṭaka and a miscellaneous section with grammatical works, etc. The numbers are the reference numbers in the collection. In LPPN I the library has been given the location reference number 305.

A comparison of the first 40 items (i.e. the Sutta section)[79] with the LPPN shows that the *Theragāthaṭṭhakathā* is not attributed to this library in LPPN, either in Burmese or Sinhala

[76] Four Kāmboja MSS. There is a very large collection of MSS, probably well over a thousand, in this well-known monastery in the centre of Colombo, but the index list is lost.

[77] A *gaṇinnānsē* is a lay priest who managed and lived off monastery estates during the period when there were no, or very few, bhikkhus and sāmaṇeras; see Malalgoda 1976: 54–58; Mirando 1985: 116–117.

[78] See Arunatilaka1998: 320–321.

[79] Some texts, such as the *Saddanīti* (a grammatical work, but listed in the Sutta section), are not given in the right section in the index list.

script. The *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* and *Sumaṅgala-vilāsanī-līnatthavaṇṇanā* (= *Dīghanikāya* commentary and subcommentary) are also not attributed to it.

The Apadāna, *Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā* and *Maṅgalatthadīpanī* are attributed as Sinhala script, not as Burmese script.

Sutta

1.	Buruma	1	Cariyā Piṭakaya, ehi aṭuvāva[80]; Khuddaka-pāṭhaya, ehi aṭuvāva
2.	…	2	Jātakaṭṭhakathā-koṭasak[81]
3.	…	3	Apadānaṭṭhakathā
4.	…	5	Saṃyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathā
5.	…	6	Theragāthaṭṭhakathā
6.	…	7	Sumaṅgala-vilāsanī-līnattha-vaṇṇanā[82]
7.	…	8	Saṃyuttanikāya. Nidāna-khandha-vāra
8.	…	9	Manorathapūraṇī. Duka-nipātaya-paṭana-vasanaṭa
9.	…	10	Saṃyutta-ṭīkā. Mahā-vagga
10.	…	11	Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī nāma Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā
11.	…	12	Saṃyuttanikāya. Nidāna. Khandhavāra. Sagātha-vagga
12.	…	14	Rāja-mārtaḍaya
13.	…	15	Visuddhi-magga
14.	…	16	Saṃyutta-ṭīkā
15.	Kāmboja	17	Jātakakathāvak. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha. Sūtrayak
16.	Buruma	18	Maṅgalatthadīpanī
17.	…	19	Visuddhi-magga
18.	…	21	Aṅguttaranikāya. Nipātas 5–7
19.	…	22	Saṃyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathā—Sagātha-vagga
20.	…	22	Saṃyuttanikāya
21.	…	23	Visuddhi-magga
22.	…	24	Dīghanikāya-kāṇḍa-kīpayak
23.	…	25	Apadāna-pāḷi
24.	…	26	Majjhimanikāya-sūtra-kīpayak. Gaeṭapada-vivaraṇayak
25.	…	27	Pot Koṭas Kīpayak
26.	…	34	Saddanīti
27.	Siṃhala-Buruma[83]	41	Dhammapada 2
28.	….	42	Vimāna-vatthu. Peta-vatthu. Aṭṭhakathā
29.	Buruma	47	Buddha-vaṃsaṭṭhakathā
30.	…	48	Saṃyuttanikāya-Sagātha-vagga
31.	Siyam	49	Sārasaṅgaha
32.	Buruma	51	Mahāpadāna-pe-Pāyāsī. Saṃyuttaka-sūtra 10
33.	…	59	Aṅguttaranikāya 1 bhāgaya
34.	…	59	Aṅguttaranikāya 2 bhāgaya
35.	…	68	Samantapāsādikā-vinayaṭṭhakathā
36.	…	69	Samantapāsādikā-koṭasak
37.	…	70	Jātakaṭṭhakathā-koṭasak
38.	…	71	Ambaṭṭha-sūtraya-paṭan Jālinī Sūtraya-avasan Koṭasak

[80] *Aṭuvāva* = *aṭṭhakathā*. *Ehi aṭuvāva* = "(and) its commentary."

[81] *Koṭasa(k)* = "a part," i.e. an incomplete text.

[82] Presumably the old *Dīghanikāya* subcommentary called *Līnatthapakāsinī(-purāṇaṭīkā)* or *Digha-nikāya-ṭīkā.*

[83] Perhaps these are texts partly in Sinhala script and partly in Burmese script.

39.	…	72	Dik Saṅgiya[84]-Udumbara-sūtraya
40.	…	73	Saṃyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathā. Sagātha-vagga-aṭuvāva

Abhidhamma

1.	Buruma	74	Paṭṭhāna-ppakaraṇaya. Dukapaṭṭhānaya
2.	…	75	Sammoha-vinodanī
3.	…	76	Yamaka-ppakaraṇaya
4.	…	77	Pañcappakaraṇa-aṭuvāva
5.	…	80	Dhammasaṅgani-ppakaraṇa
6.	…	81	Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī
7.	…	82	Paramārttha-mañjūsā. Buruma-bhāṣā Sannaya
8.	…	83	Paramārttha-viniścaya-ṭīkāva
9.	…	85	Saṅkhepa-vaṇṇanā
10.	…	86	Paṭṭhāna-ppakaraṇaya
11.	…	87	Sammohavinodanī
12.	…	88	Vibhaṅga-ppakaraṇaya
13.	…	89	Dhammasaṅgani-ppakaraṇaya
14.	…	91	Saṅkhepa-vaṇṇanā
15.	…	93	Dhammasaṅgani-ppakaraṇaya
16.	…	94	Dhammapadaya-vibhaṅga
17.	…	95	Paramārtha-viniścaya-ṭīkāva
18.	Siyam	96	Nāmarūpa-samāsaya. Abhidharmārttha-saṅgraha
19.	…	97	Abhidharmāvatārādī Pot[85] 6
20.	…	98	Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha
21.	Buruma	99	Paṭṭhāna-ppakaraṇaya
22.	…	100	Pañcaprakaraṇa-aṭuvāva
23.	…	103	Paṭṭhāna-ppakaraṇaya
24.	…	105	Jātaka-aṭuvāvē ṭīkā-nipātaya
25.	…	106	Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī
26.	…	107	Dhātuṭīkā-kathāva
27.	…	108	Kathāvastu-prakaraṇaya
28.	…	109	Paṭṭhāna-ppakaraṇaya
29.	…	114	Niruttisāra-mañjūsā
30.	…	115	Yamaka-prakaraṇaya
31.	…	116	Puggala-paññatti-ppakaraṇaya
32.	…	120	Netti-līnatthavaṇṇanā
33.	…	121	Dhātukathā 3
34.	…	122	Puggala-paññatti
35.	…	123	Dhammasaṅgini-mātikā-uddesa
36.	…	125	B.[86] Atthasālinī, Dhammasaṅginī. Aṭṭhakathā

Vinaya

1.	Buruma	126	Bhikkhuṇī-vibhaṅgaya
2.	…	127	Mahāvagga-pāḷi
3.	…	128	Mahāvagga-pāḷi
4.	…	129	Mahāvagga-pāḷi
5.	…	130	Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī-mātikaṭṭhakathā

[84] = *Dīghanikāya.*
[85] *Pot* is “book,” i.e., “6 books.” It could refer to Siamese paper manuscripts or to palm-leaf MSS.
[86] “B” means that it is the second text in the manuscript.

6.	…	131	Bhikkhu-pācittiya 2
7.	…	132	Sīmāvisodhana, Sāgarathera-viracita
8.	…	134	Mulusika. Kudusika. Prātimokṣa 2
9.	…	137	Vinayālaṅkāra-vaṇṇanā
10.	…	138	Nettivibhāvinī
11.	…	139	Samantapāsādikā. Bhikkhuvibhaṅga-vaṇṇanā
12.	…	140	Sāratthadīpanī-ṭīkā. Terasa-kāṇḍaya
13.	…	142	Mūlasikkhā 2
14.	…	144	Pācittiya-pāḷi
15.	Kāmboja	146	Bhikkhu-pātimokkha
16.	Buruma	147	Vinaya-aṭuvāvē Sārārttha-dīpanī Mūla-varga-varṇanāva
17.	…	148	Samantapāsādikāvē Tissaka-vaṇṇanā
18.	…	149	Cullavaggaya
19.	…	150	Pārājikā-pāḷi
20.	…	156	Vinayalakkhitarāsī
21.	…	157	Bhikkhuṇī-vibhaṅgaya
22.	…	158	Cullavagga-pāḷi
23.	…	160	Pāḷi-muttaka-vinaya-vinisa
24.	…	161	Bhikkhu-pātimokkha-gaṇṭha-padaya
25.	…	162	Sikkhāpada-valañjanī
26.	…	169	Bhikkhupācitti
27.	…	171	Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī[87] 2
28.	…	172	Sārattha-dīpanī
29.	…	173	Vinaya-sannaya
30.	…	174	Vinayālaṃkāra-aga-koṭasa
31.	…	177	Mahāvagga-pāḷi
32.	…	178	Buruma-pot koṭas kīpayak[88]
33.	…	181	Karmavākya ādī koṭas 2 kīpayak
34.	Siṃhala-Buruma	184	Sāsanasāra-saṅgaha
35.	…	185	Pātimokkha 2 or 3 (list unclear)
36.	Buruma	186	Pācittiya-pāḷi
37.	…	189	Vimativinodanī
38.	…	190	Pārājikā-pāḷi
39.	…	192	Samantapāsādikā Mul Koṭasa
40.	…	194	Pārājikā-pāḷi 3

Miscellaneous (Grammar, etc.)

1.	Siyam	283	Mūla-kaccāyana-vyākaraṇaya
2.	Kāmboja	291	Mūlakaccāyanaya
3.	Buruma	300	Sīlavatthu-ppakaraṇa
4.	…	301	Mūlakaccāyanaya (Bhāvahi?) ṭīkāva
5.	…	302	Saddanīti deka
6.	…	317	Sandhikappayē koṭasak
7.	…	325	Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā
8.	…	326	Sadda-vuttiya hā ṭīkāva. Gandhābharaṇa-ṭīkāva. Sadda bindu. Kārikā. Saddavuttippakāsinī. Kaccāyana-sāraya-nirutti. Sambandhacintā-vibhatti–vibhāga. Vibhakty-artthaya-nayalakṣaṇavibhāvinī
9.	…	337	Kaccāyana-sūtra-nirdeśaya

[87] In the list there are three dots and I assume that it is the same text as the preceding entry.
[88] *Kīpayak* means "some." *Koṭas kīpayak* = "some parts."

10.	…	339	Saddavuttiya hā ṭīkāva; Gandhābharaṇaya; Kāraka-vistara. Subodhālaṃkāraya;Vuttodaya
11.	…	340	Gandhābharaṇa-ṭīkāva; Kartṛu—Subaṇṇara
12.	…	344	Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkāva
13.	…	459	Buruma-potak[89]
14.	…	461	Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha
15.	…	462	Mahavagga-koṭasak
16.	…	463	Pāṭhika-sutta
17.	…	464	Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha
18.	…	465	Chakesadhātuvaṃsaya
19.	…	466	Kaccāyana-koṭasak
20.	…	467	Visuddhimagga-koṭasak
21.	…	468	Samanta-pāsādikā-kāṇḍayak
22.	…	469	?[90]
23.	…	470	Jātakaṭṭhakathā-koṭasak
24.	…	475	?[91]
25.	…	476	Pācittiya-bhikkhunī-vibhaṅgaya
26.	Kāmboja	482	Sandēsa-kathā
27.	Buruma	486	?[92]
28.	…	488	Jātakaṭṭhakathā-koṭasak
29.	…	490	Mulusika
30.	…	491	Mahā-satipaṭṭhāna-sutta
31.	…	492	?[93]

2.24 Burmese manuscripts in the Vidyodaya Pirivena Library

This is a large and famous monastic university located at Māligākanda pāra, Maradāna, Colombo 10. It is affiliated with the Siam Nikāya and was founded by the scholar monk Hikkaduvē Sri Sumaṅgala in 1873 (see Blackburn 2010: 34–68; Malalgoda 1976: 188, 236–237).

The palm-leaf manuscript collection, located in the main library, is fairly well kept in cupboards with doors with glass windows. The index was provided by the librarian. Although the numbering of the manuscripts goes to 233, there are only 134 manuscripts in the current index, 14 of which are Burmese. This suggests that either some manuscripts have been moved elsewhere or, more likely, that the current index is incomplete. This explains why more Mainland Southeast Asian manuscripts (27), including some Siamese MSS, are listed in LPPN than are found in the current index. The monastery has been assigned the location number 424 in LPPN II.

The first numbering is our numbering, the second is the library catalogue numbering, and the third is the older manuscript numbering.

The data below is only preliminary. It has not been properly checked and edited yet. There are 3 commentaries on the *Kaccāyana* according to the current list, but 4 according to LPPN. Some texts are not given exactly the same title, but they might well be the same works.

1.	30:	(232)	Visuddhimagga*
2.	31:	(209)	Yamakappakaraṇa-pāḷi*

[89] A *Buruma-potak* = “a Burmese book.”

[90] In the list there is a blank space. Perhaps it is the same text as the preceding entry.

[91] In the list there is a blank space. Perhaps it is the same text as the preceding entry — the *Sutta-nipāta.*

[92] In the list there is a blank space. The preceding entry contains several texts and cannot be identical.

[93] In the list there is a blank space. Perhaps it is the same text as the preceding entry.

3.	32:	(226)	Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā* (= Sandhikappa-ṭīkā)
4.	33:	(210)	Duka-paṭṭhāna*
5.	34:	(206)	Vibhaṅga-ppakaraṇa-pāḷi*
6.	36:	(228)	Mukhamattadīpanī* (= Ñāsa, Kaccāyana-purāṇa-ṭīkā)
7.	37:	(227)	Kaccāyana-sutta-niddēsa*
8.	38:	(221)	Kamma-vācā*
9.	39:	(222)	”
10.	40:	(220)	”
11.	41:	(219)	”
12.	42:	(223)	”
13.	43:	(217)	Sārattha-dīpanī (= Sp-ṭ)
14.	44:	(216)	Sammoha-vinodanī*

2.25 MSS in Vidyodaya Library according to LPPN II

1. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-majjhima-ṭīkā, Paṭhamānuṭīkā: Bu 2
2. Abhidhammāvatāra: Bu
3. Kaccāyana-ṭīkā Paṭhama, Kaccāyanavutti–vaṇṇanā, Nyāsa: Bu 2
4. Kaccāyana-ṭīkā Dutiya: Bu (= Mukhamattadīpanī)
5. Kaccāyana-ṭīkā Tatiya: Bu
6. Kammavācā: 5 Bu
7. Dhammasaṅganī-aṭṭhakathā: Bu
8. Dhātukathā: Bu
9. Pañcappakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā: Bu
10. Pācittiya-pāḷi: Si
11. Paṭṭhāna: 2 Bu incompl
12. Pārājika-pāḷi: Bu
13. Mahāvaṃsa: Bu
14. Yamaka: Bu
15. Vibhaṅga: Bu
16. Sammohavinodanī, Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā: Bu
17. Visuddhimagga: Bu
18. Sutta-saṅgaha: Bu
19. Siyam Akurupot: Si
20. Siyam sandeśaya

Abbreviations

Bu:	Burmese script
Kh:	Khom script. Also called "old Siamese script"[94]
LPPN:	*Laṅkāvē Puskoḷa Pot Nāmavaliya* (Somadasa 1959–64)
Si:	Modern Thai script
part:	partial or incomplete text
MS:	manuscript
MSS:	manuscripts
V.:	Vihāraya

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[94] The rounded script variant — in opposition to the straighter Khom script — is called "Mūl script."

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